

THE
ROMAN
HISTORY:
WITH
NOTES

Historical, Geographical, and Critical;

AND

Illustrated with COPPER PLATES, MAPS, and a great
Number of AUTHENTICK MEDALS.

Done into ENGLISH, from the Original FRENCH of
The Rev^d Fathers CATROU and ROUILLE.

VOLUME I.

From the Year of ROME I. to the Year of ROME CCCLXII.

To which is prefix'd,

A New and Connected SUMMARY of the WORK.

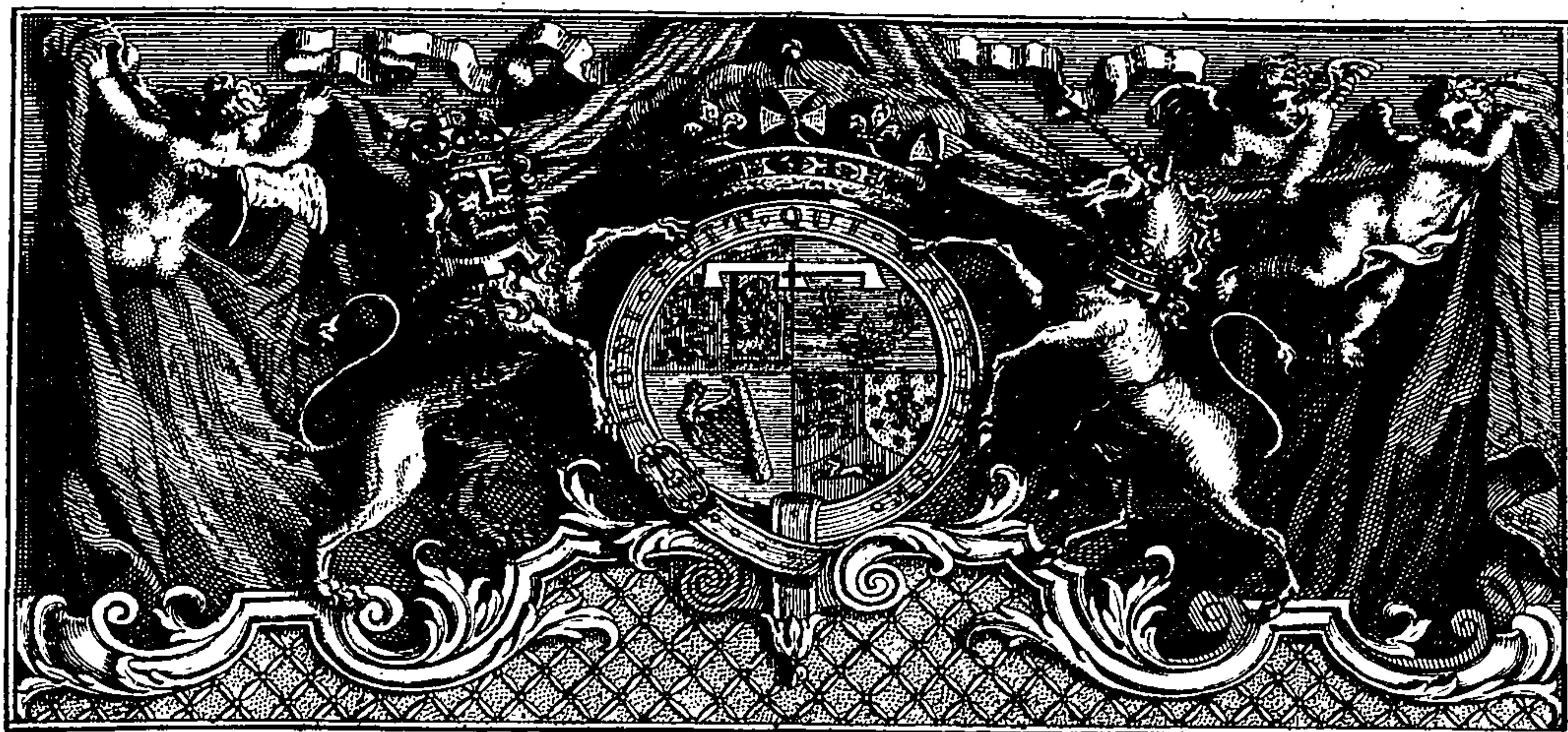
LONDON:

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For T. WOODWARD at the *Half-Moon* over-against St. *Dunstan's* Church in
Fleetstreet, and J. PEELE at *Locke's Head* in *Pater-noster Row*.

M. DCC XXVIII.

A. 787. - 295.



T O

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
FREDERICK LEWIS,

Prince of *Brunswick Lunenburg*, Duke of *Edinburgh*,
Marquiss of the Isle of *Ely*, Earl of *Eltham* in the
County of *Kent*, Viscount of *Launceston* in the
County of *Cornwall*, Baron of *Snaudon* in the County
of *Caernarvon*, and Knight of the Most Noble Or-
der of the Garter.



May it please YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,



THE Reputation of the HISTORY of
which this Volume is a Part, will, I
hope, excuse the Presumption of of-
fering it to YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS.
The Labours of the Two Learned
Men concerned in compiling it, have
met with a General Applause Abroad,
and the Reception they will find with YOUR ROYAL
HIGHNESS, cannot be the less favourable, for being
introduced in the *English* Language.

I HAVE

DEDICATION.

I HAVE endeavoured to make the Authors speak it as plainly and intelligibly as I could; and claim little more Merit in the Work, than that of a Faithful Translator. The First-Fruits of my Labours, an Offering due to Our Most Excellent QUEEN, from one who had the Honour to attend so many Years on Their Most Sacred MAJESTIES, and Their ROYAL FAMILY, were Graciously Accepted by HER; and I am greatly encouraged to pursue the present Laborious Task, by being permitted to take this Opportunity of paying my Duty to YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS.

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS will here see the Rise and Progress of the *Roman* Government, the Honour and Bravery of the *Roman* People, the Wisdom of their Laws, their Love to their Country, and their steady Prosecution of Good and Great Designs; not limited to the Advantages of a particular Society, but aiming at the Happiness and Liberties of Mankind. In reading of which, You will be very apt to run the Parallel between the *Roman* Nation and Another to which YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS is in an especial Manner related; a Nation which had so great a Hand in rescuing *Europe*, and has so long and unweariedly pursued Measures to establish the Tranquillity and Happiness of it.

I am, with the greatest Veneration and Respect,

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS'S

Most Devoted, and

Most Obedient

Humble Servant,

R. BUNDY.



T H E

T R A N S L A T O R's

P R E F A C E.



THE Subscribers who have honoured this Translation with their Names and Encouragement, will, I doubt not, readily forgive the Delay of the Publication of this Volume, upon being assured, That it has been wholly occasioned by a Desire and Endeavour to improve the Work. Difficulties arising to me, concerning the Propriety of some Passages, and the Order of others, and the Authors being yet living; I could not judge it proper to correct and transpose them, without their Privy and Approbation; much less could I content my self to leave them wholly as they were. A Gentleman, to whom I am much indebted, as will hereafter appear, was pleased, when at *Paris*, to consult the Reverend Fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé*, who with the Openness of Men of Sense, and the Politeness so natural to Authors of their Nation, not only approved of the Corrections proposed, and furnish'd me with others from their own Observation, but have since, by a Letter hereunto annexed, given both the Sanction of their Authority.

AND I cannot do Justice to their Generosity, without declaring, That there are here some other Alterations, which I had not Time to commu-

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nicate

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nicate to them; and That therefore if in these I have been mistaken, the Errors are chargeable only on my self. They are chiefly in such Passages of the Speeches as I thought varied in Sense or Perspicuity from the Original Authors, which I made my Rule in the Correction. I have not distinguished them, otherwise than by referring continually to *Livy* or *Dion. Hallicarnassens*; and the Repetition of these References very near one another, will direct the Reader where any Change is made. To which I must add, That there are also some other Mistakes in the Original (probably Errors of the Press) as well as in the Translation; which I have discover'd upon the Perusal of the Work since its being printed off, and have placed them among the *Errata*, desiring they may be corrected. Of this Kind, is the calling the Truce made with the *Sabines*, mentioned *p. 126.* a six *Years* Truce; when by the Chronology and Context it appears not to have been more than a Truce for six *Months*: The making the *Roman* Cavalry to have been 1800, *p. 125.* contrary to what is expressly said, *p. 123. Note 63.* that *Tarquin* made them but 600; and *p. 147.* that till *Servius Tullius's* Time the *Romans* had had but six *Centuries* of Knights: The Omission of the Subdivision of the third *Class* into 20 *Centuries*, *p. 147.* which are necessary to make up the gross Sum of 193 *Centuries*, which all the *Classes* are said to have contained, *p. 148*: The making *Coriolanus* to have only *eleven Tribes* against him, instead of *twelve*; contrary to *Note 85. p. 309*: The saying in the Text, *p. 324.* that the *Romans* directed, *That no Crown should be put on Fortune's Head*; whereas it seems evident, from the Quotation out of *Tertullian*, in the *Note*, that the Decree was, *That no Crown should be put on the Goddess's Head by any Woman who had had two Husbands: Fortunæ muliebri coronam non imponebat, nisi uni-vira*: And their giving *Volscius* the *Tribune of the People*, *nine* Collegues instead of *four*, *p. 411*; the College of *Tribunes* not having been increased to *ten*, till afterwards.

THAT there should be some small Mistakes in so Great and Laborious a Work, will be less Matter of Surprize to Men of Candour and Ingenuity, than that there should be so few; and to endeavour to correct them, is by no means assuming to my self a Superiority, since the Talents necessary for it are certainly not the brightest.

As to the Subject Matter of this Work, the *Roman* Story, I know no modern Language that can pretend so just a Claim to record it, as that of a People who have all along retain'd the Character of, I had almost said, more than *Roman* Valour; for which a *Roman* Writer gives their Ancestors the highest Encomium, when he says of the otherwise invincible *Cæsar*,

“ *Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis.*

Lucan. B. 2. l. 572.

LUCAN, tho' a *Pompeian*, does Justice to *Cæsar's* Bravery on other Occasions; and this Account seems strongly confirm'd by the elegant Historian's own Relation of his Expeditions hither. Whoever considers it, will not need the Partiality of a *Briton*, to incline him to believe, that there was more of Truth than Party, in the Poet's Reflection; since if
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it were otherwise, it is hard to assign a good Reason why the supposed Conqueror, soon after his Arrival here, should weigh Anchor, and steal off in the Middle * of the Night, after a Battle; or why he should bring with him in his second Expedition, above 700 Ships † more than in his first.

BUT whatever Judgment is formed of the Success of this Battle, it is certain the *Roman* Arms brought the whole known World at last into Subjection; and as certain, that this Exorbitant Power arose from very weak and low Beginnings. The Dawnings of it open themselves to us in this Volume; where we shall see a Gang of beggarly and disorderly Vagabonds first form themselves into the Shape of a Society; and then advance, by continual Labours and Successes, to some Extent of Dominion, and more of Power. But they were great in Virtue, if not in Fortune. Considered as a People, a Noble Spirit runs thro' them: Magnanimity, Steadiness, Moderation, Clemency, Gratitude, and Fidelity in Treaties, shine eminently in the Governours; an exemplary Love of Purity and Sobriety, in the Governed; and an unbounded Zeal and Affection for the Liberty and Happiness of their Country, in Both: And it is very easy to observe here, That whilst they are actuated by these Sublime Principles, they are crowned by the ALMIGHTY with Success.

MUCH, indeed, may be allowed to Labour and Exercise; and yet more to Liberty. Their continual Employment in Military Affairs, must doubtless have inured them to the Hardships of War; the Rigour and Habit of their Discipline must have taught them Skill and Address in it. And it is very evident, that every Increase of Liberty inspired them with new Vigour, and redoubled their Valour; and that as they grew in Freedom, so in Dominion. But, after all, it must be even Bigottry in Infidelity, to ascribe their Progress in Conquest entirely to these, independently of HIM *who ruleth over all the Kingdoms of the Earth, and giveth them to whomsoever he will.* In these Beginnings of Strength, many Incidents occur, which are not resolvable into Human Prudence, Policy, Power, or any other Principle, but that of an Over-ruling PROVIDENCE: And in the succeeding Volumes of this *History*, the Great SUPERINTENDENT of the Universe will appear remarkably interposing in certain Crises, when *the more Mature State* must otherwise inevitably have sunk into Ruin and Oblivion. But to return.

FOR the sake of the *English* Reader, I have been more particular in the References than the *French* Edition is, that he might with the more Ease have Recourse to the Original Historians; and have referred not only to the *Books*, but *Chapters*, of *Livy*, according to Mr. *Hearne's* Edition at *Oxford*, in six Volumes, 8vo, 1708; and to the *Pages* of *Dion. Hallicarnassens*, according to the *Frankfort* Edition, 1586. These being the most common Editions, are therefore the most likely to be in the Hands of the Generality of Readers.

A *Index* is omitted here, and postponed to the last Volume, because I think it less Trouble to consult one than many: Tho' indeed I apprehend it will appear to be in a great Measure useless, after the new Method taken in this Work, of digesting it into *Sections*, and new-model-

* Cœf. de Bell. Gall. L. 4. c. 26.

† Ib. L. 4. c. 22. & L. 5. c. 8.

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ling the *Contents*, in such a Manner as not only to be more coherent and methodical than the *French*, but also more minute and circumstantial; infomuch, that they contain all Things material in the whole History, give the Reader a View of it in Epitome, and refer him to all the Parts of the Work, where each Particular is mentioned, with great Exactness. Nor is this done only in a useful, but likewise in an agreeable Manner; so as not barely to be a Help to the Memory, after perusing the Work, but an Entertainment to the Mind; by presenting it with a Summary of every thing essential in the Story, (except the Speeches and Battles, which could not be contracted without injuring them,) and that in a new and beautiful Light. For this the Reader is indebted to the Ingenious Gentleman beforementioned: And the same Justice which obliges me to declare this, lays me under a Necessity of declaring likewise, That the *Authors Preface*, and some few Sheets of the Work, were translated by another Hand; and that I am no otherwise concerned in them, than in Revising, Methodising, and Correcting them, according to the Directions of the Reverend Authors; whose Letter beforementioned, as it was sent directed to the Booksellers concerned in Publishing this Translation, is as follows:

“ *A Messieurs,*

“ *Messieurs WOODWARD & PEELE, Marchands Libraires à Londres,*

“ **N**OUS apprenons, Messieurs, avec plaisir, que la Traduction de
“ notre Histoire Romaine, est fort avancée. Vous ne pouvez
“ guere avoir de plus habiles & de plus fideles Traducteurs, que les
“ Messieurs dont vous avez l'ouvrage entre les Mains. Nous *Authorisons*
“ les changements que nous les avons priés de faire à Notre Edition
“ Française. Nous sommes tres sincerement

“ A Paris ce
“ 19 Juin, 1727.

“ *Vos tres humbles, & tres obeissants Serviteurs,*



“ CATROU, Jesuite.

“ JUL. ROÜILLÉ, S.J.



P R E F A C E.



THE Forwardness of the Publick to subscribe for a Compleat *Roman* History, upon the very first Appearance of the Proposals, has left us no room to doubt of the Undertaking's being approved of, even while it was uncertain how it would be executed.

HITHERTO the Commonwealth of Letters has been destitute of this Assistance, which, however necessary, has been obstinately refus'd it. The Learned indeed have wearied themselves in Enquiries concerning the Customs, Manners, Armies, Government, Laws, and Habits of the *Romans*: No Care has been wanting to collect and publish even Matters of the most trivial Nature, and which had nothing but their Antiquity to recommend them. This, in a manner, is all the Use that has been made by Men of Letters of that prodigious Number of Volumes and *Roman* Antiquities, which now fill the Libraries and Cabinets of the Curious. Few *Roman* Monuments, Statues, Busts, Bas-reliefs, or Inscriptions, have escaped the Diligence of the Antiquaries, few enigmatical Medals their Penetration. Not one of those Authors, who were happily preserv'd in the Times of Barbarism and Devastation, has wanted accurate Editors, judicious Commentators, and able Interpreters. A Multitude of Persons well-skill'd in the *Greek* and *Roman* Languages have undergone a thousand Fatigues in preparing Materials for an Edifice which no one has attempted to erect. It is true, this ample Provision of Matter has encouraged some of our best Architects to work upon it by Parts. They have built some distinct *Apartments* of a spacious and stately *Palace*, and their first Essays have made us long to see the Work compleated. By these *Members* we form'd a Judgment of the Use and Excellency of an *Entire Body* of the *Roman* History. It was a Pleasure to survey beautiful Portions of a *WHOLE*, so magnificent; and we wish'd to see them united in one Design.

ALL the Monarchies into which *Europe* is divided, have had each its particular Writer, who in one Work has collected the antient Monuments of his Nation. There are complete Histories of *France, Spain, England, Denmark* and *Sweden*: *Rome* alone, the Mother of all these Monarchies, has wanted a Pen so far interested in her Glory, as to trace out a continued Series of her History, from the Rise to the Decline of her Empire. Was it because Memoirs were wanting for so glorious an Undertaking? The *Greek* and *Latin* Writers seem to have contended who should furnish us with most. I will venture to say, it was the abundance of Materials which gave the Discouragement; and amidst a Heap of Riches we were left in Indigence. Perhaps also it was thought a Presumption to make the admirable Productions of so many eminent Authors, who have transmitted to us the Events of the first Ages of *Rome*, serve only as Memoirs to a more compleat Work. The Names of *Livy, Dionysius Halicarnassens, Polybius, Plutarch*, and many others, have made them respected to so high a Degree, that no one has had the Boldness to incorporate them together. As if *Polybius* must have proved a bad Allay for *Sallust*, or *Dionysius Halicarnassens* for *Livy*. Doubtless it could be no Disadvantage to these Authors to be all blended together in one Mass. Nevertheless Writers have hitherto chosen rather to translate and represent them just as they are, than to separate the precious Pieces of their Spoils in order to connect them together with an artful Hand.

It was this which made it so laborious a Task to get a thorough Knowledge, and form a just Idea of the *Roman* History. *Livy* alone was by no means sufficient for this Purpose. It was necessary to have continual Recourse to *Dionysius Halicarnassens*, and to supply the Omissions of the one by the more particular and circumstantial Accounts of the other. From *Plutarch* we were oblig'd to appeal to *Polybius*, and in short, to be incessantly running from one Author to another, to satisfy the Eagerness of our Enquiries. Nor was this the only Difficulty. Oftentimes the Contradictions of different Historians seem'd almost irreconcilable, their Descriptions were frequently obscure and perplex'd, their Accounts often maim'd and imperfect. In these Cases, it was needful to seek Information elsewhere than in Books; to borrow ocular Instruction from Bras and Marble; or to fill up the Chasms of one Writer with the Testimony of another. Scarce were whole Libraries sufficient for the Resolution of one single Doubt. In the mean while, the Pleasure and Profit of Reading were lost, and whole Months spent, in disentangling an intricate Point. Instruction was not to be acquired, but at a great Expence of Time and Labour; and the Study of the *Roman* History was very far from being a useful Recreation.

It is from this endless Toil that we have endeavoured to free the Reader. We have taken upon our selves alone all the troublesome and disagreeable Part, and in short, shall leave the Publick little more than the Pleasure of enjoying the Fruit of our Labours.

OUR chief Application has been to melt down together the most precious Metals of Antiquity. They will hereby communicate their Lustre to each other; and by their Mixture, as by the burning of *Corinth*, will perhaps be form'd a new Metal, less valuable indeed than Gold and Silver, but more rare and more fit for Service.

AT worst, no one of the Writers whom we shall bring together, in order to form a complete Body of History, will lose any more of his Beauty than what Translations and Paraphrases have usually taken from him. Nay, sometimes he may gain by the Parallel which may be drawn between him and the following or preceding Author. By bringing them near to each other, their different Beauties will be more conspicuous; and though we make them all speak in an uniform Stile, it will be easy to distinguish them by their *Turn* of Thought. In the *Greek* Writers we shall commonly find more Refinement and Delicacy; in the *Latin*, more Pomp and Majesty. The Reflections of the former will be more deep and solid, the Sentiments of the latter more noble and magnanimous. Thus the Whole united will exhibit a greater Variety, than if we had introduc'd only one Actor upon the Stage. How able soever a Writer may be to give a Turn to his Imagination, he often copies himself, and, first or last, never fails to discover who he is. In vain he puts on a Disguise, to appear unlike himself: His Genius brings him back by degrees to his proper Form. Thus he at length becomes tiresome, and his most embellish'd Periods fatigue the Mind, for want of being sufficiently diversify'd. Is it not possible to avoid in some measure this disagreeable Circumstance, by introducing a Plurality of *Characters*? Some shall speak after the *Greek* Manner, others after the *Latin*. We shall be careful, however, that there be not perceiv'd a ridiculous Variety in this matching of different Colours, nor too much Discord in this Consort of several Voices. We have reduced our Authors as near to the *French* Model as was possible, without making them lose too much of the Character of their respective Countries.

THOUGH we have given the Publick Hopes of a Compleat History of *Rome*, from the Establishment to the Dissolution of the Empire, and are preparing for the Execution of so vast a Design; yet we have not hitherto engaged our Word for more than Twelve Volumes, containing only the Succession and Actions of the Kings who preceded the Republick, and of the Consuls who govern'd it, during the whole Time that it subsisted. We shall here therefore give an Account only of that Part of the History which we have promised, [*the Authorities upon which it is built, and the Method observed in compiling it.*]

IN the first Ages of *Rome* all will appear marvellous. We should even have exceeded the Bounds of Probability, if we had not, by the Help of the *Greek* Historians, less zealous for the Glory of the *Roman* Name, corrected the inconsiderate Warmth of the *Latins*, in magnifying their first Heroes. It is a Fault common to those who go far back to fix the Beginning of their Nation. The Darkness of remote Ages favours them; and the passionate Desire they have to embellish their Origin, makes them ready to take up with vulgar Traditions. BUT

BUT as we are not solicitous to set off and adorn a People for whom we have but little Concern, we shall pass over every thing which the *Romans* have borrow'd from Fiction to give a Lustre to their Founders. We have no Partiality, and shall therefore confine ourselves to Truth.

I. The Subject
of
this History.
§ I. *Aeneas*, flying from his ruin'd Country, will land in *Italy*, and there sow the Seeds of the mighty Empire, the Growth and Increase of which will be the Subject of our Admiration. This is a Glory which we cou'd not refuse the *Romans*, because too many Witnesses concur in their Favour to be rejected. The *Trojan* Prince will find at his Arrival, a Wife and a Crown which seem'd to wait for him. After a troubled Reign he will fall in Battle, and leave two Sons to succeed him. *Iulus*, born in *Troy*, will relinquish his Pretensions to the Kingdom of *Latvium*, in Favour of his Brother *Aeneas Sylvius*, born in *Italy*. The former will lay the Foundations of the Kingdom of *Alba*, where his Descendants will fill the Throne for above four hundred Years. At length, from the *Trojan* Blood of a violated Vestal, will proceed the Founder of *Rome*. *Romulus*, the lawful Possessor of an hereditary Scepter, will die without Children, and leave an elective Monarchy to his Successors. After him will appear a pacifick Prince, who will restrain by his Wisdom the too warlike Ardor of the first *Romans*. *Numa*, by the Maxims of Religion, will soften those Hearts which breath'd nothing but Blood.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS will find the Way to establish a just Medium between their martial Inclination, and superstitious Subjection to Laws too burthensome. He will extend his Dominion by the Conquest and Demolition of *Alba*, and will introduce some kind of Discipline among Troops, which, under *Romulus*, observ'd no Order in Fighting.

ANCUS MARCIUS, Grandson of *Numa Pompilius*, will take the first Step towards making *Rome* considerable. He will fortify the Walls which his Grandfather had consecrated by Piety; a necessary Precaution for the Security of a City which was then setting up to be Mistress of her Neighbours.

IN the Person of the first *TARQUIN* we shall be surpriz'd to see upon the Throne a Prince of a cultivated Genius. In his Time, a kind of Politeness will be introduc'd into *Rome*, and it will in some respects lose its first Rusticity, under the Influence of a Prince of *Greek* Extraction. The City will see rising out of its Bosom publick Edifices, such as might be envied even by haughty *Athens*.

TARQUIN the First will be succeeded in the Throne by a Philosopher. *Servius Tullius*, born in Slavery, will by his wise Conduct efface the Ignominy of his Birth. By him will be establish'd an exact OEconomy in the Government of *Rome*; and the several Orders in the State, tho' distinguish'd one from another, will all be united by the Bands of Policy. The tragical End of this last of the good Kings of *Rome* will be the Work of an unnatural Daughter, and of an ambitious Pupil.

AT length *TARQUIN the Proud* will, by a Depravity of Manners, by Violence and Tyranny, by a haughty Contempt of his People, and by proscribing his Senators, make the *Romans* jealous of their Liberty. They will treat their King as an Usurper, take Occasion from the Violence done to *Lucretia*, to shut their Gates against their Sovereign and his Offspring, and to change the Monarchy into a Republick.

ROMULUS, by drawing together within the same Walls a Number of savage *Banditti*, and of austere *Sabines*, will form the principal Character of the Nation, of which he will be the Founder. *Rome*, in its Cradle, will be the Asylum of all the Profligates in those Parts, and *Tatius* will lead thither a Colony of a People originally *Lacedæmonian*. Thus a savage Disposition, and an Austerity of Manners, will be the Qualities which the first *Romans* will derive from the Blood of their Fathers. Hence will proceed those Virtues and Vices which will distinguish them in all Ages. Their savage Disposition will make them intrepid, but untractable; and the rigid Severity of their Manners will render them inflexible, but morosely virtuous.

The Character of the first Romans.

NOR will *NUMA* correct the Excesses in these natural Dispositions: He will only suspend their Effects by the Fear of the Gods. The *Romans* will very soon appear again, such as they were by Nature and their first Education. The Politeness of *the first TARQUIN* will gain but little upon their antient Rusticity; and the prudent Laws of *SERVIVS TULLIVS* will only regulate, not humanise the *Romans*. *TARQUIN the Proud* will experience the savage and untractable Temper of his People; and the inflexible Constancy of *Brutus* will raise an insuperable Obstacle to his Re-establishment upon the Throne. We shall find this Character for a long time prevail in almost all the Heroes of the present History. It will continue very near the same, till the *Romans*, Masters of *Greece* and *Asia*, become at length more civiliz'd, by an Intercourse with the *Eastern Nations*. But then the Conquer'd will, together with their Politeness, communicate their Vices to their Conquerors. Happier for the *Romans*, had they continued with those Faults which they had from the Time of their first Establishment!

IT has been thought that the History of these earliest Ages of *Rome*, scarce out of an infant State, is destitute of those Marks of Truth by which the Mind is satisfied and determined. It is not indeed question'd but that we have sufficient Vouchers to skreen us from the Suspicion of Unfaithfulness in our Accounts. Every one knows that the Events of the first Ages of *Rome* have been transmitted to us by a great Number of Writers: And this is enough to shelter those from Reproach, who only restore to the Publick what they have borrow'd from a Multitude of Historians, who have been respected in all Ages. But Criticism looks farther back. It is not we, but our very Authorities, which are taken to Task. Our most antient Historians are taxed with having wanted Memoirs sufficiently authentick to deserve entire Credit from the Publick. It is urged, that what was deficient in the most antient Monuments of *Rome*, they have supplied with Fiction. Nay, the Scepticism with Regard to this History is brought a great way on this Side

First Objection, concerning the Authorities on which the History of the first Ages of Rome is founded.

the Kings, and we are told that no Authors are to be relied upon, but since the Wars of *Pyrrhus* in *Italy*. The Elegancy of the Discourse, in which this Paradox is advanc'd, may possibly have made it listen'd to with Pleasure; but it is very hard to give into it, at least in its full Extent: Perhaps nothing more was design'd than to present us with a Turn of Wit, and an ingenious Problem.

Answer.

We shall allow that some fabulous Strokes are interspers'd among those Truths which are the Groundwork of the *Roman* History. But *Dionysius Halicarnassens* has purg'd his *Roman Antiquities* from almost all the *Marvellous Fictions* scatter'd among them by some *Latin* Writers; so that his distinguishing Judgment has taken away many Occasions of Clamour from our modern Criticks. What still remains of fabulous in his Works is not sufficient to make us in general diffident of all he has wrote. Let him have taken never so much from *Diocles* or *Antiochus*: Grant that *Livy* has borrow'd a great deal from *Livius Andronicus*, *Nævius* and *Ennius*, those antient Poets and celebrated Annalists, more antient even than the celebrated Historians *Cato the Censor*, *Cincius*, *Fabius Pictor*, and the two *Piso's*: Allow the *Latin* Historian to have only made a Collection of these: Were these Springs then entirely infected? Yes, say they: they had no Rules whereby to govern their Pens, except some vulgar Stories and oral Traditions, and their Invention furnish'd the rest. This is the Paradox of which it concerns us to discover the Weakness. No, *Rome*, from its very Beginning, never wanted Annalists who took Care to transmit to Posterity, whatever was most memorable, according to the Order of Time^a. *Numa* established a *Pontifex Maximus*, or High-Priest. It was given in Charge to this chief Minister of Religion, to record concisely all that happen'd to the rising Nation. And it is reasonably to be suppos'd that he went farther back in his Enquiries than the Epocha of his own Pontificate. But be that as it will; since the Reign of *Numa*, at least, the Knowledge of the principal *Facts* relating to the Monarchy was perpetuated, from one *Pontifex* to another, even far into the Times of the Republick; and this Spring never after fail'd. The Antientness of the Language, and the Dryness of the Style in these first Annals, did not destroy the Truth of them. And how late soever other Annalists (somewhat more polite) thought of putting into Verse what they found in the Pontifical Tables, they work'd upon Materials already prepared. Their Vouchers were ocular Witnesses, and the Writers whom they copied, were Men venerable both by their Rank, and upon the Score of Religion.

THIS is no vain Conjecture and Illusion which we have form'd to ourselves: A very express Passage in *Cicero* will serve us for a Proof. ^b *From the Beginning*, says he, *of the Establishment of Rome, even to Publius Mucius, the Pontifex wrote down the Occurrences of each Year, of which he afterwards made a fair Draught, and caused it to be inscribed in Tables, which he set to View in his House for the Instruction of the People. These Tables are yet called the GREAT ANNALS.*

^a Post Romuli excessum, novello adhuc Romanæ urbis imperio, penes Pontifices scribendæ Historiæ potestas fuit. *Papinius de vita Taciti præf.*

^b Ab initio rerum Romanarum usque ad P. Mucium, Pontificem maximum, res omnes singulorum annorum mandabat litteris Pontifex maximus, efferebatque in Album, & proponebat tabulam domi, potestas ut esset populo cognoscendi; ii, qui etiam nunc Annales Maximi nominantur. *Cicero. l. 2. de Orat.*

HERE then are Materials for this History prepared according to the Order of Time, from the very Beginning of the *Roman* Monarchy. We have here Annals known in *Rome* even in the Time of *Cicero*. Who can warrant that Superstition had not inserted among them some Fictions? Priests, zealous for the Worship of the Gods, and whose Interest it was by false Prodigies to deceive the People, may have scattered such up and down in their Relations. *Livy* suffer'd himself to be impos'd upon in this Point. It is at present the Province of Criticism to distinguish between Truth and Fiction. But as to the Substance of the Narratives in matters of War, Politicks, New Settlements, Treaties with the neighbouring Nations, Erection of Offices, Acts of the Senate, and Decrees of the *Comitia*, what Motive could the High-Priests have to be guilty of Forgeries in these Respects? What a Blemish would they have brought, by such a Procedure, upon the Sincerity which ought to be expected in the chief Ministers of Religion?

THE Ignorance and Barbarism indeed of the earliest Times of *Rome* might possibly have made the Accounts of the *Pontifices* insipid, and their Annals imperfect. Nay, the Conciseness which the first Annalists affected, might very well have caused their Omission of some important and concerning Circumstances. It was certainly this which *Livy* regretted in reference to his first five Books; and the Loss must have been very sensible to a florid Historian who aim'd at the Embellishment of his Narrations. Neither does he fail to complain of it in the following manner. *I have set forth in five Books what past among the Romans, first under the Kings, then under the Consuls, afterwards under the Dictators, Decemvirs and Military Tribunes, both in their foreign Wars, and domestick Seditions. But these Things are obscured, not only by their Antiquity, (which makes them, like Objects at a vast Distance, scarce discernible,) but by the great Scarcity of Men of Letters, the only faithful Depositaries of memorable Actions. Besides, several Writings of our Pontifices, with other publick and private Monuments, perish'd in the Flames of Rome.*

IT is true then, by the very Report of the *Latin* Historian, that there were Annals at *Rome* transmitted by the *High-Priests*. It is true, that the Scarcity of learned Men was the Cause why historical Monuments were not more numerous, but in short it is likewise true, that there were some, tho' but few. Many of the Monuments, both publick and private, were indeed intirely destroy'd in the burning of *Rome* by the *Gauls*; (a deplorable Loss to Men greedy of Knowledge) but they were not all buried in the Ruins of the City. What few Matters of Fact we have yet remaining in the Historians, were saved from the Fire. Oral Traditions, we allow, wou'd have been subject to Errors; but those Writings which surviv'd the Flames furnish'd a Stock of Materials which might be made Use of without Danger of being imposed upon. In the midst of that Darkness thrown over the first Ages of *Rome*, there were yet some Rays of Light, which serv'd to discover a Way through the Ruins.

Quæ ab condita urbe Roma, ad captam eandem urbem, Romani, Regibus primum, Consulibus deinde, ac Dictatoribus, Decemviriisque, ac Tribunis, Consularibus, gessere foris bella, domi seditiones, quinque libris exposui: res cum vetustate nimiam obscuras, velut quæ magno ex intervallo loci vix cernuntur, tum quod per raræ per eadem tempora literæ fuere, una custodia fidelis memoriarum gestarum; & quod etiam si quæ in commentariis Pontificum, aliisque publicis privatisque erant monumentis, incensa urbe pleraque interiere. *Livy*, B. 6.

It is certain, whatever Notion we may form of the Barbarity of the *Gauls*, they were not Destroyers altogether void of Pity; they had some Religion, and they fear'd the Gods. This was evident, when during the Siege of the *Capitol*, they permitted a pious *Roman* to pass through their Army to an assign'd Place for the Performance of a Sacrifice; and after the Ceremony, without offering him the least Violence, suffered him to return through the midst of them, and enter again the invested Citadel. Doubtless the Regard they had for the Temples of the *Roman* Deities, even to the saving them from the Fire, proceeded from the same Respect for Religion. And who does not know that these Sanctuaries serv'd as Archives, in which the *Roman* Monuments were deposited? *Tacitus*, without designing it, has done Justice to the Memory of the *Gauls*, and has manifestly acknowledg'd their Piety. When he describes the dreadful Loss the *Romans* sustain'd

^d Domuum & insularum, & Templorum, quæ amissa sunt numerum inire haud promptum fuerit: sed vestissima Religione, quod Servius Tullius Luæ, & magna ara fanumque, quæ præfenti Herculi Arcas Evander Sacra-verat, ædesque Statoris Jovis vota Romuli Numæque Regia, & delubrum Vestæ, cum Penatibus populi Romani, exulta. Jam opes tot victoriis quæsitæ & Græcarum artium decora, ex in monumenta ingeniorum antiqua & incorrupta, quamvis in tanta resurgens urbis pulchritudine, multa seniores, meminerant quæ reparare nequibant. *Cor. Tacit. l. 15. Ann.*

by *Nero's* cruel Fire, he takes Notice of the Temples of greatest Antiquity, which till then subsisted, and were Ornaments to the Capital of the World. That celebrated Annalist gives us the following particular Account of them. ^d *It would be no easy matter, says he, to reckon up the great Number of Houses and Temples devour'd by the Flames. Among others, those Temples which had been raised by the Devotion of the remotest Times, as that dedicated to the Goddess Lua by Servius Tullius; that with the Great Altar which Evander the Arcadian had consecrated to Hercules, when the latter passed through Italy; that which Romulus, in Performance of his Vow, had built to JUPITER STATOR; the Sanctuary of Vesta; together with the tutelary Gods of the Roman People; were entirely consumed. Then perished likewise immense Riches, the Fruits of our many Victories, and a great Number of inestimable Monuments brought from Greece. But, which were still more valuable, the antient and authentick Remains of some ingenious Writers (or perhaps Annals) underwent the same Fate. A Loss which was never compensated by all the Magnificence with which Nero embellish'd the City.*

It is plain then, that the Piety of the *Gauls* had spared the Temple built by *Servius Tullius*, the Altar which *Evander* had rais'd to *Hercules* in his Life-time, the Sanctuary which *Romulus* had built in Honour of *Jupiter Stator*, and the antient Productions of the earliest Writers of *Rome*. The Destruction of these was reserved for the frantick Humour of *Nero*. *Rome* therefore, in the Times of *Livy*, and of *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, was not altogether destitute of the necessary Helps for compiling a History of the first four Ages.

Second Objection.

ALL these Testimonies put together, are sufficient to dispel the Prejudices which might arise from the false Notion of the consummate Ignorance both of the *Romans*, and of the People bordering upon them. We may truly affirm, that the Reproach of Ignorance in the Art of expressing their Thoughts by Characters, has been carried to an Excess. It has been insinuated, that the *Latin* Annalists and Historians cou'd not borrow Matter to fill up the History of the first Years of *Rome*, either from their Ancestors, or from the Archives of the neighbouring Towns. We are told, that the Stupidity both of the one and of the

other

other was so great, that they even counted the Years with Nails, which they stuck up in the Walls of their Temples and of their Houses. But is this an incontestable Proof that they were yet Strangers to the Art of Writing? It is possible the *Romans* had not as yet invented the Numeral Letters; or perhaps they kept up this Custom of marking the Times with Nails, thro' Superstition. A Custom which doubtless had its Rise in the very Times of the first Inhabitants of *Italy*, who were called *Aborigines*. How difficult is it to abolish certain Usages in a State, which are become agreeable to the People, and are coæval with them? When the Vanity, nay, the Ridiculousness of them is seen, they are nevertheless kept up by a Sort of Veneration for their Antiquity. May we not suppose this to have been the Case of the *Romans*? They continued to fix every Year a Nail in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, even after they had learnt the Use of Characters. The Proof of this is indisputable. For the same superstitious Custom was perpetuated in *Rome* under the Sanction of a Law^c, written upon a Pillar in the same Temple of *Jupiter*. Let it not be said that this Law has been conveyed to us only through the corrupt Channel of fabulous Times. The burning of *Rome* by the *Gauls*, and even this Custom, of which Advantage is taken, have they any better Vouchers than the Annalists who were before the Time of *Pyrrhus*? And yet no Body disputes these Facts. What Rule then of Criticism shall we have whereby to give some Events of the obscure Ages the Stamp of Certitude in Preference to others, which our^f Critick allows are nevertheless to be respected?

Answered.

^c Lex vetusta est prisca literis verbisque scripta. *Livy*, B. 7.

^f The Author of the Paradox before-mentioned.

Third Objection

AND as to the too exact Resemblance of some Incidents in the *Roman* History to others in the History of *Greece*, which seem to have been transcrib'd into the former, out of the latter, what Advantage can be taken from thence? It has indeed been said, that the Combat of the *Horatii* with the *Curiatii*, a memorable Adventure in the first Ages of *Rome*, too much resembles an Event which happen'd in *Arcadia*. The Cities of *Tegea* and *Pheneus* resolved to end their Differences by a Combat of three *Pheneates* born at one Birth, the Sons of *Demostratus*, against three *Tegeates*, born likewise at one Birth, the Sons of *Reximachus*. At the first Onset, two of the *Tegeates* were kill'd; the third, named *Cristolaus*, counterfeiting Flight, fought his Adversaries one after another, and left them dead upon the Place. *Demodice*, the Conqueror's Sister, who had been promised in Marriage to one of the *Pheneates*, was stabb'd by her Brother, enrag'd at her refusing to applaud his Victory. We are told, that the Exactness of this Parallel discovers the Imposture of the chief *Roman* Historian, who has thought fit to enrich his History with the Spoils of *Greece*.

BUT may it not be here said, that Chance at different Times produces Adventures which very much resemble one another, and which nevertheless are indisputably genuine? What can be more alike than the tragical Deaths of the celebrated *Marcus Antonius* and the famous *Cicero*? One seems to have been copied from the other: They were both dignify'd with the Consulship, both Orators of the first Rank, and both lost their Lives in Times equally tempestuous. The do-

Answered.

mestick

mestick Dissentions, in which they had respectively engaged, proved fatal to each. What *Cinna* did against *Antonius*, in the War of *Marius*, the Triumvir *Antony* repeated against *Cicero*: These two great Men were equally zealous for the Good of their Country, and it cost them their Lives. The Heads of these incomparable Orators were at different Times fastned to the very Place where their Eloquence had triumph'd; and what is very particular, *Cicero* breaks out into such pathetic Lamentations on the Death of *Antonius* as were afterwards exactly applicable to his own. § *Antonius's Head*, says he, *who had saved the Heads of many Citizens, was fixed on that very Rostrum, where, in his Consulate, he had defended the Commonwealth with the utmost Steadiness and Constancy.* Little did *Cicero* then think that this would one Day be his own Case.

§ Marci Antonii in his ipsis rostris, in quibus ille rempublicam constantissime Consul defenderat, positum caput illud fuit, à quo erant multorum civium capita servata. *Ciceron. l. 3. de Orat.*

ADVENTURES of this kind, which are repeated after certain Intervals of Time, do not destroy one another, nor is their Resemblance a conclusive Argument against their Certainty. This might suffice to make us receive the History of the first Ages of *Rome*, notwithstanding some Passages in it which resemble others, in the *Grecian* Story: But after all, if the Combat of the *Pheneates* and *Tegeates* was equally well attested in History, with that of the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*, we should be prejudiced against the Accounts of *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* and *Livy*. We should then place the Combat of the three *Romans* against the three *Albans* amongst those fabulous Adventures, which we have retrenched from the Body of this History. It would be no great Difficulty to us to give up a single Story; but yet we have related this Combat in the Reign of *Tullus Hostilius*. We were not ignorant of the Pretext which some Criticks might take from hence, to discredit the particular and circumstantial Accounts of the first Ages of *Rome*: We therefore examined, by the Rules of Criticism, whether the Adventure of the *Pheneates* had not been copied from that of the *Horatii*; and we easily discovered that the Annalists of *Rome* were the Originals, and had been translated Passage for Passage into bad *Greek*. And indeed, what Authorities are cited to give Credit to the Fable of the Sons of *Demostratus* and *Reximachus*? There is in truth but one produced, and one whose Credit has been always suspected by the Learned. This Story of the *Pheneates* and *Tegeates* is no where to be found but in *the Parallels* of *Plutarch*. A Name which indeed is venerable; but then no judicious Critick ever ascrib'd to *Plutarch* such a contemptible Work as that of *the Parallels*. It is only the rude Production of a bad Grammarian, who takes the Liberty of putting upon us Fictions for Realities. This despicable Author cites *Apollodorus*, but we would gladly know from which of the Authors of that Name he took his Story; for he seems to be an Impostor in his Quotation, as well as a Libertine in Fiction. It is also pretended, that *Stobæus* adopts this Fable, found in *the Parallels*; but what Authority, among the Learned, can a modern Compiler have, who only heaps Citations together, and that oftentimes with little Judgment? We have read over this *Stobæus*, but could not find out the Place where he relates this Adventure of the *Ar-*
cadian

cadian Brothers : And, after all, if he does relate it, we have Reason to believe, that he only transcribed it from the wretched Author of *the Parallels*. A Treatise which, in short, has so little of *Plutarch* in it, that in the Margin of a Manuscript of this learned Author we have a Remark which clears him from the shameful Imputation of having compos'd it.^h

* As to the Prodigies so frequently to be found in the *Roman* History, they are no just Prejudice against the principal Facts which it relates. We have already observ'd, that the chief *Pontifs* were the first Annalists of their Nation; and the Concern which Priests have for their Religion might induce them to make their Gods interpose in the principal Actions which they related. This is an Abuse which the Spirit of Superstition has brought into all the Histories in the World, without Exception; for, not to speak of the *Greek*, are not our Criticks frequently employ'd to purge even modern Histories from a thousand Prodigies which Credulity has inserted in them? And are these Histories the less true, at least with respect to the great Events? Nay farther, it is on all hands agreed, that since the Wars of *Pyrrhus*, the *Roman* Historians have been sincere; and yet how many false Miracles have they intermix'd with their Accounts? Is there any thing more surprizing in the Apparition of *Castor* and *Pollux* after the Battle of *Regillus*, than in the same Apparition when the *Romans* made War against *Perses*, or than in the Revelations which *Scipio* had in the *Capitol*? Or has the Story of *Sertorius's* consulting with a Hind any more Probability, than that of *Numa's* Conversations with the Nymph *Egeria*? We must therefore either establish an universal Scepticism as to all Histories, or we must not disbelieve them, merely on the Account of some trifling Incidents which may be easily distinguished from the rest.

NEITHER are the contradictory Accounts of the first *Roman* Annalists any certain Proof that they deserve no Credit. They agree in the principal Events, and ought it to be any Wonder, that they sometimes differ in Circumstances? Oftentimes, with respect to things that have happen'd in our Days, and almost in our own Sight, we find a Difference in the Accounts given by those who have been Witnesses. The Particulars of a Battle are not always told the same way by those who have signaliz'd themselves in it: The nearest Objects have different Appearances, according to the Views of those who behold them. Imagination and Prejudices occasion this Difference, and hence are all those Variations we find in the Writings which have served as Memoirs for the first four Centuries of the *Roman* History. The Choice we have been oblig'd to make out of these different Accounts, has very much encreas'd the Labour of collecting them into one Body: Nay, we have often waver'd about the Choice and Preference; and Criticism has determined the Matter. The only Precaution we have taken, has been to relate, at least in the *Notes*, the Variations we found among different Authors, it not being reasonable to confine the Reader to our own Sentiments. But after all, if the Disagreement of Authors among themselves were an undeniable Mark of Falsity in their Writings, what

^h In the Margin of an ancient MS. are these Words in Greek, *This Book was never the Work of Plutarch, an excellent and learned Author, but of some vulgar Scribler, ignorant of the Art of Poetry and Grammar.*

Amiot upon the Translation of the Book of *Parallels*.

* Fourth Objection answered.

Fifth Objection answered.

History, ancient or modern, would not be liable to Suspicion? Do the Historians who have wrote since the Wars of *Pyrrhus* always agree among themselves? No, and yet it's confess'd on all Sides that they have been faithful. Let the Reader but cast an Eye upon our *Notes*, where we have pointed out their Differences, and he will be surpriz'd to find as little Harmony among those Authors as among the others. We easily overlook this Disagreement among Writers of the last Ages of the Republick, and we make it a Ground of Complaint against the Annalists of the first Ages of *Rome*. So that, upon the whole, it is evident that the first *Romans* wanted neither Memoirs for their History, nor faithful Vouchers for the principal Events of it: That the pretended Resemblance between certain Facts in their Annals, and some Fables in the *Grecian* History, does no Prejudice to that Credit which their Historians deserve: And that [neither the Prodigies they mention, nor] the slight Contradictions which are among their Writers, do not destroy their Sincerity. Thus are dispers'd those Clouds of Darkness which some have endeavour'd to spread over the History of the first four Ages of *Rome*. And we shall therefore with Boldness continue to give a Summary of the Progress of the *Roman* Empire, beginning from the Birth of the Republick.

The Subject-
Matter of the
History con-
tinued.

AFTER that Revolution which destroyed the Monarchy of *Rome*, and substituted two *Consuls* in the room of its *Kings*, we shall behold this City left intirely to itself, and destitute of Assistance from its Allies and Neighbours. The dethroned King will stir up against it all the Nations round about; he will conduct the formidable *Porfenna* to besiege it: The rugged Virtue and Constancy of the *Romans*, rather than their Valour, will preserve them from the new Yoke which will threaten them. *Hetruria* will be surpriz'd at their inflexible Courage; and from an Enemy become an Admirer. In the mean while *TARQUIN* will engage the *Latins* to take Arms against *Rome*; a numerous People against one single Town. The War will be long; but glorious Success will attend the weaker Side. In Conclusion, the Republick will humble its Aggressors, and force its Enemies to become its Allies.

AFTER this, *Rome* will immediately enlarge its Territory: Its Conquests will indeed be slow, and its Grandeur attain'd by gentle Degrees; but at length so many *Latin* Towns, and so many petty Nations will be subdued, that the Republick will from that time be Mistress. The *Æqui*, the *Volsci*, the *Falisci*, and the *Fidenates*, will acknowledge her Superiority. *Hetruria* itself will quickly be invaded, and the Surrender of *Veii*, after a ten Years Siege, will open the *Romans* a Way into that spacious Country, where they will afterwards extend their Conquests.

THE *Gauls* alone will put a Stop to the scarce discernible Progress of the virtuous *Romans*. The gaining of one Battle will put these Strangers in Possession of the City; and the Flames they kindle will destroy almost all the Buildings: But yet the Republick will subsist in a small Remnant of *Romans*, who will take Sanctuary in the *Capitol*. At length a generous *Dictator* will free his Country from these *Barbarians*;

rians ; and *Rome*, being rebuilt, will by degrees recover its former Lustre. 'Tis true, the severe Blow which the *Romans* will receive from the *Gauls* will make the Nations round about them sensible that their Conquerors were not invincible. The *Latins* will revolt, and the *Sabines* break that Alliance they made with *Rome* in its Cradle. It will cost the *Romans* some Blood to re-establish themselves in their antient Superiority ; but they will at length prevail, and keep the *Latins* and *Sabines* within the Bounds of their Duty.

NOTWITHSTANDING this little Circle of Conquests, the *Romans* will still be confined within very narrow Bounds. A more terrible Enemy than all the rest will long exercise their Virtue. The *Samnites* will reduce *Rome* to the last Extremities. *Campania*, by submitting to the *Romans*, will excite the Jealousy of those warlike Neighbours. The *Samnites* being by the Nature of their Country robust, and their Spirits favouring both of the Harshness of the Air, which they breathe, and of the Ruggedness of those Mountains with which their Country abounds, will not without Difficulty be brought to submit to the Dominion of the *Romans* ; nor will they lay aside all their Pride, even after bowing under that Yoke.

CAMPANIA being subdued, and *Samnium* quieted, the Republick will be at Liberty to march an Army into the *Eastern* Parts of *Italy*. A vast Region of this Continent then bore the Name of *Great Greece* ; some Colonies of People, originally *Greeks*, were settled there ; and the Countries beyond the Sea look'd upon all *Italy* as subject to the *Greeks*. *Tarentum*, in Times past founded by the *Lacedæmonians*, but now softned by Luxury, will provoke the *Romans* : The War which the latter will make upon that effeminate People would soon be at an End ; but the *Grecian* Colony will stir up against the *Romans* the best General of *Greece*. *Pyrrhus* will pass the Sea, and lead an Army, compos'd of *Thessalians*, *Epirotes* and *Macedonians*, to the Succour of *Tarentum*. Elephants train'd up to War will afford a strange Spectacle to a People who had never seen them before : The *Romans* will at first be terrify'd ; but will quickly learn, that the fiercest Animals are not more formidable than *Pyrrhus* himself. This great General will be constrain'd to leave *Italy*, and *Tarentum* will remain subject to the *Romans*. By this single Victory the Republick will become Mistress of all *Great Greece*, *Lucania*, and *Apulia*. The Country of the *Brutii*, and almost all the *Eastern* and *Southern* Parts of *Italy*, will submit to her Laws. And then the Conquest of *Picenum* and *Hetruria* will be but Sport to those who shall have vanquish'd *Pyrrhus*.

IN vain was *Sicily* parted from the Continent of *Italy* ; the ambitious *Romans* will unite them again by Conquest. *Rome* cannot be Mistress of *Messana*, without becoming an Enemy to *Carthage*. Then will an Emulation of Glory and Interest seize the two Republicks ; open War will be declar'd between them ; but how unequal will be their Strength ! The *Romans* will have neither Ships nor Experience in Sea-Fights ; their Courage and Constancy will supply the Want of both.

They will build a Fleet with so much Expedition as would make one imagine their Forests were of a sudden transform'd into Gallies. These shapeless Vessels will be too heavy for Engagements at Sea; but the *Romans* will supply that Defect by Engines of their own Invention. They will find out the Art of grappling with the lightest Ships of their Enemies, and, by boarding them, will be able to fight as in a plain Field. By this Means being victorious at Sea as well as at Land, they will triumph over the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*, and join the Islands of *Corfica* and *Sardinia* to this rich Conquest.

AFRICA itself will then become accessible to the new Masters of *Sicily*; and the *Romans* will there fight Battles, the Success of which will lead them to the very Gates of *Carthage*. Fortune will then abandon them for a short time. Under the Conduct of a *Lacedæmonian* Commander, the *Carthaginians* will have the Advantage. The *Roman* General, vanquish'd and taken Prisoner, will depart for *Rome* under Pretence of negotiating his Freedom, and the Exchange of Prisoners. His Virtue or his Rage will prevail in him above his dearest Interests; he will keep his Parole and return to *Carthage*, to resume his Fetters, and to deliver up himself to the most cruel Torments. Then will the Animosity of the two Republicks be increased by mutual Barbarities. *Sicily* will once more become the Seat of War. Two Battles gain'd by the *Romans*, one at Sea, and the other at Land, will oblige the *Carthaginians* to submit. A Treaty of Peace, disadvantageous to the *Africans*, will put an End to this first War, but not to their mutual Enmity.

AFTER so many successful Labours, *Rome* will allow itself but short Moments of Rest. From the Days of *Numa* this will be the first time that the Temple of *Janus* will be shut; and it will soon be open'd again. The Forces of the Republick will not remain unemploy'd. The *Ligurians* on the one Hand, at the Foot of the *Alps*, and the *Illyrians* on the other, upon the Coasts of the *Adriatick* Sea, will feel the Weight of the *Roman* Arms. It will be hard to vanquish the first, while they continue cantoned in their Mountains and Forests; but they will be drawn down to the Plain, where their Defeat will be follow'd by a Surrender. As for the second, they will pay dearly for the Perfidiousness of their Queen; and instead of being subject to a female Sovereign, will almost ever after obey the *Romans*.

FROM the Foot of the *Alps* to the *Ionian* Sea, there will be nothing left for these formidable Conquerors to subdue, but *Cisalpine Gaul*. Some *Gauls* from the other Side of the *Alps* had long been settled there, and possess'd *Insubria*, and several other Regions very far beyond the *Po*. The *Roman* Valour had never experienc'd more terrible Enemies. It will however triumph over them: But the vanquish'd *Gauls* will again take Courage, and the Presence of *Hannibal* will renew their former Pride.

THE Conqueror of *Saguntum* and of *Spain*, bound by Oath to be an eternal Enemy to the *Romans*, will march out from the *Pyrenean* Mountains, and make himself a Way over the *Alps*. Four Battles gain'd

gain'd by the *Carthaginians* in the Heart of *Italy*, one upon the *Ticin*, another upon the *Trebia*, the third at the Lake *Thrasumenus*, and the fourth near *Cannæ*, will fill the Republick with Terror. By this Means the Conquests of the *Romans* will be suspended, and they will confine all their Diligence and Industry to the saving *Rome* itself. This Capital of so many Nations would certainly become a Prey to the *Africans*, if their Leader knew how to make the best Advantage of his Victory : But his staying at *Capua*, and abandoning himself to his Pleasures, will be more serviceable to the *Romans*, than the Valour of their Generals. *Hannibal* will cease to be the greatest Warrior that ever was, and become an ordinary General : He will be more frequently vanquish'd than victorious, and yet will be able to prolong the War in *Italy*, and keep the *Romans* in Exercise and Terror for the Space of fourteen Years. Their tottering Republick will have no considerable Success but beyond the Seas. *Marcellus* will subject to it *Syracuse* in *Sicily* ; and the *Scipio's* ravish from the *Carthaginians* that Empire which they had usurped over *Spain*.

A more favourable Star will then shine upon the *Romans* ; for young *Scipio*, the Conqueror of the *Spaniards*, will carry the War from *Italy* into *Africa*. The Presence of *Hannibal* will become necessary to his Country : Thither he will fly, deliver *Rome* from a troublesome Neighbour, and find a Revenger of ravaged *Italy* near *Carthage*. *Scipio* will force the vanquish'd *Hannibal* to go and lead an inglorious Life in a foreign Country ; and his Departure will leave *Africa* to the Mercy of the *Romans*.

THEN will the Conquests of the Republick advance with a still swifter Progress. *Macedon* will have lost a great Share of that Courage which distinguish'd it in the Time of *Alexander the Great*. The King who will govern it at this Time, will bear the Name of *Philip*, the Father of him who conquer'd *Asia* ; but will have neither his Wisdom nor Valour. This inconsiderate Monarch will enter into Engagements with *Hannibal*, at a Time when the *Carthaginians* make *Italy* tremble ; but we shall see the *Macedonian* pay dearly for his Intrigues against the *Romans*. His Fate will follow that of *Hannibal* ; and being more than once vanquish'd, *Philip* will sue for Peace, and continue in his own Country ; a King in Name, but subject to the Republick. By this Means *Rome* will become so formidable to all *Greece*, as to be the Arbiters of all its Proceedings.

THE Ambition of the *Romans* will no longer keep within Bounds. *Syria* will sink under the Weight of their Arms. *Antiochus*, the King of that delightful Country of *Asia*, will take the fugitive *Hannibal* under his Protection, and the Counsels of that irreconcilable Enemy to the *Romans* will seduce the effeminate Prince : He will declare himself against the Allies of *Rome*, and carry the War into *Eubæa* ; which would be more terrible to the Republick, if he gave the Command of his Army to the *African* General. But he will put himself at the Head of his Troops, and suffer the same Fate from the *Romans*, which *Xerxes* and *Darius* met with, in their Wars against the *Greeks*. He will be
stript

stript of one Part of his Dominions, and finish in Luxury a Reign, which his own Imprudence will render unhappy.

ÆTOLIA will have its Turn : The Misfortunes of *Antiochus* will rebound upon it, and all the Isles from Mount *Ceraunus* to Cape *Malea*, will be subdued to the Republick. *Istria*, the Accomplice of *Antiochus's* Hostilities, will be deeply involv'd in his Misfortunes.

GALLO-GRECIA, whether justly or unjustly engaged in the King of *Syria's* Wars, will feel the Effects of the *Roman* Vengeance in the very Heart of *Asia*. It was a Colony of those *Gauls*, who under *Brennus* had formerly imbrued *Greece* in Blood, and profaned the Temples of its Gods. The *Gallo-Greeks*, being vanquish'd in several Battles, will leave their Plains to the *Romans*, and seek a Sanctuary in inaccessible Mountains.

IN the mean time *Macedon*, which had been subdued in the time of King *Philip*, will rise again in Arms under his Son *Perfes*. It will seem hard to a Nation victorious under *Alexander*, to bear a foreign Yoke. The *Thracians* will join with it, and their savage Bravery will be an Aid to the military Skill of the *Macedonians*. But the Barriers, which these Confederates will raise against the *Roman* Valour, will very soon be thrown down. The *Romans* will force their Way over Morasses and Rocks deem'd unpassable. *Perfes* will not dare to give Battle in Person ; but will abandon his Palace, and take Sanctuary at the Foot of the Altars. His Conqueror will return to *Rome*, and after the Defeat of so haughty an Enemy, receive the Honours of the most magnificent Triumph that ever was. The unfortunate *Perfes* will involve the rebellious *Illyrium* in his own Ruin ; and the Destruction of *Scorda*, the Capital of that Kingdom, will be a full Revenge to the *Romans* for the *Illyrian* Perfidiousness.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Examples of so many Nations subdu'd and punish'd, *Macedon* will not be terrify'd. An Impostor, from among the meanest of the People, will assume the Name of *Philip*, make himself King, enable the *Macedonians* to shake off the Yoke of their Masters, and being more successful than the true Kings of his Country, obtain a signal Victory over a *Roman Prætor* : But his Prosperity will be short, and he will be vanquish'd, in his Turn, by a *Consul*. However, he will at least have the frivolous Honour of being carried to *Rome*, and led before the Triumphal Chariot of his Conqueror, with all the Equipage of a true King.

THE Obstinacy of the *Carthaginians* will appear equal to the Fury of the *Macedonians* ; and the former as well as the latter will rise in Arms three several Times. *Rome* will neglect the Punishment of other Towns in *Africa*, and display her Vengeance only upon *Carthage*. Never will City shew more Warmth in its Defence, or a greater Zeal for its Preservation ; but in the End it will be obliged to yield ; and this Rival of the *Roman* Glory will be reduced to a Heap of Rubbish. The wisest among the *Romans* will with Reason bewail its Fall. The Destruction of *Carthage* will be the fatal Period of their declining from that strict Virtue, which made so great a Difference between them and
other

other Nations. Henceforth, their Frugality will be changed into Luxury, their Laboriousness into Effeminacy; their Continence into Debauchery, their Justice into Avarice, and their Sincerity into Perfidiousness. Some glimmerings of their antient Probity will now and then break forth: but Virtue will no longer be the distinguishing Character of the whole Nation. *Rome* will however continue to be victorious, and her Power will arrive to such a Height as to be able at pleasure to swallow up all the Kingdoms of the World.

ACHAIA will feel this Change in the *Roman* Morals; for upon a slight Pretence *Elis* will be plundered, and *Corinth* reduced to Ashes, preserving nothing of its antient Wealth, but a Metal composed of different Metals blended together.

Tho' *Spain* was quieted by *Scipio*, yet several of its Cities and Provinces did not submit to the *Roman* Empire; and therefore nothing will satisfy *Rome*, but the entire Subjection of that brave Nation. However, its Sovereignty will not be established but by Violence and Cruelty. *Numantia*, with no other Defence than its Situation, and the insuperable Valour of its Inhabitants, will occasion much Reproach to the *Romans*, and cost them a great deal of Blood. The *Numantins*, when reduced to the most dreadful Extremities, will prefer Death to Slavery, and destroy themselves by Poison, Fire, and Sword; so that of all that valiant People, there will not be one single Captive left to honour the Victor's Triumph.

THE Testament of a *Pergamenian* King will call back the *Roman* Arms into *Asia*. The Republick will there maintain its Rights; but by ways contrary to the Law of Nations and Humanity itself. One of her Generals will poison the Water of those Springs which supply the rebellious Towns: and thus *Rome* will practise the blackest Treasons against those very People from whom she herself had learned to make use of them.

AFRICA at length will raise up against the prevailing Republick a second *Hannibal*, almost as formidable as the first for his Valour, and more so for his Artifices. *Jugurtha*, an Usurper of the Kingdom of *Numidia*, and an Ally of the *Romans*, will perceive the Alteration in their Manners, and will maintain his unjust Possession by Bribery. The Senate of *Rome* will not be able to withstand his profuse Presents. He will be commanded to divide a Crown, for which he would have no Competitor; but he will corrupt with Money the *Roman* Officer, commissioned to re-establish the rightful Owner in a part of his Dominions. War will be declared against him, but he will gain those, by means of their Avarice, whom he could never have conquer'd by Force. Whole Armies of *Romans* will be bought over to favour the Passions of the *Numidian*; and desert the Interest of their Country to serve him. *Rome* will however, at length, find an Avenger of these Affronts. *Metellus*, regardless of the *Numidian* Prince, and of all his Offers, will sack the Town where his Treasures are deposited. Driven from *Numidia*, he will be pursued into *Mauritania*, where *Bocchus* will give him Refuge. Then will a Soldier of Fortune lead the worst Soldiers of the *Roman* Troops

Troops against the two *African* Kings, and by Victories obtain'd over them, at length reduce *Jugurtha* to wear the Chains of his Conquerors, and to serve for an Ornament to their Triumph.

NOR will the Conquests of the *Romans* extend only to the East and South ; their Ambition will carry them even to the Regions of the North. To revenge *Marseilles* for the Ravages of the *Salys*, and the *Autunois* for the Depredations of the *Arverni* and *Allobroges*, *Rome* will successively march its Armies beyond the *Alps*, and so enter *Gaul*, of which *Julius Cæsar* will finish the Conquest. Victory will follow this great Commander even into *Germany* ; nay, the very Ocean will not be able to stop the rapid Conqueror ; for he will subdue the *Britannick* Isles, and the extreme Rigor of the Clime alone will preserve from his Yoke the Nations that lie nearer the Pole.

SUCH will be the inconceivable Progress of a Commonwealth which was almost crush'd in its Birth, and which continually struggled with its ill Fortune, domestick Seditions, and the Jealousy of its Neighbours. The Sight will at first View be surprizing, and the Curious will be fond of searching into the secret Springs of such a sudden and prodigious Growth. Some will impute it to the Valour of the first Inhabitants of *Rome*, and others to the Wisdom of the Senate. Some again to the rigid Virtue of a People whose Probity never fail'd till they became too powerful to need its Assistance ; and others to the great number of their Generals, who by long and necessary Service acquired Experience in War. But after all, it will be more judicious to ascribe it to Providence, and to the Protection of *the Lord of Hosts*. *Rome* for a long time continued virtuous. Its Probity was not confin'd to the Speculation of a few Philosophers, who taught sound Morality, as in *Greece*. The whole Nation, generally speaking, steadily pursued the Principles of sound Reason ; and, except in religious Worship, deviated but little from the Maxims of Natural Wisdom. ¹ And it is not unlikely that Providence (which seldom fails to reward the due Exercise of Reason with temporal Blessings) recompens'd in the Children the Probity of their Fathers. It was moreover the Will of Heaven, that the heroick Virtues of the *Romans* should serve for Models to all Nations, and even be of use to the Professors of the true Religion, who may either be confounded with Shame, when they fall short of them, or heighten their Lustre by practising them upon more sublime Motives. And the promoting these Ends is our principal Aim, in setting so many memorable Examples before the Publick.

BUT might it not be also said, that the Love which the *Romans* bore to their Country contributed to render them invincible ? Their Armies were chiefly compos'd of *Roman* Citizens, who from their Youth had imbibed a tender Affection for their native City. Every Citizen had a Share in the Government of it, and the Liberty which they enjoyed in it attached their Hearts to all its Interests. Its Prosperities affected the Welfare of the meanest of them. No one believed himself excluded from a share in the Respect and Submissions which Foreign Princes came to pay to the Republick, and every private Man, though

a Ple-

¹ Et isti (Romani) privata pro re communi, hoc est Republicâ, & pro ejus ærario contempserunt, avaritiæ restiterunt . . . neque delicto, secundum suas leges, neque libidini obnoxii. His omnibus, tanquam verâ viâ nisi sunt ad honores . . . imperii sui leges imposuerunt in omnibus gentibus . . . Non est quod de summi & veri Dei justitiâ conquerantur, acceperunt mercedem suam. *Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 5. cap. 15.*

a *Plebeian*, had a Vote in the Decision of their Fate. Nay, there was not a Citizen of *Rome*, who did not esteem himself equal, if not superior to the greatest Monarchs. From hence proceeded that Regard for their Country, and those more than human Efforts, to preserve the Glory, and extend the Dominion of it.

§. II. THE Originals from whence we have taken the Materials to compose this History, are the purest Sources of *Greek* and *Roman* Antiquity. How great has our Advantage been, to have the most perfect Models continually before our Eyes? When an Historian works upon meer Annals, which are destitute of all Embellishment, it is difficult for him to preserve his Writings from somewhat, at least, of the Dryness of the Originals. 'Tis a kind of unpolish'd Matter, which still retains something of its primitive Roughness.

II.
The Authorities upon which this History is built.

THE Case is not the same when he comes to work upon Materials, which excellent Artists have already taken the Pains to polish. Their Example is a Support and an Encouragement, and he who gives them a new Form, has nothing to fear but the not being able to equal those great Masters. In studying *Livy*, *Plutarch*, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* and *Polybius*, the Imagination is enlivened, the Mind enlarged, our Thoughts refined, our Sentiments improv'd, and our Emulation excited. It would be a shame to creep, when we behold in our Models so much Dignity and Grandeur.

THE Authors which we have not scrupled to compile, and even sometimes to new model are, as follow. *LIVY* must have the first Place, for it is upon his Ground that we have built. He has lent us his Field, which we have clear'd and widen'd, and have transported thither such Marble as was necessary to erect an Edifice more spacious than his own. He has often been our only Guide: And indeed his History is the only compleat one, from the Foundation of *Rome* to the Re-establishment of Monarchical Government under *Julius Cæsar*. What Pomp and Majesty of Style! what Fire and Eloquence in his Harangues! what lively Colours in his Paintings, and what Variety in his Descriptions! It is of little moment to us, that some delicate Ears among the *Latins* have found somewhat of a *Patavinity* in his Writings. In this Age it would be difficult to discern it. His Omissions, Want of Experience in the Art of War, Carelessness in Chronology, and his substituting some Names for others, are the only Faults which ought to be objected to him. He affected Brevity, but perhaps was not too concise for the Nation whom he design'd to instruct. As for us indeed, who at this distance of Time are at a Loss for the Customs and Manners of his Country, he often leaves us in the midst of Darkness, and we have been obliged to have recourse to better Guides. And though his Credulity seems also liable to Censure; because, being devoted to his Religion, his Respect for his Gods made him adopt, for true Miracles, all the wonderful Things reported among the People: Yet his Sincerity was never called in question by any judicious Critick. His Inclination did not make him partial to any of the contending Factions; and though a Friend of *Augustus Cæsar*, he was no Flatterer of his Father *Julius*.

Julius. He treats of the Civil War in such a manner, as if he lean'd to *Pompey's* Side ; but this was the Effect of his Integrity, for he seems to have no Aversion but to the *Gauls*. These indeed he upon all Occasions lessens and defames ; but this Hatred undoubtedly proceeded from his Love of his Country, to which the *Gauls* had too often prov'd fatal Enemies.

LIVY's History would have been serviceable to us to the very End of our Work, if by the Negligence of our Fore-fathers we had not lost an entire Decade ; the Abridgments of which serve only to make us regret it. Our Comfort is, that we have found in the *Greek* Writers wherewith to repair, at least in part, a Loss which seem'd irreparable. And we shall use our utmost Endeavours, in this Work, not only to restore *Livy*, and render him again entire, but even more correct and circumstantial than before.

*Dionysius
Halicarnas-
seus.*

DIONYSIUS of *Halicarnassus* will furnish us with greater Supplies than any other Writer, towards compleating *Livy*, or rather the History of the Republick. The frequent Poverty of the *Latin* Author, whose History is our main Stock, has obliged us to borrow ; and *Dionysius Halicarnassens* has lent us more than any other. No one has penetrated more deeply into the dark Ages which followed the Settlement of *Æneas* in *Italy*, or handled the History of the earliest Times of *Rome* with a more just and critical Exactness than he has done. A diffusive Orator, whose Harangues shew more Depth of Policy and Philosophy than either agreeable Smoothness or *Enthusiasm*. As for his Narrations, they unfold themselves with Art, tho' slowly. In connecting the Circumstances one with another, he keeps the Mind in Suspense, and even his Digressions have Plots, of which the Reader must wait the unravelling. This Author's Work would be a Treasure to the Commonwealth of Learning, had it been transmitted to us as entire as it came from his Hands. In him we should have had a sufficient Voucher of all the Events relating to *Rome*, from its Birth to the first *Punick* War : And that Part of him which remains makes us inconsolable for what we have lost.

Polybius.

POLYBIUS, as an Historian, was of a quite different Character from *Livy* and *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* ; he did not affect the Orator like them. He was a military Man, whom the *Romans* drew from his own Country, where his Merit had made them jealous of him. He left *Achaia* upon its first Reduction, and came to *Rome* ; not to apply his Mind entirely to Letters, for he signalized himself by more essential Services to the *Romans*. His Ability, both in Council and in War, gain'd him the Confidence of *Scipio Africanus*. He followed the Fortune of his Friend, and was a Witness and an Admirer of his Virtues and Exploits. The History he has left us seems at once to be written by an Eye-witness, and by a Soldier, who despises an affected Politeness. Nor does he confine himself to a bare Relation of what he saw, and of what he did ; but makes Reflections upon both, and shews more of the Philosopher in his Writings, than either of the Soldier or the Historian. If he enlarges upon what pass'd in all the distant Na-

tions of the World, it is to draw hence such Instructions as are proper to form the Heart and Mind of his Reader. So great a Man deserves more distinct Commendations than *Livy* vouchsafes to give him. After having frequently pillag'd him, he contents himself with saying that *POLYBIUS* was no contemptible Author. And yet we cannot think that it was Jealousy which made *Livy* so sparing in the Praises of a Writer who had been so useful to him: But a plain Historian, who confines himself to Truth, without Ornament, could not be to the Taste of a Writer, who studied to strew Flowers throughout all his Narrations.

As for *DIODORUS SICULUS*, we are little obliged to him. If he deserves Esteem, it is only for his Zeal to serve the Publick by a voluminous Work, which he entitled, *The Universal Library*. The weak Writer had not duly measured his own Ability. 'Tis true, he travell'd over *Asia* and *Europe*, in order to be exact in the Situation of those Places which his History describes. If his Journeys were chargeable, he expended but little to procure good Memoirs; and we may venture to affirm, that he adopted more unfaithful than true ones: At least, with regard to the *Romans*, he was very indifferently instructed in the Affairs of their Republick. He is perpetually confounding the *Consulships*, and changing the *Consuls* Names. And therefore tho' we have often cited him in our *Notes*, yet it has been chiefly to contradict him.

APPIAN has been of more Service to us than *Diodorus Siculus*. The Account he has given us of the Affairs of *Carthage*, *Syria*, *Parthia*, and *Spain*, of *Hannibal's* Life and Actions, of the Customs and Transmigration of the *Celtæ*, but especially of the last Civil Wars among the *Romans*, do not appear to us contemptible. We have little Regard to the Invectives of the Criticks against his insipid Manner of writing History. Let his Stile be as low and languid as you please; allow that, like the Hornet, he has robb'd the Bees of their Honey; yet these Reproaches fall only upon himself. We have reap'd Advantage from his Thefts, have endeavour'd to warm the Coldness of his Expressions, and, in short, are too much obliged to him, to join in with the generality of Criticks in their Censures on him.

WE reserve for *DIO CASSIUS* a Place of Distinction among the Writers of the Reign of the Emperors. For want of *Livy*, he will be, for a while, our principal Guide; and we will then give an Account of the Assistance he shall have afforded us, of the Supplements we shall have made to him, and of the Defects we shall have observed in him. What a Pity it is to be depriv'd of his Remarks upon the entire History of the *Roman* Monarchy and Republick! he had trod the same Path in which *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* had gone before him. These first Pieces are buried in a Ruin common to them with many others. However, the Remains we have of him, which treat of the latter Years of the Republick, and the Lives of the first Emperors, are very precious Monuments. We have here employ'd one Part of them; the other shall be laid by till we come to write at large of the Imperial State. We may venture to affirm beforehand,

that *Dio Cassius* will support us very much by the Nobleness of his Diction, and by the Majesty of his Speeches. What an Advantage is it to work after a Rival of *Thucydides*, who has almost equal'd him in Force and Energy of Style, and surpass'd him in Perspicuity?

Plutarch.

PLUTARCH has acquir'd such an universal Reputation, that our Encomiums could add nothing to it. His Works abound with so much admirable Learning and Wisdom, that the Philosopher, the Statesman and the Scholar seem to outshine the Historian. And yet, what can be more engaging than his Lives of the Great Men of *Greece* and *Rome*? What can be more skilful and judicious, than the Manner in which he brings together the Actions of the one and of the other, in order to a Comparison? As to his *Greeks*, they have no Relation to our Subject, and we have not touch'd upon them. But for the *Romans*, what could we do better than to copy his Pictures of them? And therefore as the Succession of Times has brought them on the Stage, we have with Pleasure borrow'd *Plutarch's* Colours, in order to paint them. Our Margins will then be fill'd with his Name. 'Tis true, he has chosen only some Pieces of the *Roman* History, and those the brightest; so that when we rejoin to the *Whole* the Parts which he has separated from it, his Embroidery greatly surpasses the rich Ground-work of the other Writers, and he seldom fails to eclipse them. He is remarkable throughout for sound Reflections worthy of a Senator, a Consul, a Courtier, and of *Trajan's* Preceptor, which he is generally thought to have been. So that it is not at all surprising, that some Authors of low Degree have endeavour'd to gain honour to their Works by passing them under his Name. And for our part, we shall think it a Recommendation of this Work, that we have here compil'd the Writings of *Plutarch*, and have restor'd those Parts of the *Roman* History which he had sever'd from it, to their proper Places.

Zonaras.

NOR has even *ZONARAS* been entirely excluded from our Historical Collections. We have taken but little Notice of the common Prejudices against him; nor has either the Age in which he lived, or his Profession, discouraged us so far as to make us reject his Testimony in every thing. In the Reigns of *Alexis* and *John Comnenes*, the Libraries of *Greece* were furnish'd with excellent Manuscripts, which Time has since destroy'd. *Zonaras* made his Collections from them. We judge of his Sincerity by the Authors which remain, and which he has faithfully quoted. He became a Monk out of Piety, but he had spent his Youth at Court, and had been Secretary to the Emperors. He took the Opportunity of his Leisure and Retirement to apply himself to useful Studies, and to compose *an universal History*. So that where other Writers are at a Loss, he has often put us in the right Way, in our Pursuit of Truth.

WHAT a Pity it was to have so many *Greek* Authors remain in the Dust of Libraries, to be perused only by the small Number of Men who devote themselves to Letters! They were capable of being agreeably useful for the Instruction of a more numerous Body than that of the Learned: And we have endeavour'd to make them of general Use.

Use. They will appear to Advantage, by the Order wherein we have rang'd them in one continued History. This was in some Sort to place them in their proper Light; because the particular Pieces of History which they have handled, will be render'd more intelligible by the preceding Relations. In a word, their Setting will enhance their Value.

BUT tho' the same may be said of the *Latin* Writers, yet very few *Sallust*. of them have been of much Service to us in composing the first Part of the great Work of which we have given the Plan. *SALLUST* and *Julius Caesar* are almost the only Authors, whose Works we have incorporated in the History of the *Kings* and *Consuls*. Nor did they come to our Assistance, till the last Moments of the expiring Republick. But to make amends, what they have contributed towards the general Undertaking, is of a Taste sufficiently exquisite to make all the rest seem insipid. *Sallust* had such Talents for History, as gain'd him the Reputation of the ^k best Historian among the *Latins*. It must be allowed, that he had fewer Faults than *Livy*, the only Rival, who can dispute with him the first Place. After all, is it surprizing that the Mistakes should be fewer, and the Diction more correct, in the small Work of *Sallust* than in the immense Volumes of *Livy*? The one describes what passed before his Eyes, the other relates the History of Times remote and forgotten. The former had but a small Field to run over, the latter undertook a vast Career. Ought it then to be any Wonder, that the one should sometimes be out of Breath, and the other hardly ever weary? But whether the Preference which is given to *Sallust* above *Livy*, be just or not, they will both contribute great Lustre to our History. We have followed the Steps of *Sallust* without Hesitation; there was no Danger of going astray. Our chief Care has been so to copy his Paintings, as still to preserve some Resemblance of the Originals; for we despair'd of being able to excel them. But tho' both his moral and political Maxims are the wisest that can be laid down; yet what a strange Difference was there between this Historian's Way of thinking, and the private Conduct of his Life! In his Practice, he carried Debauchery to Excess, grew infamous by his Incontinence, and was deservedly expelled the Senate. In his Writings, he is an austere Philosopher, who laments the Decay of the Probity, Continnence, and Frugality of former Times. *By good Fortune we have had nothing to do with him but as an Historian. *The Conspiracy of Cataline*, and *the Wars of Jugurtha* in *Numidia* (the only remaining Pieces of that celebrated Writer's many Works) will serve greatly to enhance the Value of our History of the Republick.

^k Crispus,
Romana
primus in
Historia
Martial.

WE have never look'd upon *the Commentaries of JULIUS CAESAR* *Julius Caesar*. but with a kind of respectful Awe. They are finished Pieces, which the most able Masters cannot touch over again without Terror. 'Tis true, the illustrious Author wrote *the Gallick War* only with a View to provide Memoirs for some other Historian who should be bold enough to put the last Hand to it. But tho' he himself consider'd his Work only as a rough Draught, the most famous Writers of After-times have

have thought it too perfect to attempt its Improvement. Where can be greater Purity and Politeness of Expression! The Facts are touch'd with a Skill peculiar to the greatest Masters. *Cæsar* represents Marches, Encampments, Battles, Sieges, Stratagems of War, and Expedients after Defeat, with a certain heroick Simplicity, that shews his superior Capacity for Writing, as well as for Military Affairs. 'Tis true, he has artfully suppress'd what might be disadvantageous to his Reputation. Self-Love made him practise this Deceit; but other Authors have not spared him, and by their Assistance we have fill'd up the Vacancies which he designedly left in his historical Memoirs. If we have been more daring than the Antients, in reducing such perfect Commentaries to the Form of a History, it was the Nature of our Design which compelled us to it.

WE shall not speak of *Valerius Maximus*, *Macrobius*, *Aulus Gellius*, the two *Plinys*, *Seneca*, or even of *Cicero*, any more than of *St. Austin*, or *Paul Orosius*. History was not their Profession: However, they have interspers'd in their Writings some historical Passages which are not to be found elsewhere. These we have carefully collected, and with Pleasure dispos'd them in their proper Places, in a History which we have endeavour'd to render complete.

As to the Abridgers of the *Roman* History, we shall hardly vouchsafe to name them here. Nevertheless *Florus*, *Aurelius Victor*, *Eutropius*, and some others, were not entirely destitute of Merit. *Florus* had poetick Fire, and was emphatick. It is easy to perceive that he was a *Spaniard*, and probably he was of the Blood of the *Seneca's*. He shews more of the Declaimer and Poet, than of the Historian, is continually in Pursuit of false Wit, and never writes in cool Blood. But after all, he seems less to blame for following the Impetuosity of his Genius, than for the terrible Mischief he has done to the Cause of Learning. We may perhaps be mistaken, but we conjecture that he and other such Writers of Compendiums, occasion'd for a Time the Neglect of more full and circumstantial Histories of the *Greeks* and *Latins*. That Sloth, which is so natural to Men, made them prefer Abridgments of Histories to the Histories themselves, the reading of which required a long Application. Many superficial Persons who were unwilling to appear entirely ignorant of History, contented themselves with getting a small Tincture of it from those Authors, who in order to be concise, have enervated the whole; that is to say, they chose rather to quench their Thirst in dirty Puddles, than in the pure Streams of great Rivers. And hence, it may be, proceeded the little Care that was taken, in the Ages of Ignorance, to transcribe entire, and transmit to us, the Works of such Authors as *Dionysius Halicarnassens*, *Dio Cassius*, and *Livy*. What a misfortune to succeeding Ages, in which the Love of Learning is reviv'd!

III. §. III. AN exact Distribution of the Times is, as it were, the Light of History. Without this, it would be only a Chaos of Facts heap'd together, a lifeless Mass. Nothing but the due ordering and ranging of Things according to the Times, will satisfy Men of Solidity. An exact

III.
The Method
observed in
compiling
this History.
Chronology.

exact Chronology is like *Ariadne's* Clue, which conducts our Steps through all the Windings of the Labyrinth. Without this Guide we lose our Way, or walk at Random, without reaping any Benefit from our Labour. By the Means of certain fix'd Epocha's we perceive the Progress of States, the Variations of their Fortune, and the Changes made in their Government. The Mind being thus conducted, the Ideas retain'd from reading are more distinct, and more easily fix'd in the Memory. We have had one Advantage with respect to the *Roman* History. We have not been oblig'd to settle the Chronology our selves, and refer the Facts we have collected to their proper Dates merely by Reason and Conjecture. The Care and Enquiries of the Antients have spar'd us so laborious a Task. Some of them have taken the Pains to give us Lists of the *Consuls*, and to trace out the Succession of the Consulships. *The Chronicle of Alexandria*, and the Lists made by *Cassiodorus* and *Cuspinian*, had long since furnish'd some Helps towards ranging the principal Events in the History of *Rome* in due Order of Time, and *Livy* himself had noted the Consuls almost like an Annalist; yet after all, these consular Tables, and these Annals of the Historians were but too often defective. Mere Chance at length discover'd a Treasure which had long lain conceal'd under Ground. In the Year 1545 of the Christian *Æra*, and the Pontificate of *Paul* III. some Persons, by digging in the *Roman Forum*, discover'd Marbles of infinite Value, with regard to Learning. Cardinal *Alexander Farnese* esteemed them as they deserv'd; caus'd them to be beautify'd, and assign'd them an honourable Place upon the *Capitol*. All the Learned of that Time admir'd them; and, if we may so speak, legitimated their Antiquity. Copies of them were dispers'd with Eagerness, and they receiv'd all the Explanation which they wanted by large Comments. This Monument was sometimes call'd the *Capitoline Marbles*, sometimes the *Consular Calendars*, and sometimes the *Triumphal Tables*. In reality, it contains the Succession of the *Consuls*, *Dictators*, *Military Tribunes*, *Censors*, and the other Magistrates elected yearly by the *Romans* in their *Comitia*, together with the Triumphs of their Generals. So that by this happy Discovery the Chronology of the *Romans* became clear. True it is, that Time, which consumes every thing, had not entirely spared these precious Marbles. Some Parts of them were effac'd, but easily restor'd by the Industry of the Learned: And the main Body of this beautiful Monument remains sound, and throws a wonderful Light upon the whole Series of the *Roman* History. In a Word, this *Pharos*, which still shines from the Top of the *Capitol*, serves to guide our Steps thro' all the Ages of the Commonwealth. After having once fix'd the Date of the Foundation of *Rome*, the Duration of each Reign, and the Beginning of the Republican State, it will be easy to reckon the Years of this flourishing Empire. It is agreed that, generally speaking, no *Consul* continued in his Office longer than about a Year. No sooner therefore do we find upon these Marbles an exact List of the *Consuls*, but we find likewise a regular and continued Succession of the Years of the Republick.

It seems difficult indeed to adjust these Years precisely with the Years of the World. It would be an immense Labour without Profit. In the first Years of the *Roman* Republick, the Time was not precisely fix'd for assembling the *Comitia Centuriata*, for the Election of *Consuls*. There was no one certain Day, or even Month, appointed for the *Consuls* elect to enter upon their Office. Several Circumstances frequently deferr'd the general Assemblies of the People. Sometimes the Absence of a *Consul*, sometimes that of a *Dictator*, (whose six Months were not yet expired) and sometimes Interregnums, retarded the Elections. And as the Historians have not been exact in noting these Intervals, this leaves us at a Loss. What seems past doubt is, that each *Consul* continued in his Office about a whole Year. Nevertheless, the Abdications of some, and the untimely deposing of others, sometimes shorten'd the Duration of these Magistracies. It is however probable, that their Successors lost no Part of the Year appointed for their Administration. So that the original Writers furnish us with no Expedient to reconcile the consular Years with the astronomical. We have therefore submitted to the Computation of all the Learned; and after their Example, have reckon'd the Years of the Republick by the Changes of the *Consuls*. We grant that this Chronology may be faulty, if we regard the *Julian* Years. But all Things consider'd, it is the best Measure of Time that we could chuse. We shall therefore adhere to the *Capitoline Calendars*; and if we go astray in following them, we shall have a great many illustrious Companions in our Error.

As to the Author of these Inscriptions, which were found at *Rome* near two Centuries ago, and conveyed to the *Capitol*, it would be in vain to attempt to determine who he was. Some ascribe the Work to *Verrius Flaccus*, others to *Pomponius Atticus*: And the former founded their Opinion upon the following Passage in *Suetonius*. ¹ *There is a Statue of Verrius Flaccus at Præneste, in the lower Part of the Forum, opposite to the Hemicycle; where he exposed to View the Calendars which he had ranged in Order, and which were engrav'd upon a Wall of Marble.* But who does not see that all this was done at *Præneste*, and not at *Rome*? It was at *Præneste* that a Statue was erected to *Verrius*; it was there that he form'd his Calendars, and caus'd them to be inscrib'd upon Marble. Nor was it the Names of the Magistrates of *Rome* which he caus'd to be engrav'd, but of the Magistrates of *Præneste*. This was a free Town, and govern'd by its own Laws. It chose its own *Prætor*, and fill'd up the vacant Places in its Senate, at its own Discretion. Besides, we no where read, that in the *Roman Forum* (all the Parts of which have been so carefully described) there ever was a Hemicycle. So that the Words of *Suetonius* can never be made to favour *Verrius*, but by ^m Alterations and vain Suppositions.

POMPONIUS ATTICUS, it is certain, did compose some *Roman* Annals, not much unlike the *Consular Calendars*. *Cornelius Nepos*, and *Cicero* both attest it. The Words of the former are these: "*Atticus was a Lover of Antiquity, and was so well vers'd in it, that he comprised the whole in the little Book, wherein he gave a List of our Magistrates*"

¹ Statuam habet Præneste in inferiore fori parte contra Hemicyclum in quo factos a se ordinatos, & marmoreo parieti incisos publicarat.

^m It is pretended, that instead of *Præneste*, we ought to read *ad Vestæ*; but this without Proof, or any Appearance of Truth. ⁿ Antiquitatis Amator (*Atticus*) quam adeo diligenter habuit cognitam, ut eam totam in eo volumine exposuerit, quo magistratus ordinavit. *Corn. Nep. in vita Attici.*

strates according to their Succession. What can more nearly resemble the *Capitoline Marbles* than this Work? *Cicero*, again, is more express upon the Brevity of these Calendars; "That Book of *Atticus*, says he, contains many Things which were new to me. It explains the Times with such Brevity, that I had a full View of them at once: And this is the very Character of the *Capitoline Calendars*. Shall we then ascribe them to *Pomponius Atticus*? so great a Name would indeed gain them much Respect, and their Authority would then be incontestible. But after all, we cannot reasonably affirm that *Atticus* was the sole Author of them. It's probable, that he who caus'd them to be engrav'd, and expos'd them to publick View at *Rome*, extracted that exact List of the Kings and Magistrates of *Rome*, for seven hundred Years, from *Atticus's* Book, and superadded the Names of those who had govern'd between the Time of that Author's Death, and the Time that he publish'd his Calendars, and caus'd them to be inscrib'd on Marble. Hence may be judged, from how pure a Source we have our Chronology. The *Tables*, from whence we have taken it, underwent the Inspection and critical Examination of a whole City abounding with learned Men, and were universally allow'd to be authentick.

^o Nempe cum dicis (librum) quo iste (Atticus) omnem rerum memoriam breviter complexus est. Habuit iste liber Attici, nova mihi quidem multa, ut explicatis ordinibus temporum, uno in conspectu omnia viderem. *Cicero in Bruto.*

GEOGRAPHY is another essential Part of History. Every Historian *Geography.* who neglects it must of Necessity be confus'd in his Relations. We have therefore endeavour'd to be exact in the Situation of the Towns, Rivers, Forests, Lakes, and Mountains, whither the Course of the Events has led us. Our Guides in this were not only the Historians, (who are sometimes faulty,) but also the most eminent Geographers of Antiquity, such as *Ptolomy*, *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*: And in doubtful Cases we have had Recourse to the Moderns, particularly to *Cluverius*, *Ortelius*, and the Fathers *Briet* and *Kircher*. From all these together we have got Maps drawn by a skilful Academist. We have very seldom made Use of the modern Names of Cities, Nations, and Countries, but when we thought them incontestible. There are many Nations which have not the same Limits at this Day that they had formerly; neither are all the Towns, which have antient Names, unquestionably situated in the very Places where the Towns of the same Names stood heretofore. We have therefore chose rather to describe most of the Places mention'd in our History by their *Latin* Names. Thus we have chosen to call the People of *Milan*, rather *Insubres* than *Milaneſe*; and the Inhabitants of *Auvergne*, rather *Arverni*, than *Auvergnacs*: So likewise we have called the Rivers *Garillan* and *Teverone*, by their antient Names of *Liris* and *Anio*, without any Alteration. But at the same time, we have constantly taken Care to reconcile the antient Geography with the modern, in our *Notes*, and to mark the different Limits of the new Nations, and of the old, which retain pretty near their first Names. This Precaution was necessary, to avoid Confusion, and to prevent the mistaking one Country for another. We have increas'd the Number of our Maps, as the Empire increas'd, and have prepared new ones to describe those Conquests which the *Romans* will hereafter make in the Sequel of the History. Thus the Reader will be able,

able, with one Cast of an Eye, to run over the several Countries subdued to their Empire in the three Parts of the World.

The Harangues of the Consuls, &c.

NOTHING is more necessary than to prepare the Reader for the great Number of Harangues interspers'd in the Body of this History. We represent sometimes the *Consuls*, in the Senate, and in the *Rostrum*; sometimes the *Tribunes of the People* in the Assemblies of the *Comitia*; and sometimes the *Generals* in their Camps; as speaking in Person. It is not in Republicks as in Monarchies. Kings admit to their Council only a few Favourites, who give their Opinions in private, and without Preparations: But in a popular State, where every Citizen has a Right to vote for War or Peace, for the passing of Laws, and for the condemning or absolving Criminals, there Harangues become necessary. This being the Case of *Rome*, the People there were to be instructed in those Matters which were submitted to their Votes; their Minds were to be rouz'd, and their Hearts disposed to submit to Reason. The Eloquence of the *Consuls* and of the *Tribunes* was the Spring which mov'd the undetermin'd Multitude. There was a numerous Audience even in the Senate. Affairs were reported there at one time before three hundred, and afterwards before six hundred *Conscript Fathers*: And the elder Senators had a Right to give their Opinions in long Speeches. *Lastly*, The Generals in the Field never gave Battle, nor form'd any considerable Design, without the Consent of their Troops. The Republican State, and Popular Government were preserved even in the midst of Arms. The Soldiers gave their Opinions by their Shouts or by their Silence; and it was for this Reason, perhaps, that those invincible Legions commonly oblig'd themselves either to conquer or die. No great Enterprize was undertaken, but by their Choice; and the Soldiers could not charge any unseasonable Step upon the Rashness of their Leaders. It was necessary therefore to harangue the Troops, and to lay before them the Reasons for hastening or delaying the Engagement. Thus every thing was transacted at *Rome* by the way of publick Speeches and Declamations. And upon this Account it is, that all the antient Historians, especially those who write of the Times of the Republick, have, in their Narrations, introduc'd the Magistrates speaking in Person. Nay, there is Reason to believe, that their Speeches were recorded. They were indeed the very Soul of the *Roman* Politics. In them were set forth the Motives which should engage the People or the Senate to form those vast Designs, which extended the *Roman* Dominions to the East and West. It is in these Harangues that the Reader will find the *Spirit* of the Commonwealth. The Execution of the Enterprizes, Negotiations, Conquests and Treaties of the *Roman* People will be but, as it were, the *Body*. We have therefore follow'd the Steps of those Writers who have been our Models: And after their Example, have introduc'd the *Consuls*, *Senators*, *Tribunes of the People*, and *Generals of Armies*, as speaking in Person. This will contribute also to enliven our History, and make it in some measure resemble the Drama, which is less tiresome, because the Actors are the only Speakers. However, we have taken Care to

abridge those Harangues, in which the Antients are often tediously long; but have endeavour'd, at the same time, to preserve in the Summary we have given of them, every thing essential in the Reasoning, and that profound Wisdom which reigns in them: and as to the Speeches made by *Generals* in the Heat of Action, we have shortned them so much, that they will not seem improbable.

It is not usual to publish Histories with *Notes*, or at least to crowd *Notes* their Margins with so great a Number. But tho' no other History, perhaps, has need of them, yet they are necessary to this which we have undertaken. The Manners, Customs, Arms, Habits, Kind of Government, Magistracies, Engines of War, &c. are so different from every thing we now see or are acquainted with, that it would have been hardly possible to give just Ideas of them without Explications. These Explications could not have been well brought into the Text. The History must have been loaded with Digressions, which would be apt to disgust the Reader, and interrupt his Attention every Moment. The Thread of the most beautiful Story would have been often broke, and no Point of History would have been brought to its Conclusion, but in a languid Manner. To please in a Narration, there must be a Rapidity; and the Suspension of the Mind ought to be caused, only by the skilful interweaving of the several Facts. Whereas a Multitude of Remarks, tho' never so judicious, only stop the Course of a Narration, without making it more agreeable. It was necessary therefore to throw into the *Notes*, that great Number of instructive Observations, without which the History would have been imperfect. It would have been improper, either to omit them entirely, or to insert them all in the Body of the Discourse. Besides, a great many learned Men have rais'd abundance of Disputes upon the several Events in the History we are writing: And we were obliged to inform the Publick of these Disputes, in order to make our Work deserve the Title of a *Complete History*. But this could not have been, if we had not taken Notice of all the Variations of the several Authors who have transmitted to us the same Facts. The Historians do not constantly agree, as to all Circumstances; and yet the Thread of the Discourse wou'd admit of no more than one Way of relating the Event. We have therefore chosen that for the Body of the History which to us seem'd most probable, and have enrich'd our *Notes* with the rest. By thus taking all possible Care not to omit any thing, we have this further Advantage, that we have guarded our selves against the Criticism of Half-Scholars, who, as they commonly read but one Historian, wou'd think they had a Right to charge us with Falshood, if we differed in any thing from their Author, and would make a Clamour against what they are ignorant of. Our *Notes* will serve to pacify them; for they will find that we have not neglected to insert there those Points which they look upon as essential. Lastly, the Length of some of our *Notes* ought not to frighten the Reader. Every intelligent Person will perceive that we have taken Pains to be as concise as the Matter would bear. We have brought within the Compass

h of

of a few Lines, Dissertations with which some learned Men have filled large Volumes. But how was it possible to set forth in two or three Words the different Opinions concerning disputed Dates, the Value of the *Roman* Coin, the Force and Signification of Laws, the Situation of Places, disputed among Geographers; and, in short, concerning an infinite Number of Points, the Discussion of which has, with Difficulty, been comprised in the many successive Volumes publish'd under the Title of *Roman Antiquities*? Whoever shall consider it, will find in our *Notes* something more than a bare Summary of that huge Work. We have not made Collections from thence, but have gone to the Fountain-Head. We have subjected the Criticks themselves to Censure, and have had the good Fortune to carry our Discoveries beyond their Views.

Medals.

MEDALS have come naturally into the Design of a Complete History of the *Roman* Republick, and are one of its necessary Ornaments. It is true, we have not inserted all that are to be found in the Cabinets of the Antiquaries. We have employ'd such only, as may serve to instruct the Publick with Relation to the History, without Regard to the Value of those which their Rarity has made most precious; and because Conjecture, which is often arbitrary, seem'd to us but an unsure Rule, it is by the Historians alone that we have explain'd them. Nor let the Reader be surpriz'd, that we have present-ed him with some Medals before the Time that any were struck at *Rome*. We have seldom shewn any one but by its Reverse, and when it was proper to instruct us in certain Customs, mentioned in the first Years of the *Kings* and *Consuls*. We have employ'd them only to figure to the Eye, what we could not sufficiently express in Words. Moreover, it is well known that the Descendants of the first Heroes of *Rome* did in After-Ages cause sometimes the Heads, and more frequently symbolical Representations of the Exploits of their Ancestors, to be engrav'd: And these are the only Medals of which we have given Stamps, in the first four Volumes of this History.

*Copper
Plates.*

As for the other engrav'd Figures interspersed in our Work, we have taken them from the Collections of the Antiquaries. Our Design has not been purely to amuse and please the Eye, but to confirm some Points of History, or to clear up certain obscure Passages, by Monuments borrowed from Antiquity. Our Volumes are likewise furnished with several Plans of *Rome*, as this Capital of the World grew larger. In the first sixteen Books we have given a Draught but of one single Battle, because, for more than four hundred Years, the *Romans* were no great Masters in the Art of War. However, it was necessary to give an Idea of their Manner of fighting in those earliest Times. When they shall become more expert in drawing up and disposing Armies, we shall represent more of their Battles, and observe all their different Ways of marshalling their Troops.

BUT notwithstanding all our Pains, and the Care we have taken to be exact, we are far from expecting entirely to escape Censure. The *Roman* History has, in all Times, been the chief Subject of Criticism. In this Field the Learned have fought many Battles To enter Lists so fruitful in Dissentions, is therefore, in some Sort, to proclaim our selves Champions ready to fight with all Comers. Nevertheless, our Inclination is for Peace. We shall challenge no Person; and nothing but Necessity shall force us to defend our selves. Nay, we purpose to profit, not only by the friendly Advices of some, but even by the ill Humour of others. As to our unjust Aggressors, (if any such shall appear,) we shall use our utmost Endeavours to make them sensible of the Truth. All that we desire of them at present, is either to suspend their Attacks, or to wait for our Answers till we are disburthen'd of the Care of a long Work. It wou'd be very imprudent to let our selves be turn'd aside from our Purpose, and to lose our Time in Refutations.



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THE
BRITISH
MUSEUM

CONTENTS:

OR,

A New and Connected SUMMARY of the WORK.

BOOK I.

§. 1. **T**HE *Roman* Empire surpass'd, both in Power and Extent, all the Monarchies which had flourish'd before it, and on the East took in the greater Part of their Conquests. On the West it was bounded only by the Ocean; and to the North by those Countries, whose chief Defence was Frost and Snow. On the South, a great Part of *Africa*, scarce visited before, was subdu'd by the *Roman* Eagle, which, in a word, stretch'd her Wings over the most beautiful Regions of the known Hemisphere.

Rome, in her very Infancy, became an Object of Jealousy to her Neighbours; but the Necessity of Self-Defence, against their continued Attacks, giving daily Exercise to her unwearied Courage, she at length reduced the Nations which insulted her, and made her self Mistress of all *Italy*. When she had thus attained to a more mature Age, *Carthage* became her Competitor; and the two Republicks vied for Glory. The Destruction of this powerful Rival was follow'd by the Conquest of *Macedon*, the hereditary Dominion of *Alexander*; and this rais'd her Ambition to tread in his Steps, and to establish her self an Empire in *Asia*; which, if it proved less extensive than his, was, however, more lasting.

That humble City, founded by *Romulus*, so mean and contemptible in its Beginnings, rose in time to be the Capital of the World. It grew larger by every new Conquest, and the Circuit of its Walls was widen'd in Proportion to its Empire. Its Citizens became Masters of the Fate of Kingdoms; and Cities, which once gave Law to others, courted the Honour of being stiled *ROMAN*, and of enjoying *ROMAN* Privileges. Kings strove to merit their Alliance and Protection, and readily submitted to the Decrees of their Senate. Both the Eastern and Western States being reduced to Provinces, either brought their Tributes to *Rome*, or receiving Governours from thence, enriched with their Spoils those illustrious Citizens who from their *CAPITOL* sent forth Laws to the Ends of the Earth.

§. 2. After having attain'd to a prodigious Pitch of Grandeur, it is mortifying to look back to an obscure Beginning, and Endeavours are therefore often used on such Occasions, to supply the Defect of History by Fiction. However, in the present Case, the *Romans* cannot, without Injustice, be denied the Glory of descending from *Trojan* Blood. Too many Historians, both *Greek* and *Latin*, concur in their Favour, to be rejected.

ÆNEAS, after the Destruction of *Troy*, obliges himself, by a Treaty with the *ÆNEAS*. *Greeks*, to quit *Troas*; but at his Departure leaves there his eldest Son, *Ascanius*, who becomes King of the *Dascylites*. §. 3. *Aeneas* crosses the *Hellepont*, arrives in *Thrace*, (where he builds a City, and leaves Part of his Followers,) sails thence to *Delos*; stops in his Voyage at several other Islands of the *Archipelago*; arrives in *Epirus*; crosses the *Adriatick* Sea; goes ashore at *Drepanum* in *Sicily*, (where he discharges more of his Followers;) crosses the *Tyrrhene* Sea, and at length finishes his tedious Voyages, on the Coast of the *Laurentes* in *Italy*. [§. 4. The Origin of the Inhabitants

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habitants of that Country, with a short Account of the *Aborigines, Siculi, Ausonii, Pelasgi, Tyrrheni, Evander the Arcadian, Faunus, Hercules, Cacus, Oenotrus, and Italus.*]

LATINUS. §. 5. *Latinus*, King of *Latium*, makes an Alliance with *Æneas*, assigns him Lands, and gives him his only Daughter *Lavinia* in Marriage, and with her the Right of Succession to his Crown.

LAVINIA. §. 6. *Turnus*, enraged at this Marriage, (to which he had aspired) retires to the *Rutuli*, who are in War with *Latinus*. A Battel is fought, wherein *Latinus* and *Turnus* are both slain; upon which *Æneas* gets Possession of the Kingdom of *Latium*.

TURNUS. §. 7. He applies himself to regulate the Affairs of Religion; retains the Worship of the Gods *Picus* and *Faunus*, (honoured by the *Latins*) and introduces that of the two *Palladiums*, the Goddess *Vesta*, &c. §. 8. The *Rutuli*, in Conjunction with the *Hetrusci*, and *Mezentius* King of the *Tyrrheni*, renew the War. The two Armies come to an Engagement, in which *Æneas* is forced into the *Numicius*, and there drowned; but the *Trojans* conceal his Body, and he is deified under the Name of JUPITER INDIGES.

JUPITER INDIGES. §. 9. His Son *Eurileon*, surnamed *Ascanius*, succeeds him, and is besieged in *Lavinium*, by *Mezentius*; but sallies out, defeats him, and obliges him to sue for Peace.

ASCANIUS. §. 10. In the mean time, *Lavinia* being left with Child by *Æneas*, and entertaining a strong Jealousy of the Ambition of her Son-in-law, puts her self under the Care of *Tyrrhenus* (who had been Chief Shepherd to her Father *Latinus*) retires into the Forests, and is there peaceably delivered of a Son; who from his Birth and Education in the Woods, takes the Surname of SYLVIVS. But as the Queen's Flight, who had disappeared on a sudden, occasions Suspicions at *Lavinium*, prejudicial to the Reputation of *Ascanius*, he, to remove them, causes diligent Search to be made for *Lavinia*, calms her Fears, and engages her to return to the City, with the young Prince her Son, whom he ever treats as a Brother. Some time after this, he resigns to him *Lavinium*, as his lawful Inheritance, and founds *Alba Longa*, which he makes the Place of his Residence, and Capital of his new Kingdom.

ÆNEAS SYLVIVS. He dies there, and leaves a Son, named *Iulus*. §. 11. The *Latins* not thinking it for their Interest to continue divided under two Governments, resolve to unite *Alba* and *Lavinium* into one Dominion. *Æneas Sylvius* is elected sole King; and, to make *Iulus* some Amends, he is declared Sovereign in Affairs of Religion. §. 12. *Æneas Sylvius*, after a Reign of 29 Years, dies; and is succeeded by his Son *Æneas*, who governs 31 Years: After him, *Latinus* holds the Scepter 51 Years: Then King *Alba* 39: *Capetus* 26: *Capis* 28: *Calpetus* 13: and *Tiborinus* 8. (From this last the River *Tyber*, which before was call'd *Albula*, took its Name; he having been forced into it in an Engagement, and there drowned.) *Agrippa* 41: *Alladius* 19: *Aventinus* 37: (He left his Name to the Hill *Aventinus*, where he was interr'd.)

NUMITOR. who succeeded him, and reigned 23, was the Father of *Numitor* and *Amulius*; which last dethrones his Brother; and, to secure the Crown to himself, murders his Brother's only Son, *Egestus*, and consecrates his Daughter, *Rhea Sylvia*, to the Worship of *Vesta*.

AMULIUS. §. 13. *Rhea*, going to fetch Water for the Performance of a Sacrifice to *Mars*, has an Adventure in the Grove where the Temple stands, and proves with Child: But whether by the God *Mars* himself, or a Lover come thither by Appointment, or by the Violence of the Tyrant, (who took this Method, that he might have a Pretence to destroy her,) is not agreed. She is at length deliver'd of Twin-Sons. *Amulius* condemns the *Vestal* to perpetual Imprisonment; and the Infants to be expos'd in a little Skiff upon the *Tyber*. The River at that time overflowed its Banks, and the Skiff being carried to the Extremity of the Flood, strikes against a Stone, and turns the Brothers out upon the Strand. 'Tis the general Tradition, that a She-Wolf hearing their Cries, came and suckled them; but it is more likely, that *Acca Laurentia*, the Wife of *Faustulus*, who found the two Children, and nursed them, was called by the Nick-name of *Lupa*, or Wolf, for her disorderly Life; and that this gave Rise to the fabulous Miracle. *Faustulus* was Chief of the Shepherds belonging to the Court; and as he, probably, was not unacquainted with the Birth of the Twins, was suitably careful of their Education. As they grow up, they appear to have something Great in their Mein and Air, which commands Respect; and they assume an Ascendant over the other Shepherds, and the Country-People. A Quarrel happening between the Herdsmen of *Amulius*, and those of *Numitor*, (who lives for the most part a retired Life in the Country) *Romulus* and *Remus* take the Part of the former, against the latter, and shed some Blood. The injured Party, to be revenged, lay wait to catch the Brothers in an Ambush, and on the Festival of the

LUPERCALIA. *Lupercalia*, surprize *Remus*, and carry him before *Numitor*, to be sentenced to Punishment. *Numitor*, whether by Instinct or Compassion, feels himself touched in the Prisoner's Favour, and asks him where he was born, and who were his Parents. The Answers of *Remus* bring to his Mind his two Grandsons; and his Anger is entirely changed into Tenderness. §. 14. In the mean while, *Romulus*, impatient at the detaining of his Brother, is eager to pursue and attack the Robbers. But *Faustulus* dissuades him from it, and discloses to him his Birth; upon which he resolves, at any Rate, to free his Grandfather and Mother from Oppression. And while he is assembling the Country People, and disposing every thing for the Execution of his

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his Project, *Numitor* makes the same Discovery to *Remus*, concerning his Parents, and the Oppression they are under. *Remus* is fired at this Discourse, and is ready for any Enterprize. But he is only required to inform his Brother of his Good Fortune, and to send him to *Numitor's* House. The Shepherd *Faustulus* follows *Romulus*, and takes with him the Box, or Skiff, in which the Brothers had been exposed, to shew it to *Numitor*; but having an Air of Concern and Earnestness in his Face, he is stopped at the Gate of the City, led before *Amulius*, and examined concerning his Burden. He, without losing his Presence of Mind, confesses what it is, owns that the Twins are living, but pretends that they are feeding Flocks in a remote Desert. In the mean while, the Usurper's Death being resolved on, *Remus* undertakes to raise the City, and *Romulus* to invest the King's Palace. The Country People come on the Day appointed, and form themselves into Companies of an hundred each. Their Ensigns are Bundles of Hay, hanging to the Tops of Poles. [The *Latins* at that time called them *Manipuli*; and from thence came the Name of *Manipulus*, for a *Manipulus*. Battalion, which at first consisted of one hundred Soldiers, afterwards of two hundred, and in the Decline of the Empire, of less than an hundred.] *Romulus*, with this tumultuous Army, invests the Avenues of the Palace, forces the Guard, kills the Tyrant, and restores his Grandfather *Numitor* to the Throne. §. 15. The two

Brothers, by the Advice of *Numitor*, undertake to found a new Colony, but differ about the Place; *Remus* is for the *Aventine*, and *Romulus* for the *Palatine* Mount; and they have Recourse to Augury, to terminate the Dispute. The Day for the Ceremony being come, the Brothers post themselves each upon his Hill; and it is agreed, that whoever shall see the first Flight of Vulturs, or the greatest Number of them, shall gain his Cause. *Romulus*, before any appear, sends word to his Brother that he has seen Vulturs. *Remus* had actually seen six; and runs instantly to Mount *Palatine*, to examine the Truth of his Brother's *Auspices*. The Moment he arrives, twelve Vulturs, by good Fortune, appear to *Romulus*; upon which he cries out, in a Transport of Joy, *Be Judge, be Judge your self, of the Truth of what my Messengers told you*. However, *Remus* discovers the Deceit. The People are divided into two Parties, and from a Dispute of Words come to Blows. The Shepherd *Faustulus*, who had educated the Twin-Brothers, is kill'd in the Skirmish; but it is uncertain whether *Remus* was then slain.

§. 16. *ROME* is founded upon Mount *PALATINE*, the 21st of *April*; being the Festival of *Pales*, Goddess of Shepherds. It was (according to *Varro*) in the third Year of the sixth *Olympiad*; i. e. 3301 Years from the Creation, 431 after the taking of *Troy*, and 753 before Christ.

§. 17. *Fabius* (afterwards called *Celer*) is said to have slain *Remus* for leaping over the City-Wall, but *Livy* makes him die by the Hand of *Romulus*.

§. 18. *ROME* when it had receiv'd the utmost Perfection its Builders could give it, consisted only of about 1000 Houses, all Ground Floors, and without any Ornament. No Regularity or Beauty was consulted in laying out the Streets. It was, properly speaking, a Village, of which the principal Inhabitants follow'd their own Ploughs. Even *Romulus's* own Palace was built of Rushes, and cover'd with Thatch. Such were

Year of the Beginnings of the Capital of the World. §. 19. *Romulus* assembles the People, and proposes to them to chuse what Form of Government they like best. They fix upon Monarchy, and elect him King. Before he mounts the Throne, he consults the Will of the Gods by *Augury*; and from that time it becomes an establish'd Custom to have Recourse to *Augury*, before entring upon any publick Office or Employment.

§. 20. The King applies himself to settle Order in his City, and a due Subordination among his Subjects. He himself puts on a Garb of Distinction; and appoints twelve *LICTORS* to attend him as his Guards. Several Persons of a distinguish'd Birth, having follow'd him to *Rome*, and chosen rather to reside in the new City than at *Alba*; these he chuses to be the Heads of the Colony, under the Title of *SENATORS*; and he calls them *FATHERS*, either because they surpass the rest in Age or Wisdom; or because their Dignity makes them the *Fathers* and *Protectors* of the People. The Children of these first *PATRES* or *FATHERS*, were call'd *PATRICIANS*. The *SENATE* consisted at first but of 100 Persons, whose Office was to administer Justice, to take upon them the Care of Religion, and to assist the King with their Counsels. And being thus devoted to *Civil* Affairs, it is probable they were exempted from the Labours of the *Military*.

The rest of the Colony were all called *PLEBEIANS*; and these were divided into two Orders. The richest and noblest of them were stiled *PATRONS*, and held a middle Rank between the Dignity of the Senators, and the Meanness of the *Populace*. Each of these took upon him to protect a certain Number of Families of the lowest Sort, who were call'd their *CLIENTS*. His Business was to draw up their Contracts, to extricate them out of their Difficulties and Perplexities, and to guard their Ignorance against the Artfulness of the Crafty. On the other hand, the *CLIENTS* were obliged to contribute jointly towards the Payment of the Portions of their *Patrons* Daughters, towards paying the Ransom of their *Patrons* or their Children, in case they were taken in War, and to discharge their publick Debts *gratis*, when they themselves

The **C O N T E N T S.**

themselves were not able to do it. The Patron and Client were mutually disabled from accusing or bearing Witness against each other: And if either was convicted of having violated his Obligations, the Guilt was no less than Treason, and the Person injur'd had Power to put the Offender to Death; which was done by sacrificing him to *Pluto*, or to the *Manes*. For more than 600 Years, we find neither Jealousies nor Dissentions, between the Patrons and their Clients, not even in the Times of the Republick, when the People frequently mutinied against the Great and Powerful.

§. 21. With Regard to Military Discipline, the Colony is divided into

TRIBES. three TRIBES, commanded by Officers, called TRIBUNES. These *Tribes* are divided
 TRIBUNES. into thirty CURIÆ, (or *Parishes*) and these latter into DECURIÆ. Each *Curia* and
 CURIÆ. *Decuria* has its own Commander; and these Bodies of Militia, ready formed in the
 DECURIÆ. several Quarters of the City, are by their respective Captains summoned to the As-
 semblies, and commanded in the Field. §. 22. *Romulus* makes some Regulation in the

Affairs of Religion. The principal Ministers of the Gods are chosen out of the *Patricians*, and the inferior Priests out of such Families only as are honourable. Their Age must be at least 50 Years, and none but their Wives may perform the Functions of Priestesses. Their Sons and Daughters, to the Age of Puberty, are alone permitted to wait on the Altars. The Boys are call'd CAMILLI, and the Girls CAMILLÆ. When the Priest has no Children of his own, he may chuse the handsomest Children in his *Curia* to attend him in the Sacrifices. The Sacerdotal Families being freed from all publick Taxes, and from bearing Arms; and their Employments being for Life, many are ambitious of the Priesthood: But *Romulus* forbids the seeking it by Intrigues, the purchasing it with Money, and the trusting it to the Hazard of Lots.

CURIONES. Each *Curia* is permitted a free Choice of its CURIO or PRIEST, its ARUSPICES, and its AUGURS. The second of these inspected the Entrails of the Victims; and the last foretold future Events by the Flight and Singing of Birds. §. 23. After this, AUGURS. the King institutes some Civil Laws. He particularly confines every Husband to one Wife; and gives Fathers an absolute Power over the Lives and Liberty of their Children. He forbids his *Romans* to exercise any Occupation, but of War or Agriculture: and distributes all the Lands of his little District among his *Curia* in equal Proportions.

§. 24. He augments the Number of his People, by opening an *Asylum* for fugitive Criminals and Debtors. But his Neighbours refuse to give their Daughters in Marriage to such a Crew of Vagabonds. He therefore institutes *Games*, (in Honour of *Equestrian Neptune*, call'd *Consus*;) and in the midst of the Diversion, the *Romans* carry away by Violence the *Sabine Women*, who are come to be Spectators. But *Romulus* marries them to his Men, in due Form. [Among all those who were seiz'd, there was but one married Woman, named *Herfilia*, whom *Romulus* is said, by a *Greek Historian*, to have made his Wife; but other Writers say she was married to *Hostus* the Ancestor of King *Tullus Hostilius*.] §. 25. The *Sabines* send Envoys to *Rome*,

the Ancestor of King *Tullus Hostilius*.] §. 25. The *Sabines* send Envoys to *Rome*, to demand back their Daughters. But *Romulus* is inflexible. During the Conferences, *Acron*, King, or Chief of the Town *Cænina*, takes the Field. *Romulus* marches out to meet him, kills him in single Combat, and strips him of his Armour; pursues the routed *Cæninenses*, enters their Town with them, razes it, and transplants the Inhabitants to *Rome*. He decrees himself the Honours of a Triumph, in which he carries the Spoils of *Acron* (call'd OPIMA SPOLIA) on his Shoulders, to a little Temple on the Hill *Saturnius*, (since call'd the CAPITOL,) and there deposits his Trophy, consecrating it to *Jupiter Feretrius*. §. 26. The *Antemnates* and *Crustumini*, to revenge the Violence done to their Daughters, make War upon the *Romans*, and are defeated. *Herfilia*, who was of *Antemnæ*, prevails with *Romulus* to

Romans, and are defeated. *Horatius*, who was of *Antenna*, prevails with *Romulus* to have her Countrymen favourably treated; and he, having first consulted with the Senate, determines to transplant the Inhabitants of the conquer'd Cities to *Rome*. But before he puts this Design in Execution, he summons all the Women seized at the Sports, who were born in either of the Cities, to appear before him. They are at first affrighted; but he makes them a gracious Speech, and declares his Intentions, which remove their Fears, and fill them with unexpected Joy. Several Cities of *Hebruria* submit voluntarily to *Romulus*. *Cælius*, an *Hebrurian* Leader, brings to *Rome* all the Troops under his Command, and settles on a Hill near the City, which from him took the Name of Mount COELIUS. *Romulus* is obliged to enlarge the Compass of *Rome*, on Account of the Multitude of new Inhabitants, and to carry its Walls as far as the Hill *Saturnius*, on which a Citadel was built, and committed to

TITUS TA-
TIUS.
TARPEIA.

6, 7, 8.

to demand back their Daughters; and upon his Refusal, begin Hostilities, and march towards Rome with a great Army of Horse and Foot, under the Command of their King *Titus Tatius*. By the Treachery of *Tarpeia* they get Possession of the Citadel on the Hill *Saturnius*, which from her takes the Name of *Tarpeius*. A pitch'd Battel is fought with various Success. *Romulus* engages in single Combat with a brave *Sabine*, named *Curtius*, and obliges him to leap into a Pool, (made by the overflowing of the *Tyber*,) which was afterwards call'd the *Lake Curtius*. He is afterwards stunn'd by a Blow on the Head with a Stone, and carried out of the Field; but coming to himself

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- Year of again, returns to the Battel, encourages his routed Troops, makes a Vow to *Jupiter* JUPITER
ROME *Stator*, and recovers his Loss. The Night puts an End to the Engagement. The Sa- STATOR.
bine Women, (who were the Occasion of the War) at the Persuasion of *Herfilia*, nego-
tiate a Peace; which is concluded to the Satisfaction of both Parties. They are to be
henceforward but one People, govern'd by the same Laws, and living within the same
Walls; the two Kings, *Romulus* and *Tatius*, are to have equal Authority, the City to
be called *Rome*, and the Inhabitants *Quirites*, which was the Name of the Inhabitants QUIRITES.
of *Cures*, the Capital of *Sabinia*. §. 28. *Romulus* institutes the three Bodies of Ro- EQUITES
man Knights, the *Rhamnenses*, *Tatienses*, and *Luceres*. §. 29. *Tatius*, in Imitation ROMANI.
of *Romulus*, forms a Council of an hundred *Sabine* Senators. The two Councils at first
assemble, each at the House of its respective King. But afterwards they make but
one Assembly; and the Place of their Meeting is thence called COMITIUM. Comitium.
§. 30. Extraordinary Honours are decreed the *Sabine* Women, for their Zeal and Ser-
vices in making the Union between the two Nations. Particularly, their Children
are allow'd to wear the BULLA AUREA, and the Robe call'd PRÆTEXTA. *Romulus* Bulla Au-
holds his Court on the Hill *Palatinus*, and *Tatius* his on the Hill *Tarpeius*. The Sa- rea.
bines settle on a Hill called by them *Quirinalis*, either in Memory of their City *Cures*, Prætexta.
or in Honour of their God *Quiris*. The Space between the Hills *Palatinus* and *Tar-*
peius becomes a common Market-place for the two united Nations, and is call'd Fo- Forum.
9, 10, 11, RUM. §. 31. The *Romans* and *Sabines* live for five Years in perfect Harmony.
12, 13. They adopt each other's Gods; and unanimously institute the Festival of the MATRO- MATRO-
NALIA, in Memory of the Peace concluded by the Mediation of the Women. The NALIA.
Conquest of *Cameria* is the only military Atchievement under the two Kings. Four
thousand of its Inhabitants are transplanted to *Rome*, and incorporated in the *Curiae*.
14. §. 32. Some of *Tatius's* People ravage the Territory of the *Lavinians*, who send En-
voys to *Rome* to demand Satisfaction. *Romulus* is willing to do Justice, and to deliver
up the Aggressors to the injured Party; but *Tatius* interposes. The Envoys are, in
their Return home, murder'd by the very Robbers they had complain'd of. Upon
this, the *Lavinians* renew their Complaints, and *Romulus* prevails to have honourable
Satisfaction given them. 1. The Murderers are yielded to the Discretion of the
Lavinians. 2. The two Kings of *Rome* go to *Lavinium*, to offer an expiatory Sa-
crifice to the Gods of their Allies. But *Tatius* contrives to have his guilty Friends
rescued out of the Hands of the *Lavinians*; and this enrages the common People to
so great a Degree, that in the midst of the expiatory Sacrifice, and at the Foot of the
Altar, they kill *Tatius* with the Priests Knives, and the Spits for roasting the Vic-
tim. The *Lavinians*, fearing the Resentment of *Romulus*, deliver up the Assassins
15, 16. into his Hands; but he sends them back unpunished. §. 33. *Rome* is afflicted
by the Plague. *Cameria* revolts, but is subdued; and *Romulus* has the Honour of
a second Triumph. The *Fidenates* make War upon the *Romans*, who defeat them,
and take *Fidenæ*. The *Veientes* demand it back, as a Town which held of them;
17. and upon *Romulus's* Refusal to surrender it, lay Siege to it. *Romulus* gains two Vic-
tories over them, and takes a vast Number of Prisoners, together with their King,
who had acted a very weak Part. And the Sale of these Prisoners gives Rise to
that Custom among the *Romans*, after a Victory, of dressing up an Old Man in a
Child's Coat, and crying round him, *Sardians to sell*. The *Veientes*, to preserve
their City from a Siege, send a Deputation to *Rome* to sue for Peace; and *Romulus*
grants them a Truce for an hundred Years, upon their Surrendry of seven small Towns
on the *Tyber*, some Salt-pits near the Mouth of the River, and giving Hostages for their
Fidelity. He triumphs a third time, on the *Ides of October*, in the seventeenth Year
19. of *Rome*. §. 34. *Numitor* dies, by which the Kingdom of *Alba* descends to *Romu-*
lus; but he suffers the *Albans* to enjoy their Liberty in the Form of a Commonwealth,
reserving to himself only the Right of nominating annually a *Dictator* to govern it.
But while by his moderate Proceedings he is making himself loved as well as feared
Abroad, he begins to be only dreaded at Home. He neglects his Senate; affects State;
makes himself be attended by 300 Troopers call'd CELERES, and by a Company of Celeres.
LICTORS, with *Fasces* and *Axes*, for arbitrary Executions. The People continue to Licitors
respect their King, but the Senate conspire to destroy him. §. 35. *Romulus* having with Fasces
appointed a Review of his Troops on the 7th of *July*, Year of *Rome* 37, is ha- and Axes.
37. ranging them, when a sudden Storm of Hail disperses the Soldiers; and the Senators
who are about him take that Opportunity to kill him, and conceal his Body. They ROMULUS
endeavour to persuade the People that the King was snatch'd up to Heaven during the slain.
Tempest. But this Stratagem does not succeed, nor are the People pacified, till *Ju-*
lius Proculus invents a Story, and swears to the Truth of it. He assembles the *Curiae*,
and tells them, That ROMULUS had appear'd to him, and had promised to be their
Protecting God, under the Name of QUIRINUS. Upon this, all Suspicions are laid QUIRINUS.
aside; and divine Honours are decreed to the new Deity.

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BOOK II.

	§. 1. R OMULUS dying without Issue, the Crown continues elective: But the <i>Romans</i> and <i>Sabines</i> differ about the Choice of a Successor; and during the	37. 38, 39.
INTER- REGNUM. INTER- REX.	INTERREGNUM, the two hundred Senators take the Sovereignty into their own Hands. They divide themselves into <i>Tens</i> , and each <i>Ten</i> has the supreme Authority five Days. However, one only of each <i>Ten</i> has the Badges of Sovereignty at a time; and when he has been honour'd with them twelve Hours, resigns them to another. But the People being dissatisfy'd with this sort of Government, put an end to it, and come to an Agreement among themselves, That the <i>Romans</i> shall chuse the <i>King</i> , but shall be obliged to chuse him from among the <i>Sabines</i> .	
COMITIA CURIATA.	§. 2. <i>Numa Pompilius</i> was an austere <i>Sabine</i> Philosopher, who led a solitary studious Life; and his frequenting Sacred Groves and Fountains gave Occasion to invent the Fable of his conversing with the Nymph <i>Egeria</i> . This Man is elected <i>King</i> by the <i>Curiae</i> , and the Senate approve the Choice. Deputies are sent to give him Notice of it. He at first declines accepting the Throne; but being at length prevail'd upon by the Arguments and Intreaties of the Deputies, join'd with those of his Father and of his Kinsman <i>Marcus</i> , he sets out for <i>Rome</i> , and is met by the Senate and People. The <i>Curiae</i> are a second time assembled, he is elected a-new by them, and the Senate confirm this second Choice. But before he consents to be clothed in the Royal Robes.	40.
AUGURY.	he insists that the Gods should be consulted by <i>Augury</i> . The King is attended to the Top of the Hill <i>Tarpeius</i> , and is there seated upon a Stone with his Face to the South, and his Head cover'd with a Veil. The chief of the <i>Augurs</i> stands behind him, and stretching his Right Hand over his Head, turns himself to the East, and prays for him. Then gazing round to discover a favourable Omen, he sees some Birds, which are presumed to be auspicious: And this is sufficient. The King comes down from the Hill, with the Acclamations of the People, who are charm'd with the Modesty of their new Governor.	
NUMA, 2 ^d King.	§. 3. <i>Numa</i> dismisses the Guard of 300 <i>Celeres</i> , and forms a Design of moderating the warlike Ardor of the <i>Romans</i> , by the Impressions of Religion. But tho' he has true Notions of the Deity, and forbids the representing him under the Resemblance of Man or Beast; yet he does not introduce the Worship of him, nor abolish all the old Superstitions; but authorizes, for politick Ends, both the <i>Alban</i> and <i>Sabine</i> Ceremonies, establishing Order and Decency in the Observance of them. He divides the Ministers of Religion into eight	41.
CURIONES. FLAMINES.	<i>Classes</i> ; <i>Curiones</i> , <i>Flamines</i> , <i>Celeres</i> , <i>Augurs</i> , <i>Vestal Virgins</i> , <i>Salii</i> , <i>Feciales</i> , and <i>Pontifices</i> . The CURIONES were the particular Priests of each <i>Curia</i> . The FLAMINES (so call'd from the Fashion or Colour of their Caps) were Priests, whose Ministry was confined to some particular God, whose Name they took, as the <i>Flamen Dialis</i> , the <i>Flamen Martialis</i> , &c.	
CELERES.	The CELERES were inferior Ministers to take care of the Sacrifices, under the Direction of the <i>Tribunes</i> , who had commanded them when they were Guards	
AUGURS.	to <i>Romulus</i> . The AUGURS not only foretold future Events by the Flying and Notes of Birds, but had all sorts of Divination within their Province, except the inspecting	
VESTALS.	the Entrails of Victims: for <i>Numa</i> instituted no bloody Sacrifices. The VESTALS were wholly devoted to the Goddess <i>Vesta</i> , and were obliged, under the severest Penalty, to keep the sacred Fire in her Temple perpetually burning. The SALII were the Guardians of the ANCILIA, or the twelve Shields hung up in the Temple of	
SALII.	<i>Mars</i> . They took their Name from their dancing in the Celebration of the annual Festival instituted in Memory of a miraculous Shield, which <i>Numa</i> pretended fell down from Heaven. The Business of the FECIALES was to demand Satisfaction for the Injuries <i>Rome</i> receiv'd from her Enemies, to proclaim War against them, in case of Refusal; and to take care that all Treaties with the neighbouring Nations were faithfully observed. The PONTIFICES were the most venerable of all the <i>Classes</i> , and were the Heads, the Judges, and the Avengers of Religion. They had a President over them, with the Title of PONTIFEX MAXIMUS. <i>Numa</i> , to put a check to the	
FECIALES.	hasty Temper of the <i>Romans</i> , which often made them engage in Wars upon slight Occasions, dedicates a Temple to <i>Janus</i> , the Symbol of Prudence, which looks back-	
PONTIFI- CES.	wards and forwards, and considers both the Causes and Consequences of things; and he orders that the Gates of this Temple shall be shut in Time of Peace, and never	
JANUS.	opened, but upon a Declaration of War. He erects an Altar to <i>Bona Fides</i> , or	
BONA FI- DES.	<i>Fidelity</i> ; and for the securing of Estates, introduces a Sort of Gods call'd <i>Termini</i> , or <i>Bounds</i> , instituting a yearly Festival to their Honour, call'd TERMINALIA.	
TERMI- NALIA.	§. 4. He disperses about the Country, to cultivate it, those of the Inhabitants of <i>Rome</i> , who have no Employment, forming them into Bodies of Husbandmen, each under a Head, who has the same Authority as an Officer over his Soldiers. But his Master-piece of Policy is the distributing the <i>Roman</i> Citizens into Companies, according to their Trades, granting to each Corporation peculiar Privileges, and a Power of making By-Laws, &c. by which Means the <i>Romans</i> and <i>Sabines</i> lose their factious Names of Distinction, and become thoroughly united.	
	§. 5. <i>Numa</i> reforms the Laws made by <i>Romulus</i> , with Relation to the Power of Parents over their	

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Year of their Children. He regulates the Circumstances of Mourning, and of Funeral Ceremonies. He enacts certain Laws of Religion, (which subsisted ever after,) and amends the civil Laws, in which he has an especial Regard to the preserving of Modesty in Women. §. 6. He reforms the Calendar. §. 7. After a peaceful Reign of

82. 43 Years, *Numa* dies, exceedingly lamented, both by his Subjects, and the neighbouring Nations, leaving Issue only one Daughter, named *Pompilia*. He is interr'd at the Foot of Mount *Janiculus*; and his Books, as he had ordered, are buried with him. (*Varro's* Account of the finding again these Books, with *St. Austin's* Conjecture concerning what they contain'd.) §. 8. During a short *Interregnum*, the

83. Senate exercise the Sovereign Authority, in the same Manner as upon the Death of *Romulus*. *Tullus Hostilius*, Grandson of the famous *Hostus*, by the renown'd *Herfilia*, is unanimously elected *King* by the People, and accepted by the Senate. He begins his Reign by distributing certain Lands, which were the Demesnes of the Crown, among those of his Subjects who are indigent, and have no Lands of their own. He affects Magnificence, and, being of a warlike Temper, impatiently longs for an Opportunity to open the Temple of *Janus*. §. 9. The People of *Alba*, under the

TULLUS
HOSTILIUS,
3^d King.

Influence of one *Caelius* (or *Cluilius*) furnish *Tullus* with a Pretence to take the Field against them; and he artfully contrives to make the *Albans* the Aggressors. But the Ardour for fighting is cooled in both Armies, as soon as they come in sight of each other; and both keep within their Entrenchments. The *Albans* at length murmur at their Commander, as the Cause of a fruitless War; upon which *Caelius* resolves to attack the *Romans*: but the next Morning he is found dead in his Tent, in the midst of his Guards, and without any Signs of Violence; which occasions various Conjectures. §. 10. Upon *Caelius's* Death, *Metius Puffetius* is saluted *Dictator* by the Army. He receives Notice that the *Fidenates* and *Veientes* intend to fall upon both Armies, when they should be weakened by a Battle. He therefore desires a Conference with *Tullus*, and proposes a Reconciliation, to which *Tullus* is very well inclined; but in order to make it durable and perfect, proposes that all, or the chief of the *Alban* Families should remove to *Rome*; or in case they were unwilling to leave their own City, that at least one Common Council should be established to govern both Cities, under the Direction of Him of the two Sovereigns, who should be able to contribute most to the publick Good. *Puffetius* consults with his Followers, who absolutely refuse to leave their native City, but are willing to come to an Union with the *Romans*. The only Difficulty is, to settle which City shall have the Superiority. *Puffetius* speaks in Favour of *Alba*, and *Tullus Hostilius* in Favour of *Rome*. The latter, in the Close of his Speech, proposes to terminate the Dispute by a single Combat between himself and *Puffetius*. But the *Alban* General declines this Offer, and makes a new Proposal, That three Champions should be chosen out of each Camp, to decide the Difference; and to this *Tullus* agrees. §. 11. The Birth and near Relation of the three *Cu-*

HORATII,
and CURI-
ATII.
Pater Pa-
tratus.

riatian and three *Horatian* Brothers, who notwithstanding the Ties of Blood, undertake to fight with each other in the Cause of their respective Countries. They enter the Lists; but before they engage, the two Kings conclude a formal Treaty, the Ceremonial of which is described. §. 12. And now the *Alban* and *Roman* Champions advance, with a slow Pace, to meet each his Adversary. But, in the Instant, when the People expect to see them in a fierce Encounter, they quit their Arms, fly to embrace each other, and water the Ground with their Tears, before they stain it with their Blood. The Spectators melt at the moving Sight, and begin to murmur at their *Kings*, who had engaged such tender and generous Friends in a cruel Rivalship for Glory. But a new Scene puts an End to their Pity, captivates all their Attention, and employs all their Hopes and Fears. The triple Combat begins; and *Fortune*, for a long time, holds an even Balance. At length, the eldest of the *Horatii* receives a mortal Wound, and falls; a second of the *Roman* Heroes has the same Fate, and expires upon the Body of his Brother. Consternation and Despair spread themselves thro' the *Roman* Camp. But the three *Alban* Brothers are all wounded, and the remaining *Horatius* is yet unhurt. However, not thinking himself able to sustain the Attack of the three *Curiatii* at once, he makes use of a Stratagem to separate them. He turns his Back, he flies with Coward-Speed, and bears the Hootings and Reproaches of his Countrymen. The *Alban* Brothers pursue him, but at unequal Distances, and as their Wounds will permit. *Horatius* turns short upon the nimblest, and slays him. He then flies to the next, cuts off his Arm with one Stroke, and runs him thro' the Body. The third is an easy Victim for the *Roman* to offer to the Manes of his slaughter'd Brothers. Being desperately wounded, he can scarcely support himself on his Buckler, and seems to offer himself willingly to Death. The young Conqueror cries out, *To the Glory of Rome I sacrifice thee*; strikes him on the Throat, and, big with Victory, seizes the Spoils of the Vanquish'd. The *Roman* Camp rings with Acclamations; and the Superiority of *Rome* is own'd by her Rival. But as the Conqueror is returning to the City in a sort of Triumph, his Temples encircled with the Crown the *King* had put upon his Head, and his Shoulders loaded with the Spoils of the three *Curiatii*, he sees, with some Surprize, his Sister,

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at a Distance, in the Crowd, unattended, and without her Mother. He excuses, in Year of his own Mind, the uncommon Indecency, by imputing it to her Impatience to see *ROME* a victorious Brother. But the Zeal which had brought her from home, was of another Kind. A stronger Passion than a Sister's Love, had engross'd all her Care. One of the *Alban* Champions had been her Lover, and was to have been her Husband. All Concern for the Danger of her Brothers, had been lost in her Anxiety for her dear *Curatius*; and she had ask'd no News but of his Fate. Upon the first Report of his being slain, she had stolen from her Mother, and come running, like one mad, out of the City; she sees the Conqueror, bearing in Triumph her Lover's Robe, the military Robe which she and her Mother had wrought with their own Hands; she sees it stain'd with her Lover's Blood, she tears her Hair, she beats her Breast, *Barbarian*, she cries, *how couldst thou dip thy Hands in the Blood of thy Relations, of those very Curatii whom thou hast so often call'd thy Brothers? How couldst thou rob me of a Husband I so tenderly lov'd?* *Horatius* still breathed Blood, and was yet warm with Slaughter; Go then, says he to his Sister, go to thy Lover; unnatural Creature! Is it thus, that thou forgettest thy dead Brothers, thy living Brother, and thy Country? Thus let every Roman perish, who laments the Death of an Enemy to Rome! As he utters these last Words, he stabs her with his Sword, and goes on strait to his Father's House. The Father approves of the Action, and refuses to let his Daughter be buried in the Sepulchre of her Family. But when *Tullus* returns in Triumph to Rome, *Horatius* is brought before him to receive Sentence for his Crime. *Tullus* being perplexed, appoints two Commissioners, call'd *Duumviri*, to try the Cause as a Crime against the State. They being only Judges of the Fact, which was notorious, pronounce him guilty of High Treason. He appeals to the People; and the *Curia* are assembled. Old *Horatius*, the Father, pleads for his Son, who instead of suffering Death, is only sentenc'd to pass under the Yoke, an Ignominy with which it was usual to treat Prisoners of War, who had voluntarily surrender'd their Arms. Expiations are appointed, to pacify the Anger of the Gods for the Crime committed. And all the Honour done to *Horatius* for his Victory, is the erecting a square Column in the Middle of the *Forum*, on which the Spoils of the *Curatii* are hung. §. 13. *Tullus* summons the *Fidenates* to answer for their suspicious Behaviour, during his War with the *Albans*. They, being conscious of Guilt, and in secret Intelligence with *Fuffetius*, refuse to obey; and, in Conjunction with the *Veientes*, take the Field. *Fuffetius*, in Obedience to *Tullus's* Orders, joins him with the *Alban* Troops; but, the Day before the Battle, informs his principal Officers of his treacherous Intention, which was to stand neuter till Fortune had decided the Day, and then to fall upon the worsted Side. Accordingly, just before the Action begins, he retires with his Men to a Hill. *Tullus* is apprized of his Desertion; and in this Distress privately makes a Vow to add twelve Priests to the College of the *Salii*, and to build a Temple to Fear and Pale-ness. Then telling his Men, that the Motion *Fuffetius* had made was by his Order, he falls upon the Enemy, and gives them an entire Overthrow. *Fuffetius* pours down from his Hill, upon the scatter'd Remains of the Vanquish'd. *Tullus* conceals his Knowledge of *Fuffetius's* Treachery; goes privately in the Night to Rome to consult the Senate; detaches *Horatius* with a chosen Band to demolish *Alba*; returns to the Camp before Break of Day; orders both the *Roman* and *Alban* Troops to attend him unarm'd (but with private Instructions for the *Romans* to bring their Swords under their Cloaths,) makes a Speech to them, in which he lays open the Perfidiousness of *Fuffetius*, and orders him to be fastened to two Chariots drawn by Horses, and so to be torn asunder. His chief Accomplices are also put to the Sword; but the rest of the *Alban* Soldiers and Citizens are transplanted to Rome, and enjoy all the Privileges of Citizens of Rome. §. 14. This new Increase of Inhabitants obliges *Tullus* to enlarge the Limits of the City. He allots Mount *Caelius* for the *Albans* to settle upon (without excluding them from other Parts of the City) and builds his own Palace there. He gives some of the new Citizens Seats in the Senate, promotes others to the Dignity of *Roman* Knights (dividing them into ten Companies) and gains the Hearts of all. The *Fidenates* persevering in their Revolt, *Tullus* spends the Winter in making Preparations to attack them early in the Spring. They keep under the Walls of *Fidenæ*, where being beaten, they retire into the City, with a Resolution to sustain a Siege. *Tullus* blockades it, and by cutting off all Succours and Provisions from it, reduces the *Fidenates* to such Extremities that they surrender at Discretion. He punishes the Heads of the Revolt, but suffers the rest to continue in their City, under the same Form of Government, only in Dependance upon Rome. This complete Victory procures *Tullus* the Honours of a Triumph, in which the Spoils of the Enemy are carried as Trophies. §. 15. The *Romans*, flush'd with Success, and strengthened by their Union with the *Albans*, demand Satisfaction of the *Sabines* for the Insults some of her most eminent Citizens had formerly suffer'd from them at the Temple of the Goddess *Feronia*, (i. e. *Flora*, or *Proserpina*,) which stood at the Foot of Mount *Soracte*, upon the Banks of the *Tyber*, and was frequented by both *Sabines* and *Romans*. The *Sabines* can get no Succours, and are forc'd to de- pend

Duumviri.

Subjugatio.

88.

89.
90.
91.

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- Year of pend on their own Valour. At length, so bloody a Battle is fought, that both Armies, *ROME* terrify'd with the Numbers of their Slain, retire into their own Countries, and attempt nothing more that Campaign. §. 16. The next Year the War is renew'd with greater Fury. The two Armies meet near *Eretum*, a Town about 107 *Stadia* from *Rome*. The Battle is long in Suspence; but at length *Tullus* makes a Vow to *Saturn* and *Ops*, to institute a Festival to their Honour; and this giving his Men new COURAGE, he obtains a complete Victory. The *Sabines* submit, and the Senate pre-
scribes the Conditions of a Treaty with them, which were written on Pedestals erected in Holy Places, as eternal Monuments of the Superiority of *Rome*. *Tullus* is decreed a third Triumph. §. 17. The Ambition of the *Romans* now carry them to make new Pretensions. They summon all the *Latin* Towns, which had been dependent on *Alba*, to submit to the *Roman* Laws. Upon this, an Assembly of the *Latin* Nation is held at *Ferentinum*, where it is resolv'd not to bow under the Yoke of *Rome*; and two Generals are chosen to command their Forces. However, the *Romans* don't think fit to make War upon them in a regular Way, but after the old manner of Inroads and Incurfions, destroying their Harvest. Only *Medulia*, which had submitted to *Romulus*, and since revolted, was taken by King *Tullus*. §. 18. The *Sabines*, thinking themselves in a Condition to take Revenge upon *Rome*, invade the *Roman* Territory, and spread themselves all over it in small Parties, to pillage; and the little Opposition they meet with, encourages them to think of besieging *Rome*. But *Tullus* marches against them, and once more entirely defeats them near the *Malefactor's Forest*. §. 19. *Tullus* being grown old, falls into Superstition and Credulity, and being impos'd upon by Stories of Prodigies, and Voices from Heaven, orders expiatory Sacrifices for nine Days, (the usual time ever after employ'd in Expiations, when the People were frightned with Prodigies.) §. 20. *Tullus* in his old Age is said by some to have studied Magick in *Numa's* Books, and to have hid himself in a private Place to perform a magical Sacrifice, in order to raise *Jupiter Elicius*; but that omitting some Part of the necessary Ceremonies, the God in a Rage set his Palace on Fire by Lightning. The King, his Wife and his Children, all perish'd in the Flames. But others are of Opinion that *Tullus* died by the Hands of *Ancus Marcius*, his Successor; who, watching an Opportunity when the King and his whole Family were met to perform a domestick Sacrifice, went to the Place, first slew them, and then set Fire to the Palace, to conceal his Crime.

B O O K III.

- §. 1. THE deceased King being look'd upon as a Man struck by the Gods, no Honours are done to his Ashes. After a short *Interregnum*, the People and Senate unanimously chuse *ANCUS MARCIUS* (Grandson of *Numa* by his Daughter *Pompilia*) to succeed *Tullus*. §. 2. The new King begins his Reign, by endeavouring to restore *Rome* to the Condition in which *Numa* had left it, to revive Husbandry, and the neglected Worship of the Gods. But the natural Temper of *Ancus* is not pacifick; and his devoting himself wholly to Works of Peace, as it is a Force upon Nature, so it likewise draws upon him the Contempt of the neighbouring Nations: He resolves therefore to give way to his martial Inclination. §. 3. The *Latins* pretending that their Treaty with the *Romans* was no longer binding, than while King *Tullus* lived, had committed Hostilities in the Territory of *Rome*. *Ancus* therefore determines to make War upon them; but out of respect to the Laws of *Numa*, observes all the Forms appointed to be used in declaring War, (which are at large described; and 'tis observable, that the *Kings* did not make use of their Names, or Authority, in Treaties, or publick Acts; 'tis always the Senate and People who are mentioned.) *Ancus* raises an entirely new Army, marches and surprizes *Politorium*, a *Latin* City. He sheds no Blood, nor destroys the City, but transplants the Inhabitants to *Rome*; and these, with the Inhabitants of *Tellena* and *Ficana*, two other Cities of *Latium*, which he likewise took, he settles on the Hill *Aventinus*, which he incloses, and makes a Part of *Rome*, but without consecrating the Boundaries, as had been customary. The *Latins* repeople *Politorium*, which obliges *Ancus* to besiege it again; and upon the second Reduction of it, he demolishes it entirely. §. 4. *Ancus* leads his Troops four Years successively to the Siege of *Medulia*. At length he takes and plunders it. He then lays a second Siege to *Ficana*, which he had neglected to demolish. It is with great difficulty that he becomes Master of it, but then destroys it with Fire and Sword. The *Latins*, not discouraged, take the Field again, and are defeated. They divide their Troops into small Parties, to make Inroads into the *Roman* Territory; and *Ancus*, to oppose them, makes the same Division of his Army, which he leaves to the Conduct of *Tarquin*, (a Foreigner lately come from *Hetruia* to make his Fortune) and returns to *Rome*, full of Glory. But whether he was at this time honoured with a Triumph, is uncertain. §. 5. *Ancus*

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	cus undertakes to encompass the Hill <i>Janiculus</i> , (which stood on the other Side of the <i>Tyber</i>) with a Wall, and to make it a fort of Citadel for <i>Rome</i> : and in order to have a Communication between the City and the new Citadel, he builds the Bridge, called <i>Sublicius</i> , (the first perhaps known in <i>Italy</i>) over the <i>Tyber</i> , in that Place where it washes the Foot of the Hill <i>Aventinus</i> . To suppress the Licentiousness of the People, he next builds a Prison in the <i>Roman Forum</i> . Till his Time, the Innocence of the <i>Romans</i> had made them Strangers to Imprisonments. And lastly, because <i>Rome</i> was exposed to be surprized by an Enemy, in those Places where the Country about it was low and flat, he causes a wide Ditch to be dug there, which was ever after called <i>Fossa Quiritium</i> , because all the People were employed to make it.	ROME
Pons Sublicius.	§.6. <i>Ancus</i> , being justly provoked by the Ravages of the <i>Fidenates</i> , neglects the Formality of first sending a <i>Fecialis</i> , marches strait to <i>Fidene</i> , besieges it, and takes it by <i>Sap</i> , this being the first Instance we meet with in <i>Roman</i> Story, of that kind of Attack. He next marches against the <i>Sabines</i> , who being defeated (more by the Conduct than Bravery of the <i>Romans</i>) sue for Peace, and obtain it on easy Terms.	130.
Fossa Quiritium.	§.7. The four following Years of Peace <i>Ancus</i> employs in building the Port and City of <i>Ostia</i> , in enlarging the Temple of <i>Jupiter Feretrius</i> , and in digging Salt-Pits on the Sea-shore. The Distribution of Salt he made among his Subjects, gave rise to those publick Liberalities, called <i>Congiararia</i> .	131.
Ostia built.	§.8. <i>Ancus</i> twice defeats the <i>Veientes</i> , and is decreed a Triumph by the Senate. And the King, to reward the Merit of <i>Tarquin</i> , who had distinguished himself at the Head of the <i>Roman</i> Cavalry, promotes him to the Rank of a <i>Patrician</i> . The <i>Volsci</i> are next attack'd, and <i>Velitræ</i> , their Capital, besieged by <i>Ancus</i> . The Inhabitants, reduced to Extremity, send out their old Men as Suppliants, who obtain first a Truce, and then a Peace. The King of <i>Rome</i> then turns his Arms against those of the <i>Sabines</i> , who had not yet been conquered. Success attends his Expedition, and he returns victorious to <i>Rome</i> , where he passes some time in Tranquillity.	136.
CONGIARIA.	§.9. <i>Ancus</i> is said by <i>Plutarch</i> to have died a violent Death; but other Writers make it to have been altogether a natural one. (His Character and Panegyrick.) He leaves two Sons, one a Child in the Cradle, the other near fifteen Years of Age. He had committed the Tuition of both to the ambitious <i>Tarquin</i> , little imagining that a Stranger could carry away the Suffrages of the People, in the Election of a King, from his Son.	138.
	§.10. <i>Tarquin</i> was the Son of <i>Damaratus</i> , a Merchant of <i>Corinth</i> , who, to secure his great Wealth from <i>Cypselus</i> the Tyrant of that Place, had retired with it to <i>Tarquiniæ</i> , one of the most famous Cities of <i>Hetruria</i> . The Greek Merchant married there a Woman of Distinction, by whom he had two Sons, <i>Arunx</i> and <i>Lucumo</i> . The elder died before his Father; and tho' he left his Wife with child, yet his Father not knowing it, and dying soon after him, left all his Wealth to <i>Lucumo</i> . So that the posthumous Son of <i>Arunx</i> , disinherited before he was born, took the melancholy Name of <i>Egerius</i> , from <i>egere</i> to WANT. <i>Lucumo</i> being in Possession of all his Fathers immense Riches, aspired to the highest Dignities in <i>Tarquiniæ</i> ; and his Wife <i>Tanaquil</i> was no less ambitious to see him advanced. But being looked upon as a Stranger in <i>Hetruria</i> , he was thereby hindered from rising to any considerable Post: and therefore, at the Instigation of his Wife, resolved to remove to <i>Rome</i> , where Strangers had been chosen Kings, and where Merit was a sure means to arrive at Honours. He is no sooner admitted a Citizen of <i>Rome</i> , but he endeavours to appear entirely <i>Roman</i> . He changes his Names of <i>Lucumo Damaratus</i> , for those of <i>Lucius Tarquinius</i> ; and by his polite Address and Liberalities, quickly becomes popular. He artfully insinuates himself into the King's Favour; and lest his great Wealth should create Suspensions, offers to deposit it in the publick Treasury, to supply the Wants of the City. Besides all this, he distinguishes himself by his military Exploits, the surest Steps to Greatness, and appears to be no less able in Council, than formidable in Arms.	139.
	§.11. <i>Tarquin</i> thinking this a critical time to attempt the Throne, contrives to bring on the Election with the utmost Expedition, before the eldest of <i>Ancus</i> 's Sons should be full fifteen; and to keep him out of the Sight of the People during the <i>Comitia</i> , procures him Hunting-Matches in the Country. He then gains the People by Money and Caresses, and is the first who introduces into <i>Rome</i> the Custom of asking for Offices, and publickly making Interest to gain them. He is chosen King by a Majority of Votes, and by the <i>Roman</i> People commanded (for that was the Term then used) to sit down at the Helm of Affairs. To strengthen his Party in the Senate, he creates an hundred new Senators, who were called <i>Senatores Minorum Gentium</i> .	
The First TARQUIN, 5 th King. Senatores Minorum Gentium.	§.12. Almost all the Nations subdued by the <i>Romans</i> , pretending that their Treaties with them were no longer binding, than during the Lives of those Princes by whom they had been subdued, <i>Tarquin</i> has inevitable Wars to sustain. The <i>Latins</i> are the first who attack him, but not the whole Nation of them jointly. <i>Tarquin</i> besieges <i>Apiolæ</i> , takes it by a Stratagem, and sells the Inhabitants for Slaves. The <i>Crustumini</i> , who had revolted, repent and submit. The King treats them mildly, but settles a <i>Roman</i> Colony among them. <i>Nomentum</i> likewise experiences the Clemency of <i>Tarquin</i> upon its Submission. <i>Collatia</i> being more obstinate, is not so gently treated; the Inhabitants	140.
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- Year of habitants are disarmed, and taxed, and a Garrison is left in it to keep it in Subjection.
- ROME** The King gives the Sovereignty of this City to *Egerius*, his Brother *Arunx*'s Son, who from thence took the Name of *Collatinus*, which he transmitted to his Posterity.
143. *Corniculum* is besieged next, and after a brave Resistance, is taken by Storm, and re-
 144. duced to Ashes. §. 13. *Tarquin*'s Success makes the rest of the *Latin* Cities very uneasy. Several of them unite their Forces to oppose his Progress. But the King defeats them in a bloody Battel near *Fidenæ*. He then solicits the *Latin* Cities, to enter into Alliances with him; to which many of them consent. The *Fidenates* being faithful to his Interest, procure him the Surrendry of several considerable Places; And at length, *Camerium* submits. §. 14. The whole Nation of the *Latins* assemble in a Body at *Ferentinum* (a Place situate at the Foot of the Hill of *Alba*) to deliberate on the Means to stop the Torrent of the *Romans*, which threatened all *Latium*. They agree to bring together all the Forces they can raise, into the Field, and to apply to the *Sabines* and *Hetrurians*. *Tarquin* works the Confederate Army in two Actions, and then those *Latin* Cities who had refused his Alliance, sue for it, and obtain it. §. 15. *Tarquin*, after so many Victories, has the Honour of a Triumph. He applies the Wealth he had brought from the conquered Cities, to the building of a *Circus* for the *Roman* Games (otherwise called *The Great Games*.) §. 16. The *Circus*.
 155. twelve *Lucumonies* of *Hetruria* come to a Resolution to make War upon the *Romans* in a National Body. They take the Field, make themselves Masters of *Fidenæ*, and LUDI CIR-
 156. ravage the *Roman* Territory. *Tarquin* not being prepar'd to engage with them, suffers them to go on; but the next Year puts himself into a Condition to repair his Losses. He divides his Army into two Bodies. The *Romans* he commands himself, and gives the Command of the Allies to his Cousin *Collatinus*, who by his ill Conduct suffers a Defeat. But *Tarquin* is more successful. He defeats the *Hetrurians* first
 157. near *Veii*, and then under the Walls of *Cære*. §. 17. *Fidenæ* being a Key into the *Roman* Dominions, the Conquest of it was of the utmost Importance to the *Romans*. They therefore bend their Forces that Way, and come to a sharp Engagement with the *Hetrurians*, who knew the Consequence of preserving that Post. The latter are defeated. The *Romans* besiege the Place, and take it. All those of the *Fidenates* who are suspected to have betrayed it to the Enemy, are whipped to Death, the rest sent into Banishment, and their Lands distributed by Lot among the *Roman* Soldiers. *Tarquin* hastens to attack the *Hetrurians* (who were like to be formidable by the Union of all the Forces of the twelve *Lucumonies*) before their whole Strength can get together. He comes up with them near *Eretum*, ten Miles from *Rome*, and gives them an entire Overthrow; for which the Senate decrees the King a Triumph. The *Lucumonies* send an humble Deputation to ask Peace, which *Tarquin* grants, without insisting on any other Condition, than their owning his Sovereignty over them. To this they readily agree, and send him all the Ensigns of Authority they had among them: A Crown of Gold; a Throne of Ivory; a Sceptre with an Eagle on the Top of it; a Tunick embroider'd with Gold, &c. *Tarquin* defers the wearing these stately
 159. Ornaments, till the People and Senate have consented to it by an express Law; but Sella Curu-
 then employs them in the Decoration of the Triumph which had been decreed him, mata.
 161. and never after lays them aside. In this Triumph, he rides in a gilded Chariot, drawn by four Horses. §. 18. *Tarquin* being now at rest from his Wars, turns his Thoughts to the cleansing and beautifying the City. He finishes the Walls of *Rome*, of hewn Stone, makes those famous Common-Sewers, which were one of the Wonders of the World, and adorns the *Forum*, surrounding it with Galleries, in which are Shops for Bankers and Money-Changers, erecting Temples there, Schools for the
 168. Youth of both Sexes, and Halls for the Administration of publick Justice. §. 19. *Tarquin* enters into a new War with the *Sabines*, and comes to a Battel with them, which lasts the whole Day; and the Advantage is so equal on both Sides, that the two Armies stand in awe of each other, and retire into their respective Countries, without committing any further Hostilities the rest of the Campaign. §. 20. *Tarquin*, considering that he had often been hindered from sufficiently pursuing the Advantages of a Victory, for want of Horse, resolves to add some new Bodies of *Knights* to those of the first Institution: But as the first Division of the Horse into three Corps, had been determined by *Auguries*, the *Augur Navius* opposes the King's Design as irreligious. NAVIUS
 §. 21. The Story of *Navius*, and of the Flint, cut by a Razor. the *Augur*.
Tarquin lays aside his Design of increasing the Number of the Troops of Horse, but increases the Number of the Soldiers in each Troop; so that the *Roman* Cavalry now amount to six hundred Men. §. 22. With this Reinforcement the King marches out to renew the War with the *Sabines*, who had got Succours from *Hetruria*, and were encamped near *Fidenæ*, by the Place where the *Anio* joins the *Tyber*. The *Hetrurians* were posted on one Bank of the *Tyber*, and the *Sabines* on the other, and they had a Communication by a Bridge of Boats. *Tarquin* contrives to set fire to their Bridge, and in their Surprise and Hurry attacks both Camps. He gains a complete Victory, and burns the Spoils taken from the Enemy, in Honour to *Vulcan*, as he had vowed to do. The *Sabines* being again defeated, sue for Peace; but *Tarquin*
 [c] grants

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grants them only a six Years Truce. §. 23. The Truce being expired, the *Sabines* pass the *Anio*, and make Incursions on the *Roman* Lands; but tho' they are equal to their Enemies in Numbers and Bravery, yet the *Romans* defeat them by a Superiority in the Art of War. The *Sabines* impute their ill Success to the Incapacity of their General, and chuse a more experienced Commander. *Tarquin* takes the Field early, and shews himself to the Enemy: but the *Sabine* General, not having got together all his Troops, avoids a Battel, and keeps within his Camp, where he is blockaded by *Tarquin*, and reduced to Extremity for Want of Provisions, but takes the Advantage of a dark stormy Night, marches away, and so ends the Campaign. 169.

§. 24. The *Sabines*, pleas'd with the Conduct of their General, take Courage again, enlist all their Youth capable of bearing Arms, and form a numerous Army, which they divide into two Bodies. *Tarquin* augments his Forces with Troops from *Latium*, *Hebruria*, and all his Allies, and divides them into three Armies, which were always to encamp near each other. He commands the *Romans* himself, puts his Nephew *Arunx* at the Head of the *Hebrurians*, and gives the Command of the *Latins*, and other Allies, to *Servius Tullius*, a Foreigner who had been a Slave, and had but lately obtain'd the Privileges of a *Roman* Citizen. The Battel is fought the whole Day, and *Tarquin* obtains the Victory; but not till he has made a Vow to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, to build them a magnificent Temple. While he is marching to besiege the *Sabine* Cities, they send Deputies to him to sue for Peace, offering to give him Possession of their fortified Places, and of all their Country, if he will grant them tolerable Conditions. *Tarquin* treats them favourably, and returns to *Rome*, which he enters in Triumph, and in the same State as when he triumphed over the *Hebrurians*. 170.

§. 25. *Tarquin*, now grown old, thinks only of enjoying the Sweets of Repose, but does not forget his Vow to build a Temple to *Jupiter*, &c. He levels the Top of the Hill *Tarpeius*, (formerly *Saturnius*) where the Plan of the Temple is marked out, and the Foundations laid. *Navius* the *Augur* having been consulted about what Part of *Rome* *Jupiter* would like best to be placed in, had declared for the Hill *Tarpeius*: But a new Difficulty now arises about removing the Gods who have already got Possession of this Hill, without giving them Offence. By the help of *Augury*, it is discovered, that they are all willing to be removed, except the God *Terminus*, and the Goddess *Youth*, who having no mind to go, were afterwards inclosed within the Walls of the Temple, the *Area* of which is now dedicated by *Navius*. 171.

§. 26. *Tarquin's* two Grandsons being too young to be placed on a Throne, he, in order to preserve the Crown in his Family, marries his two Daughters to the two Men in *Rome*, who are most likely to succeed him. The elder he gives to *Servius Tullius*, the younger to *M. Junius*, the Father of the famous *Brutus*, who afterwards destroyed the Regal Power. §. 27. While this is doing, *Navius*, the famous *Augur*, disappears on a sudden. He is supposed to be murdered; and the People are very inquisitive after the Authors of his Death. The Sons of *Ancus Marcius* endeavour to fix the Calumny upon the King, and accuse him publickly. *Tarquin* attempts in vain to appease the Tumult; *Servius Tullius* is obliged to use all his Interest to quiet the Rage of the People. But at length the Falseness of the Accusation is known, and the Sons of *Ancus* are detested for having raised the Slander. However, *Tarquin* pardons them, in consideration of the Favours he had received from their Father. 172.

§. 28. But he is more severe to *Pinaria*, a prostitute *Vestal*. He orders her to be buried alive, and the Man who had dishonoured her, to be whipped to death. Nevertheless, he does not lose his Esteem for the College of *Vestals*; but, by adding two to their Number, augments it to six. §. 29. The Sons of *Ancus* having, by Management, gain'd over the People to them, think this a favourable Opportunity to attempt the Throne, by the Death of *Tarquin*. They hire two young Men, who dress themselves like Peasants, with Hatchets on their Shoulders, as if they were Wood-Cutters. These go near the King's Palace, and pretend to have a Quarrel there about some Goats. The rest of the Conspirators gather about them, under shew of endeavouring to end the Dispute. At length, the Disputants enter the Palace, and cry out to the King for Justice; and while *Tarquin* is preparing to hear their several Pleas, one of them gives him a great Stroke on the Head with his Hatchet. The rest of the Conspirators fly, but the Assassins are seized, and confess, that they were employ'd by the Sons of *Ancus*. 174.

§. 30. Queen *Tanaquil* does not lose her Presence of Mind upon this Accident. She clears the Palace of the Crowd, shuts her self up in the Apartment of the expiring King, with only her Son-in-law *Servius Tullius*, and *Ocrisia* his Mother, and presses him to ascend the Throne, that her Grandchildren may be safe under its Protection. She then opens the Window which looks upon the Street, and bids the People be in no Concern; tells them, that *Tarquin* is grievously hurt, but not kill'd; and exhorts them to turn their Rage against the Sons of *Ancus*. This Stratagem succeeds. The Report being spread, and believed, that the King would soon be well again, and appear in publick, the Sons of *Ancus* are terrified, and go into a voluntary Banishment. The second Day after the Murder of *Tarquin*, *Servius Tullius* sits on the Throne in the Royal Robes, is attend-

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Year of ed by the *Listor*, and determines Causes; but pretends for a long time to act only in the *King's* Name, to whom he promises the Suitors to report all difficult Cases that come before him. He cites the Sons of *Ancus* to appear before his Tribunal; and upon their Non-appearance, they are declared infamous, and their Estates confiscated. *Servius* so manages his Affairs, as to gain the Hearts of the *Romans*, by his prudent Administration; and when he has sufficiently tried his Talent for Reigning, then the Death of *Tarquin* is published in the Palace with loud Lamentations. The Senate vote *Servius King*; and upon their Choice alone, without the Concurrence of the People, he appears in publick with a strong Guard, and with all the Marks of Royalty.

B O O K IV.

175. §. 1. *Servius Tullius*, born a Slave in *Tarquin's* House, was the Son of *Ocrifsa*, taken captive at the sacking of *Corniculum*: but who his Father was, is uncertain; whether one *Tullius*, kill'd at the storming of that City, and who left his Wife with Child; or whether it was some Client of *Tarquin's*; or whether it was *Tarquin* himself. However, all Historians agree that the *King* had the Tenderness of a Father for him; and *Tanaquil* was so zealous to gain her Slave Respect, that she invented a Story of a sudden Flame, in the Form of a Crown, which surrounded his Head when he was a Child, and asleep. However, notwithstanding this partial Favour of the King and Queen, it was chiefly by an uniform and wise Conduct, that he rais'd himself from a State of Slavery to the highest Step of Honour.
176. §. 2. As *Servius* look'd upon himself indebted to *Fortune* for his Grandeur, he erected an incredible Number of Altars and Temples to her, under various Names. And being resolved to make *Numa* his Pattern, and apply himself to establish good Polity in the City, as that second King of *Rome* had done Order in Religion; he, like him, also pretended to have private Conversations with a Goddess; and *Fortune* was his *Egeria*. §. 3. However, the Beginning of his Reign was not without Disturbances. The Sons of *Ancus* had a Party among the *Patricians*, who began to despise the mean Birth of their King. *Servius* had ascended the Throne without the Consent of the People; and there had been no *Interregnum* as formerly. Complaints of these Things are first drop'd in private Assemblies, but soon improv'd into almost a general Conspiracy. The Senators agree that, the first time they meet, they will force the *King* to lay aside his Royalty. *Servius*, in this Emergency, applies himself to gain the People, and having the two Grandchildren of the late King by his Side, makes an artful and moving Speech to them, and promises to be their Protector against the Oppressions of their Creditors, and of the Great. Nor are his Promises empty Words. He opens Compting-houses in the
179. *Forum Romanum*, and pays all the Debtors Bills, &c. §. 4. But tho' *Servius's* Inclination is more to Works of Peace than military Exploits, yet he is oblig'd to have a War with the *Veientes*, whom he defeats, and distributes their Lands among those of the new *Roman* Citizens who had none of their own. His Victory is follow'd by a Triumph, with all that Pomp and State which the late King had introduced.
183. §. 5. The Senators now finding the People entirely well affected to the King, suppress their Complaints, lest if they insisted on an *Interregnum*, it should occasion a legal Election of *Servius* by the *Curia*. *Servius* sees into the Mystery of their Policy, and resolves to lay hold on the present Juncture, to render his Title to the Throne indisputable. He assembles the People, and in a moving Speech, which draws Tears from their Eyes, submits the Crown absolutely to their Disposal. When he has done speaking, he comes down hastily from the *Tribune*, in order to leave the Assembly; but they call to him to stay, intreat him to be their King, and use Violence to stop him. Some cry out, *Let the Curia be assembled, that we may elect Servius without Delay*. Accordingly, a Day is appointed, and he is chosen King, with a greater Unanimity than any of his Predecessors.
185. §. 6. But the Senate cou'd never be brought to confirm this Election; and their Faction is so formidable, that *Servius* deliberates with himself, whether he shou'd not renounce the Dignity conferr'd on him by the People. But *Tanaquil* encourages him, and takes an Oath of him not to do it. This Great Queen and Heroine soon after dies; and the King, to immortalize her domestick Virtues, the true Glory of a Woman, hangs up her Distaff in the Temple of *Hercules*. As *Servius* is now resolved to continue on the Throne, the rebellious *Hetrurians* furnish him with an Opportunity to raise his Glory. He subdues them, and obtains the Honour of a second Triumph.
187. §. 7. The Interval of Rest after this Victory, *Servius* dedicates to the enlarging and adorning *Rome*. *Romulus* had inclosed at first only the Hill *Palatinus*, and afterwards added the Hill *Tarpeius*. To these *Numa* join'd the Hill *Quirinalis*. *Tullus Hostilius* took in the Hill *Caelius*. *Annalis.* *M. Calius.* *M. Janiculus* join'd the Hill *Janiculus* to the City by a wooden Bridge. The first *Tarquin* only built the Walls of *Rome* of hewn Stone, without enlarging its Bounds; but *Servius* *lus.*

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<i>M. Esquilinus.</i>	<i>Servius</i> incloses within its Limits the Hills <i>Esquilinus</i> and <i>Viminalis</i> . So that <i>Rome</i> Year of	ROM E
<i>M. Viminalis.</i>	fixes his own Palace on the Hill <i>Esquilinus</i> , in order to draw Inhabitants thither.	
4th Tribe.	§. 8. <i>Servius</i> adds a fourth Tribe to the three of <i>Romulus's</i> Division, and calls it <i>Tribus Esquilina</i> . As Taxes were raised by laying a certain Sum on each <i>Tribe</i> , it was hence that those Taxes were called <i>Tributes</i> , and <i>Contributions</i> . The King establishes great Regularity in levying both the Militia and the Taxes, by obliging each Inhabitant to stay in the <i>Tribe</i> wherein he was born. He likewise makes a Law, That a	
LIBITINA.	Piece of Money shall be paid to the Temple of the Goddess <i>Libitina</i> , upon every	
LUCINA.	Death; another to the Temple of <i>Lucina</i> , upon every Birth; and another to the	
JUVENTAS.	Temple of <i>Youth</i> , as soon as any Person was past the State of Childhood. By this means the Number of <i>Roman</i> Citizens was known, and especially of such as were able to bear Arms. <i>Servius</i> , in order to do Honour to his first Condition, extends his Care to Slaves, erects little wooden Oratories in all the Cross-ways, dedicated to	
DII COM- PITALES.	the <i>Dii Compitales</i> , and commands that Slaves only shall be Priests to these Gods, who have their particular Festival, on which Masters gave their Slaves Rest from all Labour.	191.
15 Country Tribes.	§. 9. For Security of those who lived in the Country, and to establish equal Order throughout the <i>Roman</i> State, <i>Servius</i> divides the <i>Roman</i> Territory into fifteen <i>Tribes</i> , under the same Regulations with regard to Taxes, &c. as those of the City. He orders, that in each of these new <i>Tribes</i> , there shall be one Place of Refuge, situated in a steep Place, to secure the Effects of the Peasants upon sudden Alarms: And this was the Origin of Villages in <i>Italy</i> ; each of which had its own particular Temple, its tutelary God, and its Magistrates.	
	§. 10. <i>Servius's</i> two Wards, <i>Tarquinius</i> and <i>Arunx</i> , being now advanc'd to the Age of Manhood, he thinks of securing their Fidelity to him by a double Marriage with his two Daughters. The elder of these Daughters was of a sweet and virtuous Disposition; the younger of a violent and vicious one. But tho' the elder of the King's Pupils resembled in Character the younger of his Daughters, and the elder of his Daughters the younger of his Pupils, yet he thought it was most advisable to match them according to their Ages, that so the Mildness and Sweetness of the elder <i>Tullia</i> might restrain the Impetuosity of <i>Tarquinius</i> , and the Vivacity of the younger <i>Tullia</i> quicken the unambitious Indolence of <i>Arunx</i> .	195.
	§. 11. During the publick Rejoicings for this double Marriage, the <i>Hetrurians</i> prepare to make War upon the <i>Romans</i> in a National Body. <i>Servius</i> , by repeated Victories over them, reduces them to ask Peace, and to submit to him upon the same Conditions on which they had submitted to his Predecessor: And for this Success he is honour'd with a third Triumph.	197.
	§. 12. <i>Servius</i> being now in full Peace, returns to the Pursuit of his Political Schemes. Taxes had been hitherto levied upon the People at so much a Head, without Distinction of Rich and Poor; and as both Sorts were equally obliged to serve in the Field at their own Expence, it was often very hard upon the poorer Sort. There was likewise this farther Inconvenience, That the Indigent, who were easily corrupted in the Election of Magistrates, Decisions concerning War and Peace, and in judging Criminals, had equal Authority with the Rich in the <i>Comitia</i> , and a greater Weight, as being more numerous. To remedy these Evils, <i>Servius</i> orders all the <i>Roman</i> Citizens to give an Account in Writing of their Names and Ages, with those of their Fathers, Wives, and Children. He further obliges all the Heads of Families to give in upon Oath a just Estimate of their Effects, and to mention the Places of their Residence, whether in Town or Country. Having got Information of these Things, he undertakes to ease the Poor, by burdening the Rich, and yet to please the latter, by augmenting their Power.	200.
CENSUS.	§. 13. To this End, he divides the <i>Roman</i> People into six <i>Classes</i> . The first <i>Class</i> consists of those whose Estates and Effects are worth ten thousand <i>Drachmae</i> . And this <i>Class</i> is subdivided into fourscore <i>Centuries</i> , or Companies of Foot. To these <i>Servius</i> adds eighteen <i>Centuries</i> of <i>Roman</i> Knights, who being the richest of all, are at the Head of this <i>Class</i> . Nevertheless, the Publick supply'd them with Horses, for which a Tax was laid upon Widows, they being exempt from all other Tribute. Till this King's Time, the <i>Romans</i> had had but six <i>Centuries</i> of Knights. <i>Romulus</i> had instituted only three, and <i>Tarquin the First</i> had doubled them. But <i>Servius</i> added twelve new <i>Centuries</i> to the <i>Roman</i> Horse, and order'd that this considerable Body should be at the Head of the rich <i>Class</i> . The second <i>Class</i> comprehended those whose Estates were valued at 7600 <i>Drachmae</i> . It was subdivided into twenty <i>Centuries</i> , all Foot. To these were added two <i>Centuries</i> of Carpenters, Smiths, and other Artificers. In the third <i>Class</i> , were those who were esteem'd worth 5000 <i>Drachmae</i> , and it was subdivided into twenty <i>Centuries</i> . The fourth <i>Class</i> was of those whose Effects were rated at the Value of 2500 <i>Drachmae</i> , and was divided into twenty <i>Centuries</i> ; and in this <i>Class</i> were included two other <i>Centuries</i> of Trumpets and Drums. The fifth <i>Class</i> included those only, whose whole Substance did not amount to more than 1250 <i>Drachmae</i> . It was divided into thirty <i>Centuries</i> .	

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Year of ROME The sixth *Class* comprehended all those who were not worth so much as the Soldiers of the fifth *Class*. They were exempted a great while both from paying Taxes and going to War.

§. 14. These Regulations being made; Levies for the Army were no longer raised by *Tribes*, nor were Taxes laid at so much a Head, as formerly: All was levied by *Centuries*. And the first, which was the rich *Class*, being more numerous in *Centuries* than all the rest together, furnish'd of consequence more Men and more Money for the publick Service, than the whole *Roman* State besides. However, that some Amends might be made this *Class* for the Weight laid on it, *Servius* gave it almost the whole Authority in publick Affairs, by assembling the People in *Comitia* by *Centuries*, instead of *Comitia* by *Curiae*. For the Majority being reckoned, not by single Persons, but by *Centuries*; and this *Class* containing more *Centuries* than all the

215. other five, had in a manner every thing at their Disposal. §. 15. *Servius* having made this prudent Division of the State into different Orders, resolves to solemnize his new Regulation by some publick Act of Religion. He therefore commands all the Citizens comprehended in the new *Census*, to appear under Arms, and according to their *Classes*, in the *Campus Martius*, on a Day appointed. A Bull, a Ram, and a Boar-Pig, are offer'd up in Sacrifice to *Mars*, and the whole Ceremony is called *Lustrum*, from the Goddess *Lua*, to whom *Servius* built a Temple. She was invoked in all Expiations, and when People made up their Accounts, and paid their Debts. This *Lustrum* is to be renewed every five Years immediately after the *Census*.

205. 'Tis probable, that at this time *Servius* coin'd the first Money ever known at *Rome*. The Circumstances of the *Lustrum* might perhaps lead him to stamp the Figures of an Ox, a Ram, and a Boar, on Pieces of Brass of a certain Weight. It is undoubted, that Money was called *Pecunia*, from the Word *Pecus*, i. e. Cattle. §. 16. The

King, remembering his former servile Condition, commiserates the Case of those whom an unsuccessful War had reduced to Slavery, and who were often Men well born. He judges, that such of these unfortunate People, who by long and faithful Services to their Masters, had deserved and obtained their Freedom, were much more worthy to be made Citizens of *Rome*, than untractable Vagabonds from foreign Countries, who were usually admitted without Distinction. He gives the *Freed-Men* their Choice therefore, either to return to their own Countries, or continue at *Rome*. Such as chuse to continue, he divides into four *Tribes*, and settles within the City. They are still distinguished from the *Plebeians*, by their old Name of *Liberti*, or *Freed-Men*, but enjoy all the Privileges of other Citizens. The Senate take Offence at this Regard shew'd to such mean People; but *Servius*, by a most humane and judicious Discourse, entirely appeases them, and they pass his Institution into a Law, which subsisted ever after. §. 17. *Servius*, from a Love of the Publick Good,

210. comes at last to reform the Regal Power, and, reserving only Affairs of State to himself, absolutely transfers the Care of judging in private Causes to the Senate. §. 18. Every thing being now regulated, both in City and Country, *Servius* lays a Scheme for securing more effectually the Friendship and Fidelity of the *Latins* and *Sabines*, by such social Ties as should be strengthened by Religion. He summons the *Latin* and *Sabine* Cities to send their Deputies to *Rome*. When they are come, he proposes to them to build a Temple to *Diana*, at which the *Latins* and *Sabines* should meet every Year, and join with the *Romans* in offering Sacrifice to the Goddess; that this Festival shou'd be follow'd by a Council, at which all Disputes which had happen'd between the Cities, shou'd be amicably determin'd; that there proper Measures should be taken to pursue their common Interests; and lastly, that in order to draw the Common People thither, a Fair should be kept, at which every one might furnish himself with what he wanted. To this reasonable Proposal the Deputies readily consented, leaving to the King to chuse a proper Place where to erect the Sanctuary. *Servius* chuses the Hill *Aventinus*; the Temple is finish'd; Assemblies are annually held in it, and in these Assemblies were those great Designs first form'd, which gradually prepar'd *Rome* for the Conquest of the World. §. 19. The

15. Story of *Antro*, who brought a Cow-calf of a monstrous Size for a Sacrifice to *Diana* *Aventina*; and of his being cheated by *Cornelius*, the Priest or Guardian of the Temple. §. 20. *Servius Tullius* is now grown old, and the Ambition of the Elder *Tarquin* every Day increases, as the King decays. He had already begun to make his Court to the Senate, by joining with it in opposing the Measures of his Father-in-Law. His Wife endeavours by all the Ways of Sweetness and Insinuation, to moderate and soften the haughty Fierceness of her Husband; while her younger Sister, a very Fury of a Woman, is ever pressing *Arunx*, even to villanous Attempts, in order to reach the Throne. She loudly laments her Fate in being ty'd to such an indolent and drowsy Husband. Similitude of Temper and Manners forms by Degrees a great Intimacy between her and *Tarquin*. At length she proposes to him nothing less than the murdering of her Father, Sister, and Brother-in-law, that they two may meet and ascend the Throne together; and their Conversation on this Head ends in their anticipating the Pleasures of an incestuous Marriage. §. 21. While *Servius*

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vius is in Perplexity about the Choice of a Successor, and is deliberating whether he shall not reduce the Government to a Commonwealth, *Tarquin* and the younger *Tullia* contrive the Murder, he of his Wife, she of her Husband; and then impudently ask the *King's* and *Queen's* Consent to their Marriage. *Servius* and *Tarquinius*, tho' they don't give it, are silent, through too much Indulgence for a Daughter, in whom now is their only Hope of Posterity. §. 22. These criminal Nuptials are followed by Intrigues against the *King*. *Tarquin* gains the *Senate* first, and then, by Money, the vile Populace of the sixth *Class*. *Servius*, inform'd of this, has frequent Conferences in private with his Son-in-law and Daughter, to persuade them by Reason, to desist from such Proceedings, and to wait for the Crown till his Death. But *Tarquin* and *Tullia* love violent Measures, and to make a noise. They despise the Counsels of the *King*, and resolve to lay their Pretensions before the *Senate*. *Servius* summons the *Senate*, where *Tarquin* urges his Right of Inheritance to the Throne, and the Injustice of *Servius* (who was only his Tutor) in keeping Possession of it, when he himself was of an Age to govern. To this *Servius* answers, That he had not been entrusted with the Government under an Obligation to preserve the Crown for his Pupils, but to secure their Lives against the Sons of *Ancus*; who, if there could be an hereditary Right to the Sceptre, had a much better one than the Grandsons of the late *King*, who must himself have been an Usurper. He then appeals to the People, and offers to submit to a new Election in the *Comitia*, where his Son-in-law may be his Competitor. §. 23. *Servius* having dismissed the *Senate*, assembles the People, and from the TRIBUNE (afterwards call'd the ROSTRA) makes them an Harangue, in which he displays his own Merit, and the Injustice of his Son-in-law. Upon which the Multitude cry out, *Let Servius reign; Let Tarquin perish, let him die*. This frightens *Tarquin*, and he retires in great haste to his House. §. 24. And now finding the ill Success of violent Measures, he acts a new Part. By Caresses and Submissions, he regains the *King's* Favour, and lulls him into an agreeable Security. But *Tullia*, who thinks her Husband grown as stupid and insensible as *Arunx*, upbraids him with Cowardice, and rouses him up to dare every Crime which can serve Ambition. Emboldened by her Sollicitations, he begins to form a Party, goes from House to House to beg Votes, and makes his own House a *Rendezvous* of Pleasure for the young Nobility. Gratitude easily engages to him the new *Senators*, whom his Grandfather had added to those of the old Institution. Having thus form'd his Party, he chuses the Time of Harvest, when most of the principal Citizens are in the Country, to put in Practice a Stratagem, which surprized the People by its Novelty, and succeeded by the Boldness of its Execution. He puts on the Royal Robes, causes *Fasces* to be carried before him, crosses the *Roman Forum*, attended by a great Number of his Party, and when he comes to the Gate of the *Senate-House*, sends Expresses to summon all the *Senators* in *King Tarquin's* Name. He then goes on with a grave Pace, and seats himself on the Royal Throne. When the Assembly is form'd, he begins to inveigh against his Father-in-law. But while he is speaking, *Servius* enters the *Senate*, falls into a Transport of Passion, and giving way to the Motions of his Courage, without considering his Strength, makes towards the Throne, in order to force *Tarquin* down from it. *Tarquin*, who is more strong and vigorous, descends from his Seat, seizes the old Man by the Waist, and hurrying him through the Hall, throws him headlong from the Top of the Steps into the *Forum*. The *King*, being grievously wounded, rises with Difficulty; his Friends had all deserted him; only two or three of the People, touched with Compassion, lend him their Arms, to lead him to his Palace. But while they are slowly dragging him along, the cruel *Tullia* comes hastily in her Chariot to the *Forum*. She finds her Husband on the Top of the Steps of the *Senate-House*, and transported with Joy, salutes him *King*; and the *Senators* of *Tarquin's* Party follow her Example. She then takes her Husband aside, and suggests to him the Thought of not leaving his Work imperfect. He immediately dispatches some of his Domesticks to take away the Remains of the old *King's* Life. The Body was left extended across a narrow Street, call'd the *Good Street*, through which *Tullia* was to pass in her Return home. The Coachman seeing it, stops his Horses. *Tullia* asks him, what it is that hinders him to go on: He answers with Tears, *Alas! Madam, it is the Body of the King your Father*. Go on, replies *Tullia* in a Rage, and fear not to trample a dead Corpse under your Horses Feet. The Coachman obeys; the Blood of the Father dyes the Chariot-Wheels, and spurts upon the Cloaths of the inhuman Daughter. The Street is from that time call'd the *wicked Street*. §. 25. The Character of *Servius Tullius*, who died at the Age of seventy four, after having reigned 44 Years. *Tarquin* refuses to suffer Obsequies to be performed for him, so that *Tarquinius* conveys the Body of her Husband by Night to his Tomb. The Night following she dies herself, but whether for Grief, or by her own Hands, or by the Wickedness of *Tullia*, is uncertain. The Veneration the People had for the Memory of *Servius*, seems to have placed him among the Gods. The Slaves annually celebrated his Festival in the Temple of *Diana Aventina*, on the Day he lost his Life. §. 26. *Tarquin* has no sooner invaded the Throne, than, for his capricious Humour and arrogant Behaviour, he gets the Surname of *The Proud*.

T A R-
QUIN the
PROUD,
7th King.

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Year of Proud. He had despised the Law for *Interregnums*, the Suffrages of the People, and ROME the Approbation of the *Senate*. Possession is his only Title to the Crown, and the whole Method of his Government that of a true Tyrant. He communicates no Affairs of State either to *Senate* or People, and the Privilege of complaining under Oppression is deny'd. Informers are scattered throughout the City; and the *King* is the sole Judge of the Accused. Wealth and Merit are unpardonable Crimes, (a convincing Proof of which is given in the Murder of *M. Junius*, the Father of the famous *Brutus*, who afterwards destroyed the Regal Power, and who now preserves his Life by counterfeiting Madness.) The Flower of the *Senate* go into a voluntary Banishment, to avoid the Effects of the *King's* Cruelty and Avarice. The People, who had rejoiced to see the *Senate* humbled, are now in their turn as ill-treated as the *Patricians*, and all the Laws made in their Favour are annulled. No *Census*, no *Lustrum*; no Division of the Citizens into *Classes* and *Centuries*: All Assemblies of the People, even for Diversion and Recreation, are prohibited. §. 27. But *Tarquin* being sensible, that all the Orders of Men in the State could not be long under Oppression, without uniting against the Oppressor, resolves to gain Foreigners to his Interest. He marries his Daughter to *Octavius Mamilius*, a Man of Bravery and Experience in War, and of the most considerable Interest of any among the *Latins*. *Mamilius* procures his Father-in-law many Friends of the chief Persons of *Latium*; but *Tarquin* is like to lose them again by his haughty Airs. §. 28. He had invited the *Latins* to meet in a National Assembly at *Ferentinum*, on a Day appointed by himself. The Deputies come and take their Places in the *Sacred Grove*. There they wait many Hours, but *Tarquin* does not appear. The Assembly grow impatient; and *Herdonius*, an enterprising eloquent Man, who hated *Tarquin*, and was jealous of *Mamilius*, takes this Occasion to inveigh against the *King*. His Speech makes some Impression on them, but *Mamilius* appeases them, and prevails to have the Council adjourned to the next Day. Then *Tarquin* appears, and having first in a cold manner made a frivolous Excuse for his Absence, he proceeds to tell the Assembly, that his Business with them, is to demand his Right of commanding the *Latin* Armies, a Right which he derived by Inheritance from his Grandfather. Upon this, a profound Silence ensues, till *Herdonius* stepping forth into the midst of the Assembly, makes a bitter Invektive against *Tarquin*, and represents to the *Latins* the fatal Consequences of admitting his Proposal. §. 29. *Tarquin* is disconcerted by the Boldness of this Orator, and desires that the Assembly may sit again the following Day, when he promises to give an Answer to the Invektives of *Herdonius*. In the mean time, he corrupts some of *Herdonius's* Domesticks, and engages them to hide a great Quantity of Arms in their Master's Baggage. The next Morning he enters the Assembly with an Air of Confidence, tells them, that the Malice of *Herdonius* against him, is wholly owing to his having refused to accept him for a Son-in-law, and accuses his Adversary of a Design to usurp a Tyranny over the *Latin* Cities. As a Proof of this, he informs them of the Arms in *Herdonius's* Baggage. The Accused knowing nothing of those Arms, consents to be adjudg'd guilty, if, upon Examination, the Fact alledged prove true. Upon a Search, the Arms are found in his Bundles, and the innocent *Herdonius* is fastened to a Hurdle, thrown into a Bason near the Spring *Ferentinum*, and there drowned. §. 30. But the Death of an Enemy is not the only Advantage *Tarquin* draws from his Villany. The *Latins* look upon him as their Deliverer, renew the Treaty made with *Tarquin the First*; and the *King* of *Rome* is declar'd General of the *Latin* Army. The *Hernici*, and two *Cantons* of the *Volsci*, enter into a League with him upon the same Terms. In order to keep these Confederates firm to his Interest, he erects a new Temple in the midst of them, to *Jupiter Latialis*. It stood on a Hill near the Ruins of *Alba*. There the *Diets* of the united *Cantons* were to assemble. These Assemblies were call'd *Latia*; and the Day appointed for their annual Meeting, which was the twenty-seventh of *April*, was call'd *Ferie Latine*. The *Romans*, as the chief Members of the Alliance, always presided at the Sacrifices and Deliberations. The *Diet* consisted of forty seven Deputies, who formed that *Latin* Association, which was always the best Part of the *Roman* Strength, and contributed more than all the rest of *Italy* to the Conquest of the Universe. Such was the Fruit of *Tarquin's* Crime. §. 31. With this Assistance he resolves to make War upon the *Volsci*, who had disdain'd to enter into Alliance with him. But he does not raise his Army upon the Foot of *Servius's* Division of the *Roman* Soldiery by *Centuries*, nor are the Allies any longer a separate Corps. Not having sufficient Confidence in the Fidelity of his *Romans*, he chuses only a small Number of them, such as he can most depend on, and blends them with the *Latins* in the same *Legions*. The Inhabitants of *Suessa Pometia*, one of the most flourishing Cities of the *Volsci*, having committed Rapines on the *Latins*, *Tarquin* takes hold of this Pretence to make War upon them. He defeats their Army, takes their City by Storm, and gives the Plunder of it as free Booty to the Soldiers, reserving only the tenth Part of the Spoil towards the Expence of finishing the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. He then turns his Arms against the *Sabines*, who had divided all their Forces into two Bodies, and posted them, one near *Eretum*, the other

JUPITER
LATIALIS.
LATIA.
FERIÆ
LATINÆ.

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other near *Fidenæ*. By his masterly Conduct, he entirely defeats both Armies, and makes the whole *Sabine* Nation tributary. And it is probable, that the *King* at this time decreed himself two Triumphs, one for his Victory over the *Volsci*, the other for having subdued the *Sabines*. Year c
ROMI

CLOACÆ and CIR-
CUS MAXI-
MUS finish-
ed. *Tarquin*, upon his Return to *Rome*, sets the People at work to finish the *Common Sewers*, and the *Great Circus*. He thought an idle Populace, who did not love their Prince, dangerous. The Artificers are therefore taken out of their Shops, and obliged to painful Drudgeries, with short Allowance : But by these vexatious Methods, he brings to Perfection those two Structures of his Grandfather. 230.

In the mean while, a great Number of discontented *Patricians*, who fly from their own City, take Refuge at *Gabii*, a City of *Latium*, and the Inhabitants being touch'd with Compassion to see so many illustrious Persons under Persecution, resolve to make War upon the King of *Rome*. *Tarquin* being inform'd of it, begins by fortifying the City with a prodigious Bulwark (much boasted of in After-ages) on the Side of *Gabii*. This War between *Tarquin* and the *Gabini* lasted seven Years, with various Success; but the Inroads and Devastations made on both Sides, being a Hindrance to all sowing and reaping, produce at length a Scarcity. The Famine is chiefly felt at *Rome*, where complaints are made by the People, that they suffer'd not by any Hatred of their Neighbours to *them*, but to the *King*, and they demand either a Peace or Provisions. And these Murmurings are encourag'd by the Emissaries of the Exiles at *Gabii*. §. 32. *Tarquin* being much perplex'd by these Clamours, which tended to a general Sedition, his Son *Sextus* proposes and puts in Practice an Expedient as dishonourable as artful, for reducing *Gabii*. He pretends to be upon very ill Terms with his Father, and inveighs against him in publick, as a Tyrant, who had no Compassion even for his own Children. The King orders him to be beaten publickly as a Rebel. This Discontent of the Son, and Barbarity of the Father, is publish'd at *Gabii* by trusty Persons sent thither on purpose, who by artful Management make the *Gabini* very desirous to have *Sextus* among them. A secret Negotiation is set on Foot for this Purpose, and *Sextus* consents, upon their solemn Promise never to deliver him to his Father, upon any Pretence. §. 33. When he is come to *Gabii*, his whole Talk, both in publick and private, turns upon the Tyranny of the *King* of *Rome*; and he suits his Actions to his Discourse. No Enemy of *Rome* is more active and vigorous. He frequently makes Inroads on the *Roman* Lands, and comes back loaded with Spoil; his Father contriving to gain him Honour, by always sending weak Parties to oppose him, which must infallibly be worsted. He comes at length to such a degree of Credit among the *Gabini*, that he is chosen General of their Army, and is as much Master in *Gabii* as *Tarquin* is in *Rome*. And now *Sextus* having full Power, dispatches a Slave to his Father, to enquire what he should do. The *King*, unwilling to send an Answer either in Writing or by Word of Mouth, takes the Slave into a Garden, and there, as if for Amusement, strikes off the Heads of all the tallest Poppies. This done, he sends back the Messenger. §. 34. *Sextus* understands the Hint, assembles the *Gabini*, and pretends to have discovered a Plot to deliver him up to his Father. The People in a Rage press him to declare the Conspirators, and with much difficulty they, as it were, extort from him the Name of *Antistius Petro*, a Man whose Merit had made him the most considerable Person in his Country. *Antistius* despises the Accusation; but *Sextus* had bribed his Servants, (in the same manner as *Tarquin* had formerly done those of *Herdonius*) to convey among his Papers some Letters from the *King* of *Rome*; which being produced and read, the Populace, without further Examination, immediately stone him; and to *Sextus* is committed the Care of discovering his Accomplices, and appointing their Punishment. §. 35. Upon this he orders the City-Gates to be shut, and sends Officers into every Quarter of it, to cut off the Heads of all the eminent Men, and Flower of the Nobility, without Mercy. In the midst of the Desolation and Confusion caused by this dreadful Massacre, he opens the Gates to his Father, to whom he had given timely notice of his Design, and *Tarquin* enters the City with all the Pride of a Conqueror. The *Gabini* fall into the lowest Depths of Despair, to see themselves so totally at the Mercy of the Tyrant, and there is no Evil which they don't expect to suffer. But he consults good Policy, grants them Life, Liberty, Estates, and even enters into a Treaty with the City, which is written upon a Shield made of the Hide of a Bull that had been sacrificed in Ratification of it. He leaves *Sextus* in *Gabii*, making him *King* of the Place. For it was another Part of his refined Politicks, to get rid of his Sons. And accordingly he sends his Son *Titus* to *Signia*, which was only a Camp, to build a City there, and his Son *Arunx* to build the Walls of *Circaum*, a Promontory on the Shore of the *Tyrrhene* Sea. His fourth Son, *Lucius*, was probably too young to give him Umbrage. §. 36. *Tarquin* now enjoyed a profound Peace at *Rome*. The *Romans* were become accusom'd to the Yoke of an imperious Master; and the Weight of Oppression made them silent. It was at this time that an unknown Woman appeared at Court, loaded with nine Volumes, which she offered to sell, but at a very considerable Price. *Tarquin* refuses to give it, upon which she withdraws, burns three of the nine, then returns to Court, 235.

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Year of Court, and demands the same Price for the remaining six. This makes her look'd ROME upon as mad, and she is driven away with Scorn. But having burnt the half of what were left, she comes a third time, and demands the same Price for the three, which she had asked for the whole nine. The Novelty of this Proceeding makes *Tarquin* curious; he consults the *Augurs*, who examine the Books, find them to be the Oracles of the *Sybil* of *Cumæ*, and declare them to be an invaluable Treasure. The Wo-

SYBIL'S
BOOKS.

man is paid the Sum demanded, and then disappears, after having advised the *Romans* to preserve her Books with Care. They soon began to be religiously respected. *Tarquin* appointed two Persons of Distinction, called at first *Duumviri*, to be Guardians of them. When the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* was built, they were locked up there in a Vault, and were afterwards burnt with the Temple it self.

242. It was in this *Tarquin's* Time likewise, that the written *Civil Law* had its Rise among the *Romans*. One *Papirius*, a *Senator*, collected all the Laws made by the *Kings*, into one Code, which was call'd the *Papirian Law*. §. 37. Rome conti-

Lex Papi-
ria.

nuing in profound Peace, *Tarquin* lays hold of the Opportunity to carry on the magnificent Work his Grandfather had begun, the Temple of the *Capitol*. A Description of this magnificent Structure is given at large. §. 38. While *Tarquin* is

CAPITOL.

thus employed, a cruel Plague ravages *Rome*, and this with some other extraordinary Events make such an Impression upon the *King's* Mind, that he resolves to send his Sons *Titus* and *Arunx*, to consult the Oracle of *Delphos*. But the Subject of the Embassy is kept a Secret, and entrusted only to them. The Princes prepare magnificent Presents for *Apollo*; and *Junius Brutus* (the pretended Madman) being to attend them, resolves to carry his Offering too. But his Present for the God, being an Elder-stick, is Matter of Diversion to the whole Court. However, as he knew that the Gods of those Times, or their Ministers, were much affected with valuable Offerings, he has the Precaution to inclose a Rod of Gold in his Stick, without any body's Knowledge. And thus it was a true Emblem of his own Mind and Conduct, who under a contemptible Outside, conceal'd the richest Gifts of Nature. The Answer of the Oracle was probably, That there should quickly be a new Reign at *Rome*; because it is said, that they ventured to ask, which of the three should succeed *Tarquin*, and that the God declared, that the Government of *Rome* was destin'd to him who should first give a Kiss to his Mother. *Brutus* immediately pretended Aukwardness, tumbled down, and kissed the Earth, the common Mother of all living. But whether these things be Fables or not, the Revolution which abolished the Regal Power,

243. happen'd soon after their Return to *Rome*. §. 39. They found the City in a Com-

motion, on account of the War in which the *King* was engaged with the *Rutuli*. In hopes of recruiting his exhausted Treasures, he had march'd his Army to *Ardea*, their Capital, thinking to take it without Opposition. But he found himself obliged to besiege it in Form. This put him under a Necessity of laying a heavy Tax upon the People; and this Tax greatly increas'd the Number of the Malecontents, and dispos'd them to a Revolt. The War being carried on very slowly, the General Officers spent their Leisure in Diversions. They mutually gave Invitations, and made Entertainments for one another in their Quarters. One Day, when *Sextus Tarquinius* was entertaining his Brothers and Friends, the Conversation happened to turn upon the Merit of Wives. Every one present extoll'd the good Qualities of his own; but none spoke with greater Encomiums, or more Rapture, than the happy *Collatinus* of his ador'd *Lucretia*. (He was the Grandson of *Egerius*, that Nephew of *Tarquin the Elder*, to whom that Prince had given the Property of the City and Territory of *Collatia*; and there he resided.) It was a kind of Dispute, and in order to end it, they took the Method which Mirth and Wine inspired; which was to mount their Horses, and go and surprize their Wives. And it was agreed, that she whom they found employ'd in a manner most worthy of her Sex, should have the Preference. The three *Roman* Ladies were found together in the midst of Feasting and Diversions; and seem'd much disconcerted by the unexpected Return of their Husbands. From *Rome* they hasten away to *Collatia*; and tho' the Night be far advanced, they find *Lucretia* up, with her Maids about her, spinning and working in Wool. The Com-

LUCRE-
TIA.

pany her Husband brings her of a sudden, does not discompose her; and they are all pleased with the Reception she gives them. Fatal Interview! Fatal to *Sextus*, to his Father, to his whole Family! Fatal to the unfortunate *Lucretia*! *Sextus* was even then unwilling to leave the Place; but there was an absolute Necessity for his appearing at the Camp before *Ardea*. However, he finds a Pretence to return very soon to *Collatia*, and goes to lodge at his Kinsman's House. *Lucretia*, in her Husband's Absence, does the Honours of it with great Dignity. He sups with her, and is conducted to his Apartment. And now a thousand Thoughts break in upon him, to divert his criminal Resolution. The Breach of Friendship, and of the Laws of Hospitality, the Dishonour offered to an illustrious Family, who had Power to revenge the Injury. But what most disheartens him, is the invincible Modesty of *Lucretia*; that Steadiness and Constancy in Virtue which would not suffer her to bear a Hint towards the least Deviation from it; that decent Pride, which had hitherto struck

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BRU-
TUS.

him with such an Awe, that he durst not so much as sigh before her. But the Violence of his Passion surmounts every Difficulty. When all are asleep, he steals into *Lucretia's* Apartment, and passes softly through her Women who lay at her Door. *Lucretia* wakes in a Surprise. He discovers who he is, and his Intent, threatens to murder her if she resists; and not only so, but to kill one of her Slaves, put him by her Side, and then declare to the World, that he had only revenged the injur'd Honour of *Collatinus*. — The Love of Glory had made *Lucretia* chaste; the Fear of Infamy, now makes her yield. So little Stress is to be laid on the Principles of Pagan Virtue! Early the next Morning, *Sextus* appears again in the Camp: whilst *Lucretia*, having escaped the Danger of Infamy, despises Life. She dresses herself in Mourning, takes a Dagger under her Robe, writes to her Husband to meet her at her Father *Lucretius's* House, and comes to *Rome*. Tho' often ask'd, she refuses to tell the Reasons of her Sorrow, but in a full Assembly of her Friends and Relations. Many of the Nobility crowd to the House, and among the rest, *P. Valerius* (afterwards *Poplicola*) and *Junius Brutus*, who seems to have waited for this Moment to throw off the Mask of Madness. When the Assembly is pretty numerous, she addresses herself to her Husband *Collatinus*, declares her own Shame, and his Dishonour, and the treacherous Author of both. She tells them her firm Resolution not to live, and conjures them to revenge her Death. She then embraces her Father and her Husband, as if to take her last Farewel, and immediately strikes the conceal'd Dagger into her Heart. She falls down, expiring at the Feet of her Relations; and the Blood which she sheds to attest her Innocence, or repair her Glory, serves likewise to cement the Union of those illustrious Citizens who give Liberty to *Rome*. §. 40. For whilst so tragical a Disaster fills the Spectators with Amazement and Grief, *Brutus* comes to the dying Lady, draws the Ponyard out of her Bosom, and shewing it all bloody to the Assembly, says, *I swear by this Blood, which was once so untainted, and which nothing could pollute, but a detestable Tarquin, That I will pursue the King, the Queen, and their Children, with Fire and Sword, and will do my utmost to extirpate out of Rome a Race of Monsters, who dishonour the Roman Throne. Ye Gods, I call you to witness this my Oath!* — He then presents the Dagger to *Collatinus*, *Lucretius*, and *Valerius*, and engages them to take the same Oath. These noble Romans, surprized at the unexpected Appearance of so much Wisdom in an Idiot, look on him as inspir'd, and submit entirely to his Conduct. He then lets them know, that his Madness had been only counterfeited, advises them to defer lamenting the Death of *Lucretia* to another time, to think now only of revenging it, and to begin by shutting the Gates of *Rome*. *Lucretius* being Governor of it, this was easily done; and care was taken, that no body should be permitted to go out of the City, to give notice at the Camp of what was doing. Then *Brutus*, causing the yet bleeding Body of *Lucretia* to be carried to the Place where the *Comitia* were held, and placing the Corpse where it might be seen by every body, orders the People to be call'd together. When they are met, he ascends *The Tribune*, and in an eloquent and nervous Speech lays before them the Importance of the Affair under Deliberation, enlarges on the Usurpation, Tyranny, and Cruelty of *Tarquin*, then desires them to turn their Eyes to the dead Body of *Lucretia*, represents the Enormity of *Sextus's* Crime, and urges them to revenge at once all the Villanies of the whole Family, by extirpating the Race. The People, moved and animated by *Brutus's* Oration, call out for Arms: but *Brutus* thinks it necessary that they should first confirm by their Suffrages a Decree of the *Senate*, which condemn'd the *Tarquins*, and all their Posterity, to perpetual Banishment, deprived them of all the Privileges belonging to the Regal Authority, and forbid every Citizen, upon pain of Death, to say or do any thing in their Favour. *Brutus*, by a surprizing Instance of Good-Fortune, happens to be legally invested with a Right of assembling the *Comitia*; (this Right was annexed to the Office of *Tribune*, or chief Commander of the King's Horse-Guards, which *Tarquin* had given him, because he thought him incapable of using it to his Disadvantage.) He therefore assembles the *Curia*, and all are unanimous in confirming the *Senate's* Decree. §. 41. And now the Administration is reduced to an *Interregnum*, and the People, by another Vote, declare *Lucretius Inter-Rex*; so that it is his Business to prepare every thing for the Choice of new Governors. The next Question is, what kind of Government is most eligible. And here again *Brutus* shews himself a consummate Politician. *Experience*, says he, *has shew'd us in the Examples of Romulus and Numa, and other good Kings, that it is by no means proper, that Rome should be without supreme Magistrates, to keep an even Balance of the Senate's and People's Power; but it is necessary that the Sovereign Authority should neither center in one Man, nor be perpetual; let it be divided between two, who may jointly make the Interests of the Publick their chief Concern: they will be a check upon each other, and have a mutual Emulation in the Discharge of their Duty. But let us take particular care, not to continue their Power too long, lest the Sweets of it should tempt them to retain it. Let us change the very Names of King and Kingdom, and give the two Heads that are to govern us, the Name of Consuls, and the Roman State that of Republick. Let us abolish the pompous*

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Year of pious Ensigns of Regal Power, Sceptres, Crowns, and Royal Robes; let our Consuls only ROME sit on an Ivory Seat, wear a white Robe, and be attended by twelve Lictors. But what am I saying? I am not for utterly abolishing the venerable Name of King, which was consecrated by the same Auspices as Rome herself, at her Foundation. Let us give it to that Magistrate to whom we commit the Superintendency of Religion; let his Office be for Life, and let him be called King of Sacred Things. The Heads of the Conspiracy approve this Scheme, and the People, being again assembled by Curiae, establish the new Form of Administration by a Law. §. 42. But to lose no Time, and to put the finishing Hand to the Revolution, the People are assembled once more, not by Curiae, but by Centuries, and directed to come armed to the Campus Martius, in order to the Election of the two first Consuls. Brutus, the Head of the Conspiracy, and Collatinus the Husband of Lucretia, are proposed to the People by Lucretius, the Inter-Rex, and unanimously chosen. Then the cruel Tullia, when she saw her Husband's Throne over-turn'd, and that she could be no longer safe in Rome, left it, and went to Tarquin. She was hiss'd by the Populace, as she went thro' the City; but so monstrous a Fury deserved a worse Treatment. In the mean time Tarquin, being informed by some who got out of Rome before the Gates were shut, that Brutus was raising some Commotions to his Prejudice, comes to the City, attended only by his Sons, and a few Friends; for he despised the Plots of a Madman. But Lucretius refuses to open the Gates to him, when he appears; and on his Return to the Camp, he finds that Valerius and Brutus have in his Absence been there, and gained over the Army to them; so that being both driven from his Capital, and rejected by his Troops, he is forced, at the Age of seventy-six, to fly for Refuge to Cære, a City of Etruria, with only his Wife and his Sons Arunx and Titus. As for Sextus, he retires to Gabii, the Government of which he had usurped, and where the Inhabitants take away his Life, in Revenge of his former Treachery and Cruelties.

B O O K V.

243. §. 1. **T**HE Banishment of the Tarquins delivers Rome from her domestick Tyrants; but it increases the Number of her Enemies abroad, and makes her lose her Allies; for all the Nations in Confederacy with the Romans take the Part of the banished King. Tho' the City it self is much enlarged, and thronged with a prodigious Number of Inhabitants, yet the Roman Territory is surprizingly small. In the Space of 240 Years, the seven Kings who had governed Rome, and had been always victorious over their Neighbours, had not, by an hundred Battles, gained Land enough to furnish the City with Provisions. So that she is now almost in the same Condition as in the Time of Romulus; without any Extent of Dominion, and without Allies.
244. §. 2. However, she enjoys a profound Peace in the Beginning of the new Administration. The Consuls take an Oath of the People, in Behalf of themselves and their Posterity, never to replace either Tarquin or his Sons, or any of his Family, upon the Throne. A King of the Sacrifices is chosen, and many of the Laws of Servius Tullius are revived, to the great Joy of the People. The Consuls turn their Thoughts next to secure the Senators, amongst whom Valerius has great Interest. He had expected to be named Consul at the first Election; and the Preference given to Collatinus had so much displeased him, that he had absented himself from the Senate and publick Affairs, and began to be suspected of favouring the banish'd King. But he removes these Apprehensions, by the remarkable Zeal he shews for Liberty, when the Day comes for the Senators to take the same Oath which the People had done.
- §. 3. In the mean time the Tarquins are using their utmost Endeavours to stir up against Rome, both her old Enemies, and her new Allies. Having wandered from City to City, the old King at length makes Tarquinia the Centre of his Negotiations. By moving Words he engages the Tarquinians to send an Embassy to Rome, with a Letter from himself, directed to the Roman People. The Deputies arrive at Rome, and represent in such strong Terms the Reasonableness of hearing their King before they condemn him, and the Danger which threatens them if they refuse it, that the Consuls are inclinable to bring the Tarquinian Embassadors before the People, and to leave the Decision of the Affair to the Comitia. But Valerius, ashamed at their Weakness, strenuously opposes the Motion, and by his Influence in the Senate defeats this first Attempt of the artful Tarquin.
- §. 4. As the Senate is, above all, concern'd for ever to exclude Kings, who had often oppress'd it, the Consuls think it necessary to restore that venerable Body to all its Rights and Prerogatives, and to gain it the Respect of the People, as well by the Number, as by the Dignity of its Members. And for this Reason, wise Men, and Men of Interest, are sought out, amongst the Roman Knights, to fill up the vacant Places, and make up the antient Number of three hundred. The old Senators were called Patres, or Fathers; and because these new ones are put upon the same List with them, they

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PATRES they are call'd *Conscripti*, i. e. Persons written or enrolled together with them. §. 5. But Year of
CONSCRIP- tho' *Tarquin* the Father was odious both to People and *Patricians*, yet his Sons ROME
TI. had a great Number of young Debauchees in their Interest; a Similitude of Man-
ners having ty'd them to one another. The *Tarquins* building Hopes on these young
Nobles, who regretted the Loss of their Companions, prevail with the *Tarquinians*
to send a second Embassy to *Rome*, under Pretence of demanding the Estates of the Ex-
iles; but the true Design of which is to spirit up a Faction to attempt the Lives of
the *Consuls*. The Ambassadors are admitted, and nothing can be more modest than
the Demands of the banish'd King. He asks his paternal Estate; and on that Condi-
tion promises never to attempt the Recovery of the Crown by Force of Arms. The
Consuls are divided in Opinion. *Collatinus* is for complying with the Request; but
Brutus opposes it. The Affair having been long considered by the Senate, is at last
brought before the People. *Brutus* endeavours to bring his Colleague under a Suspi-
cion of Treachery. However, the Opinion of *Collatinus* prevails in the *Comitia*;
and it is carried by one Vote, that the *Tarquins* shall be put in Possession of the E-
states of their Family. §. 6. Whilst the People are employ'd in loading Car-
riages with the Effects of the Exiles, and in selling what cannot be carried off, the
Ambassadors find means to draw into a Plot against the *Consuls*, some of their nearest
Relations. These were three Senators of the *Aquilian* Family (the Sons of *Collati-*
nus's Sister) and two of the *Vitellii*, (whose Sister *Brutus* had married;) and these lat-
ter engage *Titus* and *Tiberius*, the two Sons of *Brutus*, in the Conspiracy. They all
bind themselves by solemn Oaths, with the dreadful Ceremony of drinking the Blood
of a murder'd Man, and touching his Entrails. The House of the *Aquilii* is their
Place of Meeting, and there they all write Letters to the banish'd King, which are
put into the Hands of the Ambassadors. But notwithstanding a great deal of Pre-
caution used by the Conspirators, to keep the Secret from their Servants, *Vindicius* a
Slave, and then Butler to the *Aquilii*, suspecting his Master's Designs, stays at the
Door of the Apartment, and thro' a Crevise sees and hears all that passes. He dares
not disclose the Secret to either of the *Consuls*, on account of their near Relation to
the Conspirators: But goes strait to *Valerius*, and to him unburdens his Mind. *Val-*
erius takes the Slave under his Protection, and then his chief Care is to seize the
Conspirators Letters; and this he effects by the Help of his Brother *M. Valerius*, and
of his Friends, Clients and Domesticks; and has likewise the good Fortune to take
all the Heads of the Conspiracy Prisoners. §. 7. Early the next Morning the
People are summon'd to the *Comitia*, where *Brutus* and his Colleague sit on the Tri-
bunal of Justice; and the Prisoners are ty'd to Stakes, with their Hands bound be-
hind them. *Brutus* begins the Trial with the Examination of his two Sons. *Vindi-*
cious appears against them, the Letters are read, the Proof is clear, and the Criminals
are speechless. *Titus*, and *Tiberius*, says the stern *Brutus*, *what have you to offer in*
your Defence? The Question is thrice proposed. Their Silence confesses their Guilt, and
their Tears are their only Plea. The major Part of the Senators are touch'd with Com-
passion; and a confused Murmur is heard among them, *Banish them, banish them.* *Colla-*
tinus's Eyes are bathed in Tears; and *Valerius*, as rigid as he is, has nothing to say. The
whole Assembly trembles, and with Horror expects the Sentence. *Brutus* at length rises
up, and with a steady Voice, not interrupted by a Sigh, says, *Lictors, the rest is your Part.*
At these Words, the whole Assembly shriek, and the universal Consternation is inexpress-
sible. Distress is painted upon every Face, and the sad Looks of the People plead for
Pity. But neither these Intercessions, nor the bitter Lamentations of the young
Men, who call upon their Father by the most endearing Names, can soften the
inflexible *Brutus*. The *Lictors* seize upon the Criminals, beat them with Rods, and
then strike off their Heads; *Brutus* all the Time gazing on the cruel Spectacle, with
a steady Look, and a composed Countenance. §. 8. This Execution over, *Bru-*
tus immediately quits the Tribunal, and leaves his Colleague to do the rest. *Collati-*
nus is inclin'd to spare his Nephews the *Aquilii*. He allows the Prisoners a Day to
clear themselves, and orders their Slave *Vindicius* (the only Evidence against them) to
be deliver'd up to his Masters. But this raises the Indignation of the People, and the
Zeal of *Valerius*, who had promised with an Oath to protect the Witness. In vain
the *Lictors* attempt to force *Vindicius* from him. The People call out for *Brutus* to
return to the *Comitia*. His Presence makes the Prisoners tremble. He tells the Peo-
ple that what he had done was by virtue of his Authority over his Children: But
that for the rest of the Delinquents, it belong'd to them to determine their Fate.
Accordingly, by a Decree of the *Curia* they all suffer as Rebels. Only as to the
Ambassadors, Regard is had to the Law of Nations. As for *Vindicius*, he is ad-
judg'd worthy of that Liberty he had secur'd to the *Romans*; and besides the Privile-
ges of a *Roman* Citizen, has the Reward of 25000 *Asses* of Brass. And tho' the
People had formerly decreed that the Estates of the *Tarquins* should be restor'd to
them; yet now the Senate order their Palace to be destroy'd, and their Lands to be
distributed among indigent Citizens; the Publick only retaining a Piece of Ground
near the *Campus Martius*, which the King had usurp'd, and added to his Demesnes:
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Year of The Piece of Ground being consecrated to *Mars*, the People scrupled to house the
ROME Corn found upon it; so that, with some Trees, it was thrown into the *Tyber*, and
the Water being low, it stopp'd in the Middle of the River, and began to form that
fine Island which was call'd *Insula sacra*, after many Temples had been built on it. *Insula sa-*
§. 9. But the weak Conduct of *Collatinus*, with regard to the Conspirators, having *cra.*
exasperated the Minds of the People against him, *Brutus* takes Advantage of it to get
him deposed. However, being frank and open, he first threatens him, and then in an As-
sembly of the People declaims against him as a Favourer of the *Tarquins*, orders the
Curia to deliberate upon his Deposition, and declares his Resolution to quit the
Consulship, if *Collatinus* be longer suffer'd to share the Authority with him. In vain
does *Collatinus* reproach *Brutus* with betraying his Friend, and defaming his Collegue.
In vain does he forbid the People to assemble, as his Collegue had appointed: Their
Resentments are raised to such a Height, that they seem disposed to depose *Collatinus*
by Violence. But at length *Lucretius* (who is said to be the first private Man who ever
obtain'd Leave of the *Consuls* to make a Speech in the *Comitia*) addresses himself to his
Son-in-law *Collatinus*, and advises him to a voluntary Abdication, and Retirement to
a private Life. Then he exhorts *Brutus* not to carry his Resentments to Extremity
against his Collegue; and the *Romans* to mitigate the Uneasiness of his voluntary Re-
signation, by their Liberality, so as to enable him to support the Dignity of a *Roman*
Consul in his Retirement. This Advice is receiv'd with universal Applause. *Colla-*
tinus resigns; *Brutus* commends his Wisdom, and procures him a Present of twenty
Talents out of the publick Treasury, to which he adds five of his own, to shew
that he has no personal Enmity to him. §. 10. *Brutus* immediately assembles
the People by *Centuries* in the *Campus Martius*, for the Election of a new *Consul*, and
they chuse *P. Valerius*, a Man remarkable for Eloquence, the Talent of reconciling
Differences, an excessive Abstemiousness, Severity to himself, and Compassion for the
Miseries of other Men. And now the two *Consuls*, equally eminent for their Love of
the Publick Good, begin their joint Administration, by passing a Law which grants
a general Amnesty to all those who had followed the Fortune of the *Tarquins*, pro-
vided they return to the City in twenty Days; and this brings back a great Number
of excellent Subjects to *Rome*. But nothing can so far discourage the ambitious *Tar-*
quin, but that he still hopes to recover the Throne by Force. He goes about sol-
liciting the neighbouring Nations, and engages the *Veientes* and *Tarquinians* to unite
their Forces in the Support of his Cause. The Royalists first take the Field: But
as soon as they are entered into the *Roman* Territory, the *Consuls* march out their
Troops to meet them. §. 11. When the two Armies are in Sight of each other,
Brutus advances with his Cavalry, in hopes of bringing the Enemy to an Engage-
ment by Skirmishes. *Arunx*, one of *Tarquin's* Sons, is boldly coming on at the same
time with a Party of Horse; so that the two Generals discover each other. *Arunx*
immediately cries out, *There is that Enemy of our Family, that Usurper of my Father's*
Throne. This said, he pushes on his Horse, and *Brutus* flies to meet him. The two
Combatants level their Javelins, and, following the Dictates of Hatred and Passion,
rush on without Precaution against each other, and are both run thro' the Body.
The Horses throw their dying Riders; and the Loss of the two Generals is the Pre-
lude of the Battle. The two Armies engage; the Success is dubious, and the Num-
ber of the slain equal on both Sides, when Night puts an End to the Action. It
is uncertain in the two Camps which Side has gain'd the Victory. A Report is
spread, That a Voice was heard out of the Wood *Arsius*, declaring the *Romans*
Conquerors: But, whether this was a Stratagem of *Valerius*, or not, it is certain
that the *Romans* had more Constancy and Resolution than their Enemies, who left
their Camp in Confusion, disbanded, and return'd into their own Country. Upon
which *Valerius*, who remained sole Master of the Field of Battle, ordered the slain
to be numbered; and it was found that the *Hetrurians* had lost 11300 Men, and the
Romans but one Man short of that Number. §. 12. But this Success did not
comfort *Rome* for the Loss of *Brutus*. The first Funeral Honours were pay'd him in
the Camp; but the next Day after *Valerius's* Triumph, his Corpse was brought into
the *Forum* in a magnificent Litter, and *Valerius* mounting the *Tribune*, then gave
Rome the first Example of those Funeral Orations, which were ever after made in
Praise of Great Men. §. 13. As *Valerius*, for some Reasons, defers assembling
the People for the Election of a new *Consul*, it begins to raise a Distrust of him,
and the People impute his Delays to some ambitious Design. These Murmurs seem
to be authorised by his then building a fine House on a steep Part of the Hill *Pala-*
tinus, which commanded the *Forum Romanum*. The People consider it as a Citadel,
whence the new Monarch is to command the City. But as soon as *Valerius* is in-
formed of this Uneasiness amongst the People, he comes to a secret Resolution, and
the very next Night sends a great Number of Workmen to pull down the House to
the Ground; and calling the People together as soon as it is Day, expostulates with
them about their unjust Suspicions, bids them go see the Ruins of his House, and
acquaints them that he had made Choice of the Valley to fix his Habitation there;
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that from the Top of the Hill, where his other House had been building, they might Year 0
crush him with Stones, if he was still the Object of their Jealousy. This said, he ROM 1
orders the *Comitia* to assemble for the Election of a new *Consul*, in which he leaves
them entirely free. *Lucretius*, the Father of the famous *Lucretia*, is chosen; but dies
soon after. The People, as they come out of the *Comitia*, being ashamed of having
suspected *Valerius*, compliment him with a large Ground-Plot, in an agreeable Place,
and there build him a House. §. 14. The sensible Proofs which *Valerius* (in the
Interval between the Death of *Lucretius*, and the Election of a new *Consul*) gives the
People, of his Zeal for their Interest, gain him the Surname of *Poplicola*; and he is
called by no other ever after. He orders the *Axes*, which were so apt to strike Ter-
ror, to be taken out of the *Fasces*, which the *Lictors* are also commanded to lower in
the Assemblies of the People. A Law is pass'd, whereby every Criminal is allow'd
to appeal to the People. Another, exempting Artificers, Widows, and Old Men
who had no Children to relieve them, from paying Tribute. A third, limiting the
Penalty for disobeying the *Consuls*, to the Value of five Oxen, and two Rams. A
fourth, permitting any one who should know of a form'd Design of usurping Re-
gal Power, to kill the Author of it, without waiting till he was legally condemned;
and so likewise, in the Case of usurping a publick Office without the Peoples Con-
sent. But what entirely wins *Poplicola* the Hearts of the People, is his transferring
from himself the Care of the publick Treasure, to two Officers of their Choice, who
were called *Quæstors*. He orders it to be remov'd from his House to the Temple of
Saturn, where it was ever after lodg'd. And now having done all he desir'd to-
wards diminishing the *Consular* Authority, he assembles the People in the *Campus*
Martius, for the Election of a new *Consul*, to be his Collegue; and the Choice falls
upon *Horatius Pulvillus*. §. 15. When this first Year of the *Consular* Power is
expired, the *Romans* think fit, because of the present critical Situation of their Af-
fairs, to chuse *Poplicola* again; and with him they join *Sp. Lucretius*, the Brother
of the famous *Lucretia*. They begin their Government by reviving the old Instit-
tutions, of King *Servius Tullius*, the *Census* and the *Lustrum*. As the *Romans* are
most apprehensive of a War from the *Latin* Quarter, the *Consuls*, at a great Expence,
fortify *Sinquinum*, a convenient Post on that Side: And the Precaution is not
useless; for in a little time *Porfena*, King of *Clusium* in *Hetruria*, sends a haughty
and threatening Embassy to the *Romans*, requiring them either to restore the *Tarquins*
to the Throne, or to give them back their Estates. But the first is absolutely re-
fused, and the second is said to be impracticable; a Part of those Estates being con-
secrated to *Mars*, and the rest divided among indigent People, from whom they cou'd
not be recover'd. While the Thoughts of the *Romans* are employ'd about making a
brave Defence, the Time comes for electing new *Consuls*, and *Poplicola* is chosen a third
time; and with him *Horatius Pulvillus*, who had before been *Consul* for a few Months.
§. 16. *Porfena*, attended by his Son *Arunx* and the *Tarquins*, marches towards *Rome*
with a formidable Army, and is joined by a considerable Body of *Latins*, under the
Command of *Mamilius*, *Tarquin* the Proud's Son-in-law. The *Consuls* make the Pea-
sants carry their Effects into strong Holds, and they endeavour to secure the Hill *Ja-
niculus*, which overlooked *Rome*, and was its only Fortification on the other Side the
Tyber. And to keep the Populace in Temper and Spirit, they make several agreeable
Regulations with respect to Taxes, Provisions, &c. So that as all are sensible of the
Difference of the present Government from the former; they are equally zealous
to avoid Servitude; and Concord reign'd in *Rome* even in the Time of the Famine,
during the Siege. §. 17. *Porfena* soon displays his Banners along the *Tyber*. He
attacks the Fort of the *Janiculus*, and drives the *Romans* out of it. Upon this, the
Consuls make all their Troops pass the River, and draw them up in Order of Battel,
to defend the Bridge. *Porfena* advances to engage them. The Battel is for a long
time doubtful; but *Poplicola*, (who commanded the Center) and *T. Lucretius*, (who
was at the Head of the Left Wing) being both unfortunately wounded, a general
Terror seizes the whole Army. The Bridge is in a moment covered with Fugitives,
who strive to gain the City. In vain does *Horatius Cocles*, a brave Roman, endea-
vour to rally the terrified *Legions*. However, he resolves to be the last that flies.
Sp. Lartius and *T. Herminius*, (who had commanded the Right Wing) join the gal-
lant *Horatius*, and make a resolute stand against the Enemy, till the Fugitives have
all got over the Bridge, and then (these three Heroes posting themselves in the nar-
row Pass, which led to it, to hinder the Enemy from pursuing them) *Horatius* calls
out to the *Romans* to break it down. In the mean time, the Heaps of dead Bodies
which fall by the Hands of the three brave Officers, make a kind of Rampart for
them. The Demolition of the Bridge being almost completed, *Horatius* intreats his
Companions to leave him, and cross the River on a few Planks which remain'd. Then
for a while he sustains alone the Attack of the Enemy, till being wounded in the
Thigh, and the Signal being given, that the Bridge was quite demolished, he leaps
into the River, and swims across, amidst a Shower of Darts. Thus *Cocles* saved the
Republick from Ruin; and the *Romans* being sensible of it, erected a Statue of Brass to
him

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TORS.

2^d CON-
SULSHIP.

PORSENA.

3^d CON-
SULSHIP.

HORATIUS
COCLES.

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Year of him in the *Forum*. And tho' there was a great Scarcity in *Rome*, yet all the Inhabitants, Men, Women, and Children, assessed themselves to the value of what each spent in a Day, to make him a Present. But notwithstanding this, because he had but one Eye, and continued lame the remaining Part of his Life, these Defects prevented his ever being elected *Consul*: So careful were the *Romans* in those Days, that no Perfection of Mind or Body should be wanting in those whom they placed at the Head of the Republick.

§. 18. The *Romans* being greatly distressed by Famine, *Porfena* sends them word, that if they will receive their old Masters, he will furnish them with Provisions; but they return for Answer, *That Hunger is a less Evil than Slavery and Oppression*. In the mean time, the *Consuls* form a Scheme to draw the Enemy into an Ambuscade; and to that Purpose spread at *Rome* a Report, which is carried to the *Hetrurian* Camp by some Slaves who desert, that the next Day all the Cattel brought thither from the Country, will be sent to Pasture under a Guard. The Project succeeds; this Bait draws the Enemy into an Ambush, and five thousand of them are kill'd.

§. 19. *Rome* is wearied out with a long Siege, when *Mucius Cordus*, a young *Roman* of illustrious Birth, and great Innocence of Life, forms a Design for the Relief of his Country. He communicates it to the *Consuls* and *Senate*, and desires, as his only Recompence, That in case he falls in the dangerous Attempt to serve his Country, his Zeal may not be buried in Oblivion, but proclaim'd after his Death. He dresses himself in an *Hetrurian* Habit, takes a Ponyard under his Robe, and coming as a Deserter to the Enemy's Camp, mixes with the Soldiers, and makes his way quite to the King's Tent. It happens to be the Day on which the Troops are reviewed and paid. A Secretary of State, magnificently dressed, is sitting on the same Tribunal with the King, giving Audience, and receiving Petitions. *Mucius* mistakes him for the King himself, leaps upon the Tribunal, and with one Stroke of his Ponyard, lays him dead at the King's Feet. He then attempts to escape, but is seized, and brought back to the Presence of *Porfena*, who asks him his Name, who he is, and his Accomplices. *Mucius*, with a haughty Countenance that strikes more Terror than it expresses Fear, tells him, *That he is a Roman, and that Roman Bravery made him capable of attempting whatever Man could do, and of suffering whatever Man could endure*. *Porfena* is fill'd with Amazement at this Answer; but is yet more surprized, when he sees him with a steady Countenance, and a Look which testify'd his inward Rage at having missed his Aim, thrust his Right Hand into a Pan of burning Coals, and there let it broil, without shewing any Signs of Pain. The King's Resentment is changed into Admiration; he grants him Life and Liberty, and even restores him the Dagger with which *Mucius* had design'd to stab him. *Mucius* having now lost the Use of his Right Hand, takes it with his Left, and has thence the Name of *Scævola*, i. e. *Left-handed*. And now, in his turn, he is charmed with the Generosity of *Porfena*; yet has Presence of Mind even in the Transport of his Joy, to invent, for the Service of his Country, what he thinks an innocent Lye. He pretends to be mov'd by the King's Generosity, to discover to him a Secret, which, he said, no Torments could have extorted from him: *That three hundred Romans, all as resolute as himself, and who were dispersed in the Hetrurian Camp, had bound themselves by the most sacred Oaths, to attempt his Life one after another, at the same hazard that he had done*. *Porfena*, struck with Terror at the hearing this Account, but yet more with Admiration of the *Roman* Magnanimity, inclines to Peace; for which his Son *Arunx*, a great Admirer of the *Roman* Virtue, is very zealous. Deputies are sent to *Rome*, who insist no longer on the Restoration of the *Tarquins*, but only on the Restitution of their Estates, or an Equivalent. And as to the *Hetrurian* Nation, they require that the *Romans* should reinstate the *Veientes* in the Possession of seven Villages taken from them in former Wars. *Poplicola*, zealous to have the People reliev'd in their Misery, prevails with the *Senate* to comply with all the Conditions: but the People themselves refuse to consent to the first Article, till *Porfena* has heard their Cause pleaded against the *Tarquins*; and to his Arbitration they leave it. As to the second, they readily agree to it, and promise Hostages for their Fidelity.

§. 20. A Truce is made. The *Romans* send Deputies to plead their Cause, and at the same time, ten young Virgins, and as many Boys, of the best Families in *Rome*, for Hostages. But the *Tarquins* refuse to admit *Porfena* for a Judge between them and the *Romans*. However, he resolves to inform himself in the Affair, and associates his Son *Arunx* for the hearing and deciding it. But as the Cause is just Opening, News is brought, that the young Women, sent as Hostages, had ventured to swim cross the *Tyber*, and were return'd to *Rome*. They had gone to bathe in the River, and *Clælia*, who was one of them, happening to turn her Eyes towards her native City, took a longing to go back to it. The rest, encouraged by her Example, follow'd her, and they all got safe to the opposite Shore. When the Truth of the Matter is known, it serves only to increase the Esteem which *Porfena* and *Arunx* have for the *Roman* Bravery. But *Poplicola* is very uneasy at the Return of the young Women, of whom his own Daughter *Valeria* is one. He dispatches a Deputation to the *Hetrurian* Camp, to excuse the Folly of the Girls, and promises

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to send them back. The *Tarquins* having notice of their Return; lay in wait, with a great Body of Horse, to surprize them. But *Poplicola* having put himself at the Head of their weak Guard, sustains the Attack with incredible Valour, while his Daughter *Valeria*, exceedingly terrified, rides full speed to the *Hetrurian* Camp, and gives notice of the Danger her Father is in. *Arunx*, with a good Body of Cavalry, flies to his Relief, and the *Tarquins* are soon routed. §. 21. This Treachery of the *Tarquins* gives *Porfena* a strong Suspicion of the Badness of their Cause. He summons all the chief Commanders of his Army, and in their Presence hears the Complaints of the *Romans*; who enlarge on all the Crimes committed by the Tyrants; the Assassination of *King Servius*, the Usurpation of an elective Crown, and the Violence offered to the chaste *Lucretia*. The *Hetrurians* are fill'd with Horror. *Porfena* renounces all Alliance with the *Tarquins* and *Mamilius*; and orders them to leave his Camp. He then commands the ten young Virgins to be brought before him, and enquires who was the first Author of their Enterprize. *Clælia*, with a fearless Air, confesses that she alone was guilty, and that she had embolden'd the rest by her Advice. The *King*, as much surprized with her Steadiness as with her Courage, addresses himself to her in a gracious manner, extols her Adventure above the Bravery of *Horatius*, and the Intrepidity of *Mucius*, and makes her a Present of a fine Horse with sumptuous Furniture. After this, he restores the *Romans* all the Hostages he had demanded of them, and tells the *Consul*, that he looks upon his Probity as the best Guarantee. And now being to return to *Clusium*, he signalizes his Departure with an Act of Liberality, the more to be admired, the less Appearance it has of Affectation. Knowing the great Scarcity of Provisions among the *Romans*, and yet fearing to give them Offence, by relieving them in a direct manner, he orders his *Hetrurians* to leave both their Tents and Provisions behind them, and to carry nothing away with them but their Arms. *Rome* was by this much relieved in her Wants; and the *Romans*, to shew their Gratitude for a Present so genteely made, took up a Custom, whenever any Effects belonging to the Publick were to be sold, of proclaiming them by a Herald, in the following Words, *These are Porfena's Goods*; the Intention of which, was to express, That the Republick was indebted to *Porfena* for all she possessed; and further, that the Effects to be sold, would be sold cheap. Nay, more than this, the *Senate* erected a Statue of him near the *Comitium*, and sent an Embassy to him with a Present of a Throne, a Sceptre, a Crown of Gold, and a triumphant Robe. §. 22. And now the *Romans* think of rewarding those who had behaved themselves well in the Siege. Particularly, *Mucius Scaevola* has a large Piece of Ground given him, and a Statue erected to his Honour. Their next Care is to shew their Gratitude to the Gods, by some publick Act of Religion. The Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* was now finish'd, and needed only to be dedicated. It naturally belong'd to one of the *Consuls* to perform the Ceremony; and it must prove an immortal Honour to whosoever should do it. Had the Election of the Consecrator been in the People, *Poplicola* would undoubtedly have carried it. But it was the *Senate's* Right to nominate the Man; and they being grown envious, and jealous of *Poplicola*, send him upon a slight Expedition against the *Latins*, and in his Absence commission his Colleague to dedicate the Temple. Just as *Horatius* is beginning, at the Gate of it, to read the Form of Consecration, one of *Poplicola's* Party cries out, *I give you notice, that your Son is kill'd in Battel; so that you are performing an Office which, by the Law of the Pontifices, is forbidden the Head of any Family in Mourning.* The *Consul* replies coldly, *Then let him be buried*; and finishes the Consecration without any shew of Concern. But thus *Poplicola* ends his third glorious *Consulship*, with receiving a sensible Mortification. §. 23. And no Necessities of State obliging the People to continue him longer in Office, *Sp. Lartius*, and *T. Herminius*, (who had distinguished themselves in the War with *Porfena*) are chosen *Consuls* for the next Year. But this proving a Year of Peace, those brave Men gain no other Glory in their Administration, but that of shewing the neighbouring Nations that the *Romans* are a grateful People. *Arunx* the Son of *Porfena*, being a lovely Prince, and form'd for Heroism upon the Model of *Roman* Virtue, his Father was desirous to gain him some Glory, before he disbanded his Troops, and therefore gave him the Command of them, while he himself return'd to *Clusium*. The young Prince, eager to gain a first Victory, falls furiously upon the *Aricians*, and routs them; but is afterwards defeated by a Stratagem of the *Cumeans*, their Allies, commanded by more experienc'd Officers. He loses his Life; and his scatter'd Troops take Refuge in the Villages about *Rome*. The *Consuls* invite them to the City, send Carriages for the wounded, provide for their Cure at the publick Expence, and allot a Quarter of the City for those of them who are willing to settle in it. It was afterwards called *Tuscan* or *Hetrurian Street*.

But the Dominion of *Rome*, since the new-modelling of her Government, being (as has been observed before) straitned within a very narrow Territory, and she being utterly destitute of Allies, and always apprehensive lest the ill-extinguish'd Fire of the Royalist Party should break out into a new Flame, the *Sabines* resolve to take

Advantage

The Temple of JUP. CAP. finished.

4th CONSULSHIP.

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Year of Advantage of her Weakness, and to put it out of the Power of this imperious City
 ROM E to give Law any more to her Neighbours. §. 24. Such is the Situation of the

Republick, when *M. Valerius* [Brother of *Poplicola*] and *P. Posthumus* are nominated *Consuls*. They first send Envoys to demand Satisfaction of the *Sabines*, for the Ravages committed by them on the *Roman* Lands, but receiving only a contemptuous Answer, *M. Valerius* marches against the Aggressors, surprizes, and makes a great Slaughter of them. But this is only a Beginning of the War. At length both Armies appear in the Field. The *Roman* Forces are divided into two Bodies, commanded separately by the two *Consuls*. *Posthumus* encamps near *Rome*, to prevent a Surprize from the *Tarquins*, (who had still many Friends in the City.) *M. Valerius* encamps near the *Anio*, the Enemy being posted on the opposite Shore. That Part of the River, near which they lay, being, by an Accident, found fordable, *Valerius* makes all his Troops pass, and draws them up in Battalia on the same Side with the Enemy. A general Engagement ensues. *Valerius*, assisted by the Counsels of his Brother, gains some Advantage with his Right Wing, whilst his Left loses Ground, and is almost push'd into the River. *Posthumus* having notice of the Action, comes seasonably to the Relief of the *Romans*, recovers the Day; and they would have obtain'd a complete Victory, if the Night had not put an end to the Battel. This was the first Advantage which *Rome* gain'd over her Enemies, after she became a Republick, and it revived the old *Roman* Confidence. The two Generals were decreed a Triumph; but they both entered *Rome* in the same Chariot. *Valerius* having gain'd two Victories over the *Sabines* the same Year, the *Romans*, as a further Reward, build him a House at the publick Expence, the Door opening outwards to the Street; whereas the Doors of all other Houses opened inwards. The Design of this Distinction was not only to do him Honour, but to put him in mind, as often as he went in or out, that he was indebted to the Publick for his House. As for *Posthumus*, he was honoured with a Privilege, never before granted to any, which was, to have a Burial-place for himself and his Family, within the Walls of *Rome*. Thus did the first *Romans* keep up an Emulation among their Generals, rather by giving them distinguishing Marks of Honour, than substantial Rewards. They did not heap Wealth upon them; but taught them to prefer the Glory, which attends great Actions, to exorbitant Riches, which often give Umbrage, and are always odious in a Republick.

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§. 25. The *Sabines* preparing to attack *Rome* again, in a national Body, in Conjunction with the *Latins*; the *Romans* think it adviseable to chuse *Poplicola*, Consul, a fourth time, and they once more join *T. Lucretius* with him. But it happening at this time, that some Women are delivered of monstrous, or imperfect Births, the People give way to Superstition, and are unwilling to enter upon Action, imagining by these Presages, that it must prove a fatal Year. Upon this, *Poplicola* causes the *Sybil's* Books to be consulted, interprets them to the best Sense, orders Sacrifices to *Pluto*, the Festivals and Sports to be revived, and thus by artful Management removes the publick Fears.

6th CON-
SULSHIP.

§. 26. In the mean while, the Storm still threatens *Rome* on the Side of the *Sabines*. One of the *Tarquins* had put in motion, by his Intrigues, the Turbulent and Factious in their Assemblies. *Poplicola* endeavours therefore to bear down the Interest of the banish'd King, by Negotiation. He gains over *ACTIUS CLAUSUS*, (the most considerable Man in *Sabinia*, and of the greatest Talents and Merit) to oppose the Design of renewing the War. But the *Sabines* put a bad Construction on the good Understanding he has with the *Romans*; and their jealousy and Distrust come to such a height, that they talk of nothing less, than citing him as a Traitor to appear before the States General. *Clausus*, enraged at this unjust Treatment, has thoughts of arming his Friends and Clients, and of beginning a civil War. Nothing could have been more advantageous to *Rome*. But *Poplicola* dissuades him from polluting his Hands with the Blood of his Countrymen, tells him, That the most honourable and most effectual Way to be revenged on them, will be to leave them; That a Man of his Consequence, Abilities, and Virtues, will soon be missed; and that *Rome* offered him a Retreat and Protection both for himself and Followers. *Clausus* is a while in Suspence, but at length chuses rather to act a proud, than an angry Part, and removes to *Rome*. There, he changes his Name to *Appius Claudius*, is immediately declar'd a *Patrician*, and takes his Place in the *Senate*. Twenty five Acres of Land are given him in Fee, and a Quarter in the City assign'd for his Friends and Followers, whole Number amounted to five thousand. And these Donations are made irrevocable by a Decree of the *Senate*, confirm'd by the Suffrages of the People.

APPIUS
CLAUDIUS.

§. 27. The *Sabines*, enraged at the Retreat of *Clausus* to *Rome*, defer no longer to take the Field. Their Army is divided into two Bodies, one of which encamps near *Fidenæ*, the other shuts itself up in that Town, which is but five Miles from *Rome*. *Poplicola* and *Lucretius* make a like Division of the *Roman* Troops, and encamp advantageously near each other. The *Romans* having no Opportunity for Stratagems, are eager to engage. But the *Sabines* dare not come to a Battel by Daylight. Their General (who is said to have been one of *Tarquin's* Sons) forms a Design to attack *Poplicola's* Camp in the dead of the Night, while the Troops of

Fidenæ

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Fidenæ, light arm'd, are to march out, and fetching a large Compass, come behind and surprize *Lucretius's* Camp, as soon as he leaves it to go to the Succour of his Colleague; and then those same Troops are to charge *Lucretius* in the Rear, or at least terrify him by their Shouts. But the cautious *Poplicola* has timely Intelligence of these Designs, and takes proper Measures to make them fatal to the Enemy. He gives *Lucretius* notice of the Night-Expedition; it is agreed between them, to shew no Marks of suspecting the Enemy's Intention; and in the beginning of the Night all Fires are put out in both the *Roman* Camps. The *Sabines* march silently towards *Poplicola's* Entrenchments, fill up the Ditch with Fascines, and pass over to scale the Rampart; but as fast as they draw near to it, they are stabb'd by the *Roman* Troops, who, unseen, are posted on the Outside of it, in the Space between it and the Ditch. They suffer a great Slaughter, before the Moon rising discovers their Error. Then a Fright seizes them, they all fly, the *Romans* pursue them with loud Shouts, which are heard in *Lucretius's* Camp. He marches out against the Enemies, who lay in Ambush behind it, and gains an easy Victory over terrified, and in a manner unarmed Men. In a word, both Bodies of the *Sabine* Army disperse themselves, and return home. 13000 *Sabines* were found dead upon the Spot, and 4200 were made Prisoners.

§. 28. What now remain'd, was to reduce *Fidenæ*, which had been often subdued, and had as often rebelled. *Poplicola* undertakes to scale the Walls himself, on that Side where the City is thought most impregnable. He takes it by Assault, puts to death the Heads of the Revolt, but spares the rest of the Inhabitants, only placing a *Roman* Garrison among them, and obliging them to surrender to it a Part of their Lands for its Support. He then returns to *Rome*, and is honoured with a Triumph.

7th CONSULSHIP.

§. 29. *Poplicola* has scarce resign'd the Consulship into the Hands of *P. Posthumius*, (now chosen a second time) and *Menenius Agrippa*, but he is seiz'd with a Distemper, and dies, as destitute of the Goods of Fortune, as full of Glory. His chief Care had been to transmit his Virtues to his Children, and not to enrich them. Tho' he had been four times Consul, and had enjoyed two Triumphs, yet he left little else to his Posterity, but a noble Model for their Imitation: So that he was buried at the Publick Expence, not so much by way of Distinction, as on account of his Poverty. The *Romans* erected a Tomb for him near the *Forum*, and gave his Family a Right of Interment in the same Place. But as the *Valerii* always affected Popularity, they never made use of this Privilege. The Bodies of those of them who died in *Rome*, were only first carried to that Sepulchre of *Poplicola*, and afterwards convey'd without the Walls, to be there burnt, and their Bones were deposited in a Tomb without the City. As *Poplicola* had been one of those who had stood up in Defence of the Chastity of the *Roman* Ladies, they went into a ten Months Mourning for him, as they had done before for *Brutus*.

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B O O K VI.

§. 1. THE Death of *Poplicola* revives the Courage of the *Sabines*; they take the Field again the same Year, encamp their main Body behind a Forest, and send Detachments to pillage as far as the Gates of *Rome*. This Insolence provokes the Consul *Posthumius*; he sallies out upon the Pillagers, who fly and make their Way to the Forest. The *Romans* pursue the Fugitives in Disorder. The latter rally, face about, and give the Signal to the Army, which lies conceal'd behind the Wood. *Posthumius* finds, too late, that he has to do with the whole *Sabine* Strength, and that his Retreat is cut off by a Body of *Sabines* posted on a Hill, which must be passed in his Return to *Rome*. The Night comes on seasonably, to prevent his total Destruction; and the next Morning *Menenius*, with the bravest of the *Roman* Youth, appears advancing to his Relief. The *Sabines* immediately retire to their former Post, proud of the Advantage they had gain'd, and of the Spoils and Slaves they had carried off. They soon after send a Summons, requiring the *Roman* Republick to receive their banish'd King, and to submit to be govern'd by the *Sabines*. The Answer of the Senate and People is, That they command the *Sabines* to their Duty; and that if they desir'd Peace, they should come in a suppliant manner, and ask Pardon for their Attempts against the Authority of their Masters. These mutual Bravadoes are follow'd by a serious War, in which both Parties bring all their Strength into the Field, and encamp near *Eretum*, a City of the *Sabines*, about ten Miles from *Rome*. The whole Night before the Battle, the *Romans* imagine they see Flames on the Tops of their *Pila*, (a Sort of Halberds;) and this gives them fresh Courage. *Menenius* commands the right Wing, and *Posthumius* the left. The latter, to repair his Honour, throws himself, like one desperate, into the thickest of the Enemy, and does prodigious Feats of Valour. His Example rouzes *Menenius*, who was acting more faintly; he encourages his Men by his Example, and, in short, the Consuls obtain a complete Victory.

Pila.

§. 2. But the Senate

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- Year of Senate having deliberated concerning the Reception to be given them at their Re-
ROME turn, think it necessary to make a Distinction in their Rewards. They invent there-
 fore a second Kind of Triumph, in which the Person honoured with it is to enter **OVATIO**.
Rome on Foot, or at best on Horseback, attended only by the Senate; his Crown is
 to be of Myrtle, and his Robe only the *Prætecta*, the common Habit of Magistrates.
 And this Sort of Triumph, call'd **OVATIO**, is decreed *Posthumius*. The modest *Con-*
sul accepts it, and enters *Rome* two Days before his Colleague, who is honoured with
251. a Triumph in all its Magnificence and Pomp. §. 3. *Sp. Cassius*, and *Opiter Vir-* 8th CON-
ginius, the *Consuls* of the succeeding Year, divide their Troops; and *Cassius* is com- SULSHIP.
 missioned to give the *Sabines* the last Blow. He defeats them in a pitch'd Battle, in
 the Heart of their Country, kills 10300 of them, and takes 4000 Prisoners. They
 sue for Peace, and obtain it upon Conditions. This was the first complete Conquest *Sabines to-*
 made by *Rome* since it became a Republick. §. 4. In the mean time, *Virginus* tally subdu-
 marches with his Body of Troops, and surprizes *Camerium*, a Town of *Latium*, which ed.
 had revolted from the *Romans*. He takes it by Assault, beheads the most guilty of
 the Citizens, sells the rest by Auction, and razes the City. However, as this was
 only a Reduction of Rebels, with little Danger, *Virginus* is not honoured with a
252. Triumph, as *Cassius* is, for his decisive Victory over the *Sabines*. §. 5. A youth- 9th CON-
 ful Prank of some *Sabine* Debauchees, during the publick Games at *Rome*, is like to SULSHIP.
 break the Union between the *Romans* and *Sabines*, in the Beginning of the Admini-
 stration of *Postumus Cominius* and *T. Lartius*; but a more important Affair engrosses all
 their Attention. *Mamilius*, *Tarquin's* Son-in-law, endeavours to engage the *Latins*
 in their Diets, call'd *Feræ Latine*, to declare for the exil'd Party. *Valerius*, as De-
 puty from *Rome*, goes to the Diet held at *Ferentinum*, demands the chief Seat there
 as his Place, reminds the *Latins* of their antient Treaties, written upon Brass, and ra-
 tified by Acts of Religion. He is answered, that the *Latin* Confederacy had been con-
 cluded with the *King*, and not with the Republick of *Rome*. However, the Assen-
 bly comes to no Determination that Day. But the next it is resolved to keep no
 longer any Measures with *Rome*; *Valerius* is excluded the Diet, and he is order'd to
 acquaint his Republick, that the *Latins* renounce all Alliance with her. The News
 of these Proceedings causes a general Commotion at *Rome*. The *Romans* see that
 they are to be for ever in Arms, and that the Reduction of one Enemy serves only
 to raise up another. A Spirit of Mutiny creeps into the City. A Number of Slaves
 combine to seize the Citadel, and to set Fire to the Town in several Quarters. Their
 Plot is discover'd, and they are whipp'd and crucify'd; but their Example proves
 contagious. It was at this time that the Senate first thought of creating a *Dictator*;
 but they deferr'd the Execution of their Project to a more difficult Conjunction.
253. §. 6. Under the *Consuls* of the following Year, who are *Serv. Sulpitius* and *Manius* 10th CON-
Tullius, the Nobles of *Latium* lay a Scheme to seize upon *Fidenæ*, and drive out the SULSHIP.
Roman Garrison. They secure Correspondents in the City; and their Measures are
 so well concerted that the Design succeeds. *Rome* is enraged at these Proceedings,
 and *Tullius* marches with a great Army against the *Fidenates*, and closely invests their
 City. Nevertheless, their Allies are slow in sending them Succours. A new Coun-
 cil is call'd, not only of the Nobles, but of the Deputies of all the *Latin* Cities. It
 is debated whether the antient Treaties shall be kept with *Rome*, or whether Suc-
 cours shall be sent to the *Fidenates*. The Nobility vote in favour of the besieged
 City, and of the *Tarquins*; the rich Citizens declare in favour of *Rome*. At length
 the Nobles so far prevail, that an Embassy is to be sent to the Republick with two
 Proposals. One, That she receive the *Tarquins*, who are to oblige themselves by
 Oath to grant a general Pardon. The other, That she raise the Siege of *Fidenæ*.
 And the Council give the *Romans* a Year to consider of them. But *Tarquin* has too
 much Experience to depend entirely upon Embassies and Conferences. He sends,
 with the *Latin* Embassadors, some Emissaries of his own, and among them two Bro-
 thers of his own Name and Family, *Publius* and *Marcus*. These are to raise a Sedi-
 tion in *Rome*; and they find two Sorts of Men disposed to enter into their Measures;
 the Slaves, and the meaner Citizens; and the Parts they give them to act are these.
 The poor Citizens are to make themselves Masters of the Ramparts and Gates of
 the City, at an appointed Hour; and then to raise a great Cry, which is to be the
 Signal for the Slaves, who lay round their Masters, to rise and massacre them: The
 Gates of the City are to be immediately opened, and the *Tarquins* are to enter *Rome*
 while it is yet reeking with the Blood of the Senators. §. 7. It is almost incre-
 dible, that not one of so great a Number of vile and mercenary People should be-
 tray the Secret. *Dion. Hal.* tho' a Pagan, ascribes the Preservation of *Rome* to the
Providence of God, who had taken this virtuous People under his Protection. He says,
 that the two Heads of the Conspiracy, *Publius* and *Marcus*, were terrified with fright-
 ful Dreams, and nightly Visions; that they went to a Diviner, and ask'd him in
 general Terms, what Success they should have in a Project they were upon; and
 that the Diviner replied, *Your Project will overwhelm you; disburthen your selves of*
so heavy a Load. Upon this, they went to *Sulpicius*, the only *Consul* then at *Rome*,
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	<p>and disclosed the Conspiracy to him. <i>Sulpicius</i> received them kindly, detained them in his own House, made secret Enquiries, and when he was assured of the Truth, assembled the Senate. The <i>Latin</i> Ambassadors have their Audience of Leave; and the Senate express their Surprise <i>that the Latin Nation, with which the Romans had been so closely united, should attack the Liberty of their Republick, and be less affected with the Equity of their Cause than Porsena and his Hetrurians.</i> And they conclude with a Sort of <i>Defiance.</i> After this the Ambassadors are conducted out of the City, and the Senate continue their Consultations. <i>Sulpitius</i> then lays open the dreadful Conspiracy, and the Senators are struck with Horror. But there arises a Difficulty, how to punish the Guilty; since by the Law of <i>Poplicola</i>, the People are Judges in <i>dernier Resort</i>, in all capital Cases; and the two Witnesses, being Strangers, may be excepted against by <i>Roman</i> Citizens. They leave the Matter therefore wholly to the <i>Consul's</i> Management, who engages the two Brothers to assemble the Conspirators, and to appoint a Rendezvous at Midnight, in the <i>Forum</i>, as if it were to take the last Measures for the Execution of the Enterprize. In the mean time he takes all proper Measures to secure the City, and invest the <i>Forum.</i> The next Morning, as soon as it is light, the <i>Consuls</i> appear upon the Tribunal, and convene the <i>Curia</i>; and while they are assembling, the Senate make a Decree, by which the Privilege of <i>Roman</i> Citizens is granted to the two Informers; and the Seditious are condemned to Death, if the People approve it. The Fact is clear, the People confirm the Senate's Decree, and the seditious Citizens and Slaves assembled, who have no means to escape, are all put to the Sword. However, not all the Conspirators are punished with Death. The Peace of <i>Rome</i> is thought sufficiently secured by this Stroke of Severity; and it is judged proper not to carry Enquiries further. Three Festival Days are appointed for Expiations, Sacrifices, and Publick Games, by way of Thanksgiving to the Gods. But the Pleasure of the Games is interrupted by a melancholy Accident. As the People are conducting <i>Tullius</i> the <i>Consul</i> from the <i>Circus</i> to his House, he falls from his Chariot, and dies three Days after.</p>	<p>Year of <i>ROME</i></p>
11 th CON- SULSHIP.	<p>§. 8. <i>Fidenæ</i> is still blocked up, when <i>T. Æbutius</i>, and <i>T. Veturius</i>, are chosen <i>Consuls.</i> <i>Veturius</i> goes to the Camp before it, and invests the Place. Nevertheless, a considerable Body of <i>Latins</i>, with a Convoy of Provisions, enter the Town; and this encourages the Besieged so much, that they venture to take the Field: but the <i>Consul</i> defeats them; and the <i>Fidenates</i> retire again within their Walls; but the <i>Latins</i> desert them.</p>	254.
12 th CON- SULSHIP.	<p>§. 9. The first Care of the Republick, after the Election of two new <i>Consuls</i>, <i>T. Lartius</i> and <i>Q. Clælius</i>, is to put an end to the long Siege of <i>Fidenæ.</i> <i>Lartius</i> is sent thither, and he so distresses the <i>Fidenates</i>, that they surrender at Discretion. But like a good <i>Roman</i> Citizen, he leaves it to the Republick to pronounce Sentence upon the Rebels; and the Senate decree, That the Heads of the Revolt only shall be punished with Death.</p> <p>§. 10. The Surrender of <i>Fidenæ</i> strikes a Terror among the <i>Latins</i>: and <i>Mamilius</i>, the <i>Tarquins</i>, and the <i>Aricini</i>, take advantage of their Fears to unite them against <i>Rome.</i> All the Deputies of the <i>Latin</i> Cities swear an universal Confederacy against the <i>Romans</i>, and bind themselves by Oaths never to make Peace with the Republick. However, they send an Embassy to <i>Rome</i>, complaining, <i>That the Romans had put the Hetrurians upon attacking Aricia</i>; and signifying to them at the same time, that if they would submit their Quarrel with the <i>Aricini</i> to the Decision of the <i>Latin</i> Diet, they might avoid the War which threatened them. The <i>Romans</i>, tho' never in greater Perplexity, reject the Proposal, and think only of making Alliances: but all Attempts that Way are unsuccessful. The <i>Hernici</i> require time to examine the Right of the two Parties. The <i>Rutuli</i> declare for the <i>Latins.</i> The <i>Volsci</i> insult the <i>Roman</i> Ambassadors. The <i>Hetrurians</i> stand neuter. And what is more than all, the Republick has rebellious Sons in her own Bosom, who refuse to lend their Aid for the Defence of their Country. [The manner of levying Troops at <i>Rome</i> is described.]</p> <p>§. 11. The <i>Consuls</i> meet with great Difficulties in making their Levies for the Service. Many in the inferior <i>Classes</i> refuse to take the military Oaths, or to serve. Their Pretence is their Poverty, and the fruitless Hazards they run in fighting for the Defence of a City, where they are oppressed, and enslaved by their Creditors. ('Tis probable, that at this time, the <i>Romans</i> being deserted by their <i>Allies</i>, intended to strengthen their <i>Legions</i>, by incorporating into them some of those lower sort of People, call'd <i>Capite-censi</i>, and <i>Proletarii</i>, who were too poor to serve at their own Expence, and had been usually exempted from going to War.) The Spirit of Mutiny spreads among the poor Citizens, and a general Insurrection is apprehended. The Senate assembles to deliberate upon the Means of quieting these Domestick Troubles. Some are for treating the Mutineers with Rigour, others for Lenity and Indulgence. <i>M. Valerius</i> is at the Head of those who vote in favour of the indigent People, and makes a long and warm Speech in their behalf. He presses the <i>Conscript Fathers</i>, To relieve them, and not to let private or publick Avarice be an Obstacle to Union at Home, or to Victory and Success Abroad. <i>Appius Claudius</i>, who was lately come from <i>Sabinia</i>, and retain'd the Austerity and Inflexibility peculiar to his Nation, is at the Head of the opposite Party. He urges the Danger of encouraging Idleness, Profuseness and Debauchery,</p>	255.

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Year of Debauchery, by shewing Indulgence to those who had consum'd their Substance by licentious
ROME Living. That the Displeasure of the higher Classes, who are the Creditors, is more to be
 fear'd than the Obstinacy of these Dregs of the People. He declares for inlisting none
 but such Citizens as are willing to serve; and adds, That those who now refuse their As-
 sistance, will then come and offer it, when it is no longer desir'd. Other Fathers were of
 various Opinions; but the Senate followed none of them at present, but only suspend
 all Actions for Debt, till the Conclusion of the War with the Latins. But this the in-
 digent Debtors thought only a Suspension of their Misery, and demanded to be freed
 from their Debts by a Decree; otherwise they refused to enlist themselves in the Le-
 gions. §. 12. The inlisting of the meaner People was doubtless of more Importance
 than Appius had represented it, and the Senate thought the Assistance of the lowest
 Class necessary in the present War, and therefore omitted nothing to bring them to
 Reason. They consider'd, that the Mutineers being to be judged in the last Resort,
 by Citizens of the same Rank, it was not in the Power of the Government to
 quell the Sedition. They remembred, that under some of the Kings, (sole Arbi-
 ters of Life and Death) the People were always kept to their Duty. They judg'd it
 for the publick Good therefore to invest one Person, at least for a time, with all the
 Regal Authority. But as this could not be done without striking at the Law of
Poplicola, and transferring the People's Power of deciding in criminal Cases to a Ma-
 gistrate superior to all Laws, Opposition was feared from the *Curia*, and it was ne-
 cessary to use Artifice. The Senate therefore make a Decree, requiring the *Consuls*
 and all Magistrates to resign their Offices, and empowering themselves to chuse
 from among those who have been *Consuls*, one Man, on whom shall be conferred
 an Authority superior to that of the *Consuls*, for the Space of six Months. The
 People, who do not foresee whither this Alteration of the Government tends, con-
 firm the Decree in *Comitia*. The next thing to be consider'd, is the Extent of
 Power to be given the new Magistrate; and it is resolv'd, that his Authority shall
 have no Limits; yet he is not allow'd the Title of King. *Tarquin the Proud* had
 made it too odious. The Title of *Dictator*, is therefore chosen. But the greatest
 Difficulty is to find a Man duly qualify'd in all respects for so great a Trust. *T. Lar-*
tius, one of the present *Consuls*, appears to the Senate to be of all Men the most un-
 exceptionable; but they are afraid to offend his Colleague *Clælius* (whom they esteem
 and love) by an invidious Preference. The Expedient they fall upon, is to give the
 two *Consul's* the Power of chusing a *Dictator*, and to oblige them to chuse one of
 themselves; reasonably expecting that *Clælius* will yield to the superior Talents of his
 Colleague. And now the *Roman* Virtue shines out in full Lustre. No Emulation for
 Preference, no Rivalship for high Honours; the only Contest is, which of the two
 shall advance the other to the supreme Dignity. Each persists obstinately in nomi-
 nating his Colleague, till at length *Clælius* takes a brisk Step, starts up of a sudden,
 abdicates the *Consulship*, and descends from the Tribunal. Instantly, the Assembly
 proclaims *Lartius* *Dictator*; and he is oblig'd to take upon him the Government **Dicta-**
 of the Republick. §. 13. *Lartius*, as soon as he is enter'd upon his Office, as- **TOR**
 sumes as much State as he had shew'd Modesty before. He creates a General of the **T. LARTI-**
Horse, (an Office which was to last only during the *Dictatorship*.) He never appears **us.**
 in publick, but attended by twenty four *Lictors*, to whose *Fasces* he restores the *Axes*, **MAGIS-**
 which *Poplicola* had order'd to be taken out of them; but this is only to strike Ter- **TER. E-**
 ror. And when the Murmurs of the inferior *Classes* are silenc'd, he orders a Cen- **QUI-**
 sus, which is follow'd by a *Lustrum*. There are found in *Rome* 150700 Men, who **TUM.**
 are past the Age of Puberty. Out of these the *Dictator* forms four Armies. The
 first he commands himself: The second he gives to *Clælius*, his late Colleague: The
 third to *Sp. Cassius*, his General of *Horse*; and the fourth he leaves in *Rome*, un-
 der the Command of his Brother *Sp. Lartius*. The *Dictator* gains some Advantage
 over the *Latins*; but treats the Prisoners and the Wounded with so much Humanity,
 that he much lessens the Number and Zeal of the Enemies of *Rome*. At length, a
 Truce is made for a Year; and *Lartius*, seeing the Republick in Tranquillity, resigns
 the *Dictatorship*, tho' the time appointed for its Duration is not expired. A glorious
 Instance of Republican Probity. §. 14. The following *Consulship* of *Sempro-* 13th CON-
nus Atratinus, and *Minutius Augurinus*, produces nothing memorable relating to War, **SULSHIP.**
 or Conquest. And there is not only a Cessation of Arms abroad, but all intestine
 Factions are laid asleep. The Senate therefore is wholly taken up with a compas-
 sionate Concern for the *Roman* Women married into *Latium*. It was fear'd that they
 might suffer by the Rupture between the two Nations. A Law therefore was pass'd
 at *Rome*, (by Agreement, doubtless, with the *Latins*,) that the *Latin* Women who
 were willing to leave *Rome*, and return to *Latium*, and the *Roman* Women who
 were willing to come back from *Latium* to *Rome*, should have Liberty to leave their
 Husbands, and return to their respective Countries; and it was order'd, with regard
 to their Children, that the Boys should remain with their Fathers, and the Girls fol-
 low their Mothers. How agreeable a Place *Rome* was to Wives, was evident on
 this Occasion: For out of the great Number of *Latin* Women who had married
 Romans,

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Romans, two only went back to *Latium*; but almost the whole Multitude of *Roman* Women scatter'd over *Latium* left their Husbands, and return'd to their native City. And all this was owing to the Virtue and Probity of the *Romans*, which as it made them good Husbands, so it was the principal Charm which endear'd them to their Wives. In this Year of Peace, a Temple built on the Declivity of the *Capitol* was also dedicated to *Saturn*; the Ceremony was performed by *Posthumius Cominius*. §. 15. The Year of Truce with the *Latins* is expired when *Aulus Posthumius* and *T. Virginus* take Possession of the *Consulship*. Both *Romans* and *Latins* are busily employ'd in Preparations for War. The Nobles of *Latium*, who are for the banish'd King, carry all before them in the *Latin* Diets, contrary to the Inclinations of the People, many of whom come with their Families to *Rome*, where they are well receiv'd. But tho' there is a perfect Harmony at this time, between the People, Senate, and *Consuls*, yet it is thought fit to put the Conduct of the War into the Hands of a *Dictator*. The *Consuls* have the Power granted them to chuse one of themselves; and *Virginus*, tho' the elder, readily yields the Honour to his Collegue, as the more able Commander. §. 16. *Posthumius* regulates his Conduct by that of *Lartius*, creates a General of Horse, and divides the *Roman* Forces into four Bodies, of which he commands one himself, gives a second to *Virginus*, his late Collegue; a third to *Æbutius Elva*, his Master of the Horse; and the fourth he leaves in *Rome*, under the Command of *Sempronius*, who is made Governour of the City. News is presently brought, that the *Latins* have forced *Corbio*, and put the Garrison to the Sword, and that this small Advantage has determined the *Volsci* of *Antium* to join the *Latins*. *Posthumius* immediately marches out with 8000 Men, and encamps in the Night near the Lake *Regillus*, upon a steep Hill, which is inaccessible on every Side. *Virginus* comes with his small Body of Troops, and encamps on a Hill over against him, the *Latin* Army (consisting of 40000 Foot, and 3000 Horse, under the Command of *Lucius Tarquinius*, *Titus Tarquinius*, and *Mamilius*.) lying between them. The *Dictator* orders *Æbutius* to march secretly in the Night with the Cavalry, and light-arm'd Infantry, and take Possession of a third Hill, upon the Road, by which Provisions must come to the *Latins*. *Æbutius* performs his Orders; but has not fortify'd his new Camp, before he is briskly attack'd by *Lucius Tarquinius*, who endeavours to dislodge him, but is three times repulsed, the *Dictator* having sent a timely Reinforcement to his General of Horse. *Æbutius* intercepts two Couriers sent by the *Volsci* to the *Latin* Generals; and, by Letters found upon them, it is discover'd, that a considerable Army of *Volsci* and *Hernici* is upon its March, in order to join the *Latin* Forces in three Days. Upon this, *Posthumius* draws his three Bodies of Troops together; for tho' they amount to no more than 24000 Foot, and 3000 Horse, he is obliged to hazard an Engagement.

Posthumius's Harangue to his Soldiers, before the Engagement.

The Battle is describ'd. The two *Tarquins* and *Mamilius* are all slain; and their Death is follow'd by the entire Defeat of the *Latins*. No Victory hitherto gain'd by the *Romans* had been either more necessary, or more complete. But while the *Dictator*, the next Morning, is returning Thanks to the Gods by Sacrifices, Advice is brought by Scouts, that a great Army is advancing in Order of Battle. It was that of the *Volsci* and *Hernici*. *Posthumius* commands his *Romans* to stand to their Arms, and be ready on the first Order. §. 17. In the mean time, the auxiliary Army is astonish'd to find neither Enemies to intercept their March, nor Allies coming to meet them. When they learn the Defeat of the *Latins*, they come to a Resolution to encamp within sight of the *Romans*, to amuse them, if possible, with Negotiations, and to send for new Supplies. But in vain do they endeavour by their Ambassadors to persuade the *Dictator* that they had left their Country only to assist *Rome* in her Necessity. He convicts them of Deceit, by their Couriers and Letters, and sends their Generals a Challenge to fight the next Day. Upon which, in a Fright, they decamp that very Night, and return Home. The *Latins* having now no Remedy but Submission, send Deputies to ask Peace, and to be receiv'd either as Allies, or Subjects.

In consequence of the new Treaty with them, King *Tarquin* is driven out of *Latium*. At the Age of ninety Years, and after having been rejected by the *Hetrurians*, *Sabines*, and all the free Nations, and left without Protector and without Issue, he finds his last *Assylum* at *Cumæ* in *Campania*, with *Aristodemus*, a Tyrant like himself. There he lives a few Months, and then dies, after fourteen Years Exile.

Posthumius is honour'd with a Triumph, and has the Surname of *Regillensis*. He devotes a tenth Part of the Booty to defray the Expences of publick Games, and to build Temples to *Bacchus* and *Ceres*; a Scarcity being apprehended this Year. A Temple is likewise erected to *Castor* and *Pollux*, who were said to have appeared, during the Action, upon white Horses, and to have fought for the *Romans*; and an annual Festival is appointed to be celebrated to their Honour, on the *Ides of July*, i. e. the 15th, being the Day on which the Battle of *Regillus* was fought.

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BOOK VII.

Year of §. 1. **T**HE same Year that *Tarquin the Proud* dies at *Cumæ*, his Spirit of Domi-
 ROME nion seems to enter into the *Patricians* at *Rome*. And this proves a new
 Source of Troubles and Disorders in the Republick.

258. *Posthumius*, at his Return, appoints an Assembly of the *Comitia* in the *Campus Mar-* 15th CON-
tius, in which *Appius Claudius*, and *P. Servilius*, are raised to the *Consulate*. The SULSHIP.

Senators having great Dependence on *Appius*, a known Enemy to the Pretensions of the People, think the time now come for bringing them into Subjection; especially since the Death of *Tarquin* seem'd to make their Assistance less necessary to them. They assume such an Ascendant therefore over the Commons, as falls little short of Oppression; and the Creditors are very severe to the Debtors. The Populace grow enraged against the Nobility; and the News of rising Divisions at *Rome*, encourages the *Volsci* to think of raising a formidable Army, in order to besiege it. §. 2. The

Motions of the *Volsci* give the Senate a Pretence to carry the War into their Country, and thereby give a Diversion to the Mutineers at home. But the Difficulty is, how to raise Troops enough to form an Army. The *Roman* Youth are summoned as usual, but refuse to appear, in order to be enlisted. And this Disobedience occasions a Division between the *Consuls*. *Claudius* is for Severity, and *Servilius* for Moderation. And this Diversity of Opinions produces nothing but Disputes, personal Reflections, and Contradictions, in the Senate. As the Time draws near to take the Field against the *Volsci*, the Senate, without coming to any Determination about the People, decree, that *Servilius* shall conduct the War, and *Claudius* govern the City. But tho' *Servilius* is esteem'd the People's Friend, yet they refuse to grant the Senate Levies, legally made. His Army consists only of Voluntiers, and is therefore the more formidable. He surprizes the *Volsci* unprepared, and they are forc'd to have recourse to Supplications, by which the easy *Consul* is wrought upon to favour them. He requires only Subsistence and Clothes for his Troops, and three hundred Hostages of the best Families.

§. 3. Upon the Return of *Servilius*, the Senators thinking *Rome* in no Danger from any Quarter, renew their Severity against their Debtors. But while the People are in vain complaining of their Slavery, and the Rigour of the Laws, Envoys come to *Rome* from the *Latins*, (who are become wise, and well-affected to the *Romans*, since the Battel of *Regillus*) bringing with them Deputies sent by the *Volsci* to the *Latin* Nation, to engage it to join with them, the *Hernici*, and *Sabines*, against *Rome*. The *Romans*, to reward the Fidelity of the *Latins*, restore them six thousand Prisoners taken in the last War, (whom they order to be new-cloath'd before they set out) and by this handsome Treatment become absolute Masters of their Affection.

§. 4. The Senate immediately decree, that War be made with the *Volsci*; but while the Senators are yet sitting, a *Roman*, advanced in Years, tall of Stature, lean, and of a pale livid Complexion, whose Eyes are sunk into his Head, his Beard long and bushy, and his Hair in Disorder, appears in the *Forum*. At his Clamours and Gestures, the People crowd about him. He tells them that he was free-born, enumerates the Battles he has been in, and the Misfortunes whereby he and his two Sons have been reduced to Poverty, and at length to Slavery, through the Cruelty of his Creditors. He shews on his Breast the Scars of his honourable Wounds; and on his Back the fresh Marks of the Whip, with which he had been whipp'd by his Master's Order. The Spectators are fill'd with Indignation, and make hideous Outcries. The Artificers leave their Shops, and flock together to the *Forum*; the Citizens confined for Debt, break their Chains, come out of their Prisons, and spread themselves over the City, massacring all who pretend to stop them. The *Consul Appius*, fearing the Rage of the People, makes the best of his way home. *Servilius* puts off his *Consul's* Robe, goes in among the Crowd, embraces some, and intreats others, and with great difficulty persuades them to suspend all Acts of Violence to the next Day. In the mean time, he orders Proclamation to be made, that no one should molest any *Roman* Citizen for Debt, till the Senate had decreed otherwise. The following Day, when the *Conscript Fathers* are met, *Appius* makes it a Crime in *Servilius* to have taken so indulgent a Method to appease the Tumult. On the other hand, *Servilius* accuses him of indiscreet Severity, and as the Author of the Insurrection. In the mean time, the People impatiently expect a Decree in their favour; and there not being Senators enough assembled for that Purpose, they impute their Absence to the *Consuls* Management, in order to frustrate their Hopes. But while they are yet crowding in the *Forum*, and their Thoughts full of Revenge, some *Latin* Deputies arrive, who were come full speed to acquaint the *Romans*, that the *Volsci* had taken the Field. The *Plebeians* rejoice at the News, and when the Citizens, overwhelmed with Debt, are invited to take Arms, they shew their Chains. *Shall we make a Rampart of our Bodies, say they, only to hinder the Enemy from pul-*

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16th CON-
SULSHIP.

ling down our Prisons, and carrying away our Irons? It was necessary in this Extre- Year of
mity, that something should be done to make the Commons lend their Assistance to ROME
their Country. *Appius* is obstinate and inflexible; but *Servilius* is weak enough to
assemble the People in the *Forum*, and to make them Promises from the Senate,
which the Senators were resolved never to perform. He tells them, that it is not
consistent with the Dignity of the Senate to comply with their Demands, as it were
out of Fear; but that when the War should be over, the Senators would in Grati-
tude make a free Remission of their Debts. This Discourse helps to abate the Fury
of the Populace; but a Decree of the Senate which is read to them, entirely quells
it. All Creditors are thereby forbidden to prosecute or molest any one who enters
into the military Service; but they are ordered to employ the utmost Severity against
those who refuse to enlist or who desert afterwards. §. 5. Never was a greater Con-
course of People at the *Capitol*, to be enlisted, than now. The Debtors who should
be left in *Rome*, were afraid of *Appius's* Severity. When the Levies are completed,
Servilius marches to meet the *Volsci*, and encamps by Night near the *Pontine* Lake.
The *Volsci* attack his Camp; he sallies out, defeats them entirely, and gives all the
Spoil, which was very rich, as free Booty to the Soldiers, that they might be able
to pay their Debts. He then marches to *Suessa Pometia*, the Capital of the *Volsci*,
besieges it, takes it by Assault, puts all to the Sword who are past the Age of Pu-
berty, and gives likewise this wealthy City up to be plundered by the Soldiers, without
reserving any of the Spoil for the Publick Treasury. In the mean time, *Appius* at
Rome beheads the three hundred *Volscian* Hostages. And the *Ecetrans*, a Canton of
the *Volsci*, send to sue for Peace, which is granted them upon hard Terms. Their
Lives are spared, but the Property of their Lands is taken from them. But as *Ser-
vilius* is returning to *Rome*, in hopes of obtaining the Triumph he had deserved, he
receives Intelligence, that his Colleague *Appius* has persuaded the Senate to refuse it
him, under Pretence, that he is a seditious Man, who aims at Popularity by an ex-
cessive Indulgence and Profuseness to his Troops. *Servilius*, touch'd to the quick
with this Usage, causes the People to be called together in a Field without the Walls,
complains to them of the Jealousy of his Colleague, and the Injustice of the Senate;
upon which, they, by their Acclamations, encourage him to attempt what he pleases.
Accordingly, he decrees himself a Triumph, contrary to the Decision of the Senate,
and marches with the usual Pomp to the *Capitol*, attended by his Army, and by all
the People. Before the End of this *Consulship*, the Number of the *Tribes* is regulated
and fixed to 21. §. 6. While the People are earnest in pursuing the Publick
Games, and rejoicing after the Victory over the *Volsci*, News is brought one Even-
ing, that a Party of the *Sabines* appeared upon the *Tyber*, committing Hostilities.
Posthumius and *Servilius*, with some Troops, fly to find the Rebels, surprize them
asleep, and put an end to the Alarm that same Night. At the same time, the *Au-
runci*, whose Country was situated near *Ecetra*, where the *Romans* had settled a Co-
lony, since its Reduction, take umbrage at the Neighbourhood of the *Romans*, and
send to demand, That the Garrison should be removed; and they add Threatnings,
in case of Refusal. The Senate send the Deputies back with this Answer: Go tell your
Masters, it is a dangerous thing to attack those, whose very Neighbourhood is formidable
to them. The *Aurunci* enter *Latium*, and advance as far as *Aricia*. There, the *Ro-
mans* come up with them, and are surprized at their gigantick Stature, fierce Looks,
and martial Air; but they depend upon the Ability of their Generals. *Servilius* com-
mands the Foot, and *Posthumius* the Horse. The *Aurunci* are entirely defeated, and
their Camp taken. §. 7. And now after so many Victories, obtain'd chiefly by
the Bravery of those who were most in Debt, the People think they may demand of
the Senate, the Performance of *Servilius's* Promises. But the inflexible *Appius*, on
the contrary, doubles the Severity of his Sentences against the Debtors; and *Servi-
lius* has not Interest enough with the Fathers to prevail with them to make good his
Word, given in their Names, or to protect the unhappy Wretches: so that he be-
comes as much despised as *Appius* is hated. And this appears very evidently, when
the time comes to consecrate a Temple, which had been erected to *Mercury*. The
Consecrator was to have great Privileges; and *Appius* thought to have carried the
Honour from his Colleague, by his Interest in the Senate; but the People were to no-
minate the Man; and they, to shew how much they were dissatisfied with both the
Consuls, chose one *M. Lætorius*, a simple *Centurion*, to perform the Office. Upon
this, *Appius* and *Servilius*, being both equally enraged, join with the Senate in put-
ting all the Laws in Execution against the Debtors with the utmost Rigour. But
the People have no regard to their Sentences. When any *Plebeian* is prosecuted for
Debt, the Populace come in Crowds into Court, and make such a noise, that the Sen-
tence pronounced cannot be heard. They no longer endeavour to appease the Cre-
ditors, and mollify the Senate, by Intreaties: they insult both; and instead of the
Plebeians, the Danger of Imprisonment and Slavery now falls on the *Patricians*. No-
thing prevails in the City but Force and Violence. §. 8. Such is the State of *Rome*,
when *A. Virginius* and *T. Veturius*, Men of little Note or Steadiness, are chosen Con-
suls.

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Year of *suls*. The *Plebeians* have Assemblies by Night, of which the *Consuls* have notice, *ROME* and inform the Senate. The Fathers are enraged at the *Consuls* for leaving the Trouble and Odium of punishing the Offenders upon them. The whole Assembly reprimand *Virginus* and *Veturius*, and order them immediately to raise Forces in a legal Way, for a War which threatened the Republick, from the revolted *Sabines*, in Conjunction with the *Roman* Colony of *Medulia*, which had likewise rebelled. But the People are obstinate in refusing their Assistance, till such time as all Debtors are discharged. The *Consuls* ascend *The Tribunal*, and call over the Names of some young *Plebeians*; but no body answers. The Mutiny is general. The *Consuls* complain of the Senate to the Senate it self, imputing all the present Misfortunes to their false Measures. At this, the young Senators are so enraged, that they leave their Seats, and surround the *Curule Chairs*, in which the *Consuls* are sitting. *Let these cowardly Magistrates*, cry they, *come down from the Throne, and discharge themselves of a Burden which is too heavy for their Shoulders*. The *Consuls* return to the *Forum*, guarded by some *Patricians*, to give the more Weight to their Words. They ascend *The Tribune*, call upon one of the most Factious by Name, to come and be enrolled. The Man's Silence is taken for Disobedience. The *Lictors* lay hold of him; but the Populace force him out of their Hands; the Citizens are all in a Flame; and the *Consuls* have enough to do to defend the Senators from Blows. §. 9. While the People are thus enraged against the Senate, the Senate against the People, and the *Consuls* regarded by neither People nor Senate, News is brought by Envoys from the *Latins* and *Crustumini*, (Allies of *Rome*) that the *Æqui* and *Sabines* are in Motion; and an Embassy from the *Volschi* arrives at the same time, demanding Restitution of the Lands taken from them. The Senators assemble. *T. Lartius*, a venerable Man, is first consulted. He tells the Senate, *That the only Way to put an end to these Alarms from abroad, is to establish Peace at home*. He proposes, *That the House may sit again the next Day, to deliberate about the Methods to effect it; and in the mean time, that the Volscian Envoys be answered, That it is not consistent with the Honour of the Republick, to comply with their Demands*. And as to the Allies, he advises, *That Assurances be given them, That Rome will never leave them exposed to the Insults of their Enemies, without sending them Succours*. *Lartius's* Opinion is approved and followed.

The Senate sit again the next Day. *Virginus*, a popular good-natur'd Man, speaks first, and proposes a Medium betwixt the Severity of *Appius*, and the general Discharge of Debts. He is for having those Soldiers, who had serv'd so successfully the last Year, protected by the Senate against their Creditors; but is for leaving the other Debtors to the Severity of the Law. *Lartius* stands up next, and pleads in behalf of all the Debtors. *Appius*, whose Turn it is to speak third, enumerates *all the Motives which had engaged him to side with the Patricians*; declares, *That he can never change his Sentiments*; urges the mischievous Consequences of violating Contracts between Debtors and Creditors; and in the Conclusion of his Speech, proposes the naming a Dictator in the present Extremity. This Expedient is thought dangerous by some of the oldest Senators; but the Motion is carried by a Majority; and *MANIUS VALERIUS*, Brother of *POPPLICOLA*, is nominated, contrary to the Law, which required that the Dictator should be chosen out of such as had been, or were actually *Consuls*. 3^d Dictatorship. But no Man was so proper for that Station at this time; and the Necessity of the Case made the Senate overlook Rules. §. 10. *Valerius*, as soon as he is proclaimed Dictator, names *Qu. Servilius* for his General of Horse, and finding all Minds well-inclined to his Government, ascends *The Tribune*, and harangues the People. He puts them in mind of the strict Adherence his Family had always shewn to their Interests; and in return, he desires their Confidence. He promises, that if they will lend their Assistance to serve their Country at this time, *He will procure for them from the Senate, all the reasonable Indulgences they can expect*. In the mean time, he commands, *That no mention be made of Confiscation or Imprisonment for Debt, during his Administration*; and concludes with exhorting them, *To follow the Example of an old Man, who was willing to endure all the Fatigues, and run all the Hazards of War with them*. The People depend on the Promises of the Dictator, and obey him more out of Love than Fear. Ten Legions are raised; and, by *Valerius's* Order, the Oaths are taken, not to him, but to the *Consuls* of the Year. He divides the Forces between them and himself. *Veturius* is ordered to march against the *Æqui*; *Virginus* against the *Volschi*; and the Dictator leads his Legions against the *Sabines*. The three Generals are all successful; and it proves a glorious Campaign for the *Romans*. *Valerius* is decreed a Triumph by both Senate and People: and as a further Mark of Distinction, they allot him an honourable Place in the *Circus*, at the Celebration of the Publick Games, and appoint that a *Curule Chair* be always placed there for him; and this Honour they make hereditary in his Family. §. 11. But now *Valerius* remembers his Promises to the People, and presses the Execution of them upon the Senate. But the *Patrician* Usurers have made such a Party during his Absence, that the Senators not only refuse to comply, but the younger Men of them lose their Respect

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for his Dignity, and reproach him with the Affection of his Family to the *Plebeians*. Year of The prudent *Dictator*, to prevent in some part the Misfortunes which threaten the *ROME* Publick, sends a Colony of the poor Debtors to *Velitrae*, just taken from the *Volsci*. But still there remains too many of those Wretches. He speaks to the Senate again in their Favour; but his Motion is rejected. Upon which, he tells the Senators in great Anger, *That in a little time, perhaps, they may wish they had such an Intercessor with the People as himself*, and goes hastily out of the Senate-House. He summons the People, acknowledges his *Obligations to them*, complains of the *faithless Conduct of the Senate, with regard both to them and him*; declares his *Resolution to retire, or to surrender himself up to their Resentments, if they suspect that he has betray'd their Interests*. This said, he abdicates the *Dictatorship*, and strips off the Badges of his Office. The People, full of Compassion towards this great Man, and of Indignation against the *Patricians*, conduct him home with Acclamations. The Senate, to prevent Disorders, command the *Consuls* to lead the Army into the Field; and there is no difficulty now to make the *Legions* march; because the military Oaths which had been taken to the *Consuls*, were binding to the end of the Year. §. 12. The *Con-*

SICINNIUS
BELLU-
TUS.
MONS SA-
CER.
SECESSIO.

sular Armies then take the Field; but encamping pretty near each other, the discontented Soldiers communicate Sedition to one another. The Leaders of the Mutiny having considered of various Projects, at last conclude to carry away the military Ensigns and Standards, and engage all the Troops to follow them without the Privy of their Officers. SICINNIUS BELLUTUS is the main Spring of the Revolt. The Design is executed; the Troops march away, and encamp beyond the *Anio*, three Miles from *Rome*, on a Hill, call'd afterwards, THE SACRED MOUNT, as this their Retreat was THE SECESSION. The first thing they do after this, is to chuse themselves a General; and *Sicinnius* is the Man they pitch upon. Then they secure themselves within good Entrenchments, and there lie quiet, without committing any Hostility. In vain do the *Consuls* and Officers dispatch a Deputation to *Sicinnius*, to persuade him to return with the Troops to the Camp. He sends back such an Answer, as shews he is determin'd to keep no Measures with them. *Rome* is all in a Confusion at the News. The *Patricians* are forced to guard the Gates themselves, to hinder the Citizens from going out to join the *Separatists*. The Senators assemble daily, and mutually accuse each other of Indulgence and Severity. In the mean time, the *Aequi* and *Volsci* lead up some Parties to the very Walls of *Rome*. Debtors, Malefactors, Robbers, Malecontents, and all such as love Novelty, flock in to the Rebels; who nevertheless do not join the Enemies of *Rome*: and this gives the *Conscript Fathers* some hopes of bringing them back. A Motion is made by some of the wisest among them, to send Deputies to *Sicinnius*, and propose a Reconciliation. The Deputies don't at first declare all that the Senate are willing to grant the Rebels, but only offer Impunity, and then ask upon what Terms they will go back to the City. The Mutineers are shock'd at the Demand, and return a contemptuous Answer, which fills the City with Consternation. The present *Consuls* being fallen into Contempt, there is no hopes of a Reconcilement under their Administration. So that the *Centuries* meet, and chuse two new *Consuls*. §. 13. These are *Posthumius Cominius*, and *Sp. Cas-*

17th CON-
SULSHIP.

sius, Men in great Esteem, both of Senate and People. They immediately assemble the Senate, and MENENIUS AGRIPPA's Opinion is first ask'd. He was a Man much of the same Character with *Poplicola*. He, in a long Speech, full of good Reason, declares warmly, for a Reconciliation with the People; and proposes, *That such Plenipotentiaries may be sent, as are agreeable to them, and who may have absolute and uncontrollable Power to treat*. Then the Senior Consul desires MANIUS VALERIUS, the late *Dictator*, to declare his Thoughts. The old Man upbraids the Senate with their Neglect of his former Counsels; he accuses their Indiscretion, in not offering the People an Abolition of Debts, by the first Deputation: He foretels them, *That the Mutineers will, besides their first Demands, insist upon lasting Securities, for their future Preservation from Oppression*. He declares for MENENIUS's Opinion; and advises, *not to delay one Moment giving the People Satisfaction, let their Demands be what they will*. APPIUS CLAUDIUS speaks next; and in a very plausible Harangue, strenuously opposes the Advice of *Menenius* and *Valerius*. He declares against all treating with the Rebels, or Indulgence to them, till they lay down their Arms: but on that Condition is for shewing them Mercy, as a Set of Fools and Madmen. Upon this, the Senate is divided. The young Senators are for *Appius*, and the old ones for *Menenius Agrippa*: and the Uproar is so great, that they almost come to Blows. The *Consuls* having whispered a few Moments together, the elder of them, in the Name of both, advises the young Senators to come with better Dispositions to the next Assembly, and then dismisses it. §. 14. Some Days after, the Senate meet a-new, when every thing is transacted in great Tranquillity. *Menenius* is desired again to declare his Sentiments; he is still of the same Opinion, and all the Senators who have been *Consuls*, vote for it; till it comes to *Appius's* Turn to speak. He continues to protest against receiving the Mutineers, and prays to *Jupiter*, and the *Tutelar Gods* of *Rome*, That he may be deceiv'd in his Apprehensions of the evil Consequences of it. Then *Nautius*, a young

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Year of *Patrician*, makes an Apology in Behalf of all the young Senators, for their past CON-
ROME duct, and consents, in their Name, to whatever the oldest Senators shall decree. It
 was ordered therefore, that ten Deputies should be sent to *Sicinnius's* Camp. The ten
 chosen had all been *Consuls*, except *Nautius*: Such Care was taken that none but wise and
 prudent Men should be concern'd in judging what Concessions it was fit to make the
 Revolters. §. 15. [An Account at large of the Conference between the Deputies from
 the Senate and the revolted Army on the *Mons Sacer*.] *Menenius Agrippa* makes a strong **MENENIUS**
 Impression on their Minds by the Fable of the *Members which mutinied against the* **AGRIPPA'S**
Stomach, and they are just ready to march back to *Rome*, without any further Secu- **FABLE.**
 rity than Promises, when *L. Junius Brutus*, who had been their chief Spokesman,
 stops them, and proposes an Expedient to secure the Commons from being ever any
 more oppress'd by the *Patricians*. That the People have Leave to chuse annually, out
 of the Body of the *Plebeians*, a certain Number of Magistrates, who, without having
 any other Authority in *Rome* but that of protecting them, may oppose or disannul any
 Edicts or Judgments which shall be burdensome to the People. The Deputies did not ex-
 pect this Proposal, nor durst they determine in so nice an Affair, without the Senate.
 They desire Time therefore to consult the *Conscrip't Fathers*; and *Valerius* is sent to
Rome for that Purpose. §. 16. *Valerius* returns with the Senate's Consent to all
 the Peoples Demands, and particularly to the Proposal of *Brutus*; who, with two
 of his Companions, and accompany'd by half the Deputies, goes to the City to con-
 firm the Treaty. In the mean time, *Menenius*, who stays on the *Mons Sacer*, draws
 up the Plan of a Law for the Creation of the new Magistrates. *Brutus* comes back,
 and reports that the Treaty is concluded in the most solemn manner; and then the
 Revolters assemble by *Curie*, in the Camp, to chuse the first **TRIBU-**
PLE. *Sicinnius* and *Brutus* are first named, then three others are added to them, and **NI PLE-**
 they all enter upon Office the 4th of the *Ides of December*. A Law is pass'd, de- **BIS.**
 claring their Persons sacred. And that this Law may be perpetual, the People are
 made to swear for themselves and their Posterity, always to conform to it. The Ce-
 remony concludes with erecting an Altar on the *Mons Sacer*, to *Jupiter The Terrible*. **JUPITER**
 Sacrifices are offer'd on it, and then the People follow the Deputies to the City. **TERRIBI-**
 Soon after their Return, they make two new Demands on the Senate; the First is, **LIS.**
 That it ratify the Election of the *Tribunes* on the *Mons Sacer*. The Senate consents.
 The second, That the *Tribunes* be allow'd two Assistants in the Execution of their
 Office, and that the *Plebeians* have the Right of chusing them. It was to be the
 Business of these new Magistrates, to prepare Matters for the *Tribunes*; to judge of
 them in the first Instance; to take care that the City be well supply'd with Provisions, and
 to regulate the Price of them: and lastly, to inspect all the Buildings, both publick and
 private, in *Rome*. (From this last Part of their Office, they take the Name of *Ædiles*.) **ÆDILES.**
 Of this likewise the Senate approves. §. 17. *Rome* is now in a profound Peace
 at Home, and Troops are easily rais'd to march against the *Volsci*. The *Consul* *Co-*
minius defeats them in a Battle, and takes from them *Longula* and *Polusca*. §. 18. He
 marches next to besiege *Corioli*, the Metropolis of the *Volsci*, and strongly fortify'd.
 He takes the Town, and gains a Victory over the *Antiates* the same Day, but *Caius* **C. MARCI-**
Marcus, a young *Patrician* (whose Character is given) has all the Glory of both Ac- **US CORIO-**
 tions. (Which are describ'd at large.) The next Day the *Consul* erects his Tribunal **LANUS.**
 before his Tent, calls the Soldiers together, and among the rest, *MARCUS* by Name.
 His whole Speech is little else than a Panegyrick upon the young Hero. He puts a
 Crown of Gold upon his Head, assigns him a tenth Part of all the Spoil, makes him
 a Present of a fine Horse with stately Furniture, in the Name of the Republick,
 and gives him Leave to chuse out for himself any ten of the Prisoners. Of all these
 Offers, he accepts only the Horse, and demands only one Captive of the ten, and that
 only with a Design to give him his Liberty: This was one of the *Antiates*, an old
 Friend to his Family. This generous and disinterested Conduct silences even Jealousy
 it self; and the *Consul* gives him the Surname of *CORIOLANUS*; by which he transfers
 all the Honour of the Conquest from himself to the modest *Marcus*. §. 19. The
 Enemies of *Rome* are terrify'd by this Reduction of the *Volsci*, and keep quiet at
 Home: So that *Cominius* disbands his Army; and War is succeeded by Works of
 Religion, publick Games, and Treaties of Peace. The *Latins* having deserved well
 of the Republick, the ancient Alliance enter'd into with them is renew'd, and con-
 firm'd by Oaths, and a third Day added to the *Feria Latine*. During these Re-
 joicings, *Menenius Agrippa* dies, and in as great Poverty as *Poplicola*. His Relations
 think to bury him without Ceremony: But the People being informed of it, and the
 Motion being made by the new *Tribunes*, agree to pay a *Sextans* per Head, towards
 the Expence of magnificent Obsequies for him. Upon this, the Senate enter into
 an Emulation with the People, and will not suffer an illustrious *Patrician* to be bu-
 ried at the Expence of the Commons. They assign a Fund for his Funeral, out of
 the publick Treasury, and commit the Care of it to the *Quæstors*. In the mean time
 the People refuse to receive back their Money, and order it to be given to *Menenius's*
 Children, to comfort them, as they said, in their Indigence, and excite them to the Pur-
 suit

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18th CON-
SULSHIP.

Year of
ROME
261.

suit of Virtue. This *Consulship* ends with a *CENSUS* and a *Lustrum*, and there ap-
pears to be but 110000 Men fit to bear Arms.

§. 20. Under the new Admi-
nistration of *Titus Geganius* and *Publius Minutius*, *Rome* is terribly afflicted with a Fa-
mine, occasion'd chiefly by the Neglect of Ploughing and Sowing, during the late
Troubles. Nothing but the Authority of the Magistrates can hinder the People
from killing the Slaves to eat them. Envoys are sent to all Parts to buy Corn; but
with little Success, so that the Misery is excessive and universal.

§. 21. In the
mean time the *Volsci*, thinking this a favourable Opportunity to fall upon the *Ro-*
mans, send to all their Cities to solicit them to take Arms against the Republick.
But just as they are ready to begin the War, a most terrible Plague spreads it self
thro' all their Country. In the City of *Velitræ*, nine Parts in ten of its Inhabitants
are swept away by it, so that those who survive are forced to have Recourse to
Rome, to re-people their City. The *Conscript Fathers*, thinking it a good Means to
disburthen themselves of many useless Mouths, and that *Velitræ* might serve as a Bar-
rier against the *Volsci*, are willing to send a Colony thither, and order an Army to
be raised, partly *Patricians*, partly *Plebeians*. The People at first do not dislike the
Scheme, thinking at least to get Bread abroad, but their *Tribunes*, *Sicinnius* and *Bru-*
tus, exclaim against it, so that none enroll themselves, either for the Colony or Ar-
my. In the mean time, the Famine increases; the Commons accuse the Senators of
being designedly the Cause of it; and these Murmurings are encourag'd by the *Tri-*
bunes. *Coriolanus* is enraged at this, and, having all the *Patricians* on his Side, ob-
tains a Decree, in spite of the *Tribunes*, That an Army be rais'd to serve under his
Command. It consists indeed only of Volunteers, but with these he advances into
the Enemy's Country, as far as the Gates of *Antium*, and brings off Corn, Cattle
and Slaves. At this the *Patricians* triumph, and the People are angry with their
Tribunes for having hindered them from following him.

§. 22. The happy Ex-
pedition of *Coriolanus* encourages the Senate, notwithstanding the Opposition of the
Tribunes, to send a Colony to *Velitræ*, and, a few Days after, another to *Norba*, a
City of *Latium*. The *Tribunes* think this such an Attack upon their Credit and
Power, that they stir up the People to a general Commotion, still openly accusing
the *Patricians* of being the Cause of the Scarcity, while their own Families, they
said, were well furnish'd with Provisions. The Senate are alarm'd at the Storm
which threatens them, and meet to deliberate on the Means to avert it. *Appius* pre-
vails, that, instead of giving the People soft Words, the *Tribunes* should be reprim-
anded and menaced with all the Authority of the Senate. But when the *Consuls*
come to declare the Decree to the *Curia*, the *Tribunes* first protest against the Decree,
and in the next place, dispute the *Consuls* Right (which they had hitherto possess'd) of
speaking publicly to the People, contending that their Province was confined to the Se-
nate. The Contest growing very warm, and Night drawing on, *Brutus* desires
Leave of the *Consuls* to speak to the People, and promises to quiet the Dispute. *Ge-*
ganius and *Minutius*, pleas'd with the Deference paid them, in asking their Permif-
sion, give him Leave. But then, instead of addressing himself to the People, he
puts Questions to the *Consuls* themselves. *Do you remember*, says he, *that one of the*
Articles of the late Reconcilement is this, That no Patrician shall appear at the Assembly
of the Commons, when convened by the Tribunes? *We do*, reply the *Consuls*. *Why*
then, adds *Brutus*, *do you now come hither to disturb the Conference between the People*
and their Tribunes? *Because*, says *Geganius*, *this Assembly was summoned by our Di-*
rection; not by yours. *That's enough*, cries out *Brutus*. *You grant all we would have.*
Let us retire now, and to Morrow I will tell you how far our Power extends, and how far
yours. The *Tribunes* and *Ædiles* go the next Morning, before it is light, to the Tem-
ple of *Vulcan*, which stood near the *Comitium*, and there assemble the People. They
complain to them of the Attempt that had been made the Day before, to impose Si-
lence on them in the Assembly of the *Curia*, of which they were the Defenders. And
they propose to them the following Law, empowering the *Tribunes* to harangue the
Curia. *Let none contradict or interrupt a Tribune when he is haranging the People. If*
any one does, let him immediately give Security to pay the Fine which shall be set upon
him at his Trial; and if he refuse to give this Security, let him be put to Death, and
his Goods confiscated. The Difficulties which may arise about these Securities, shall be
referred to the People, and determined by them. This Law is pass'd by the *Curia*, be-
fore the *Consuls* know any thing of it. The Senate indeed will not confirm it; but
then the Commons, in their Turn, refuse to accept the Decrees of the Senate.

Plebiscita.
Senatus-
consulta.

[The Distinction between the *PLEBISCITA*, and the *SENATUS-CONSULTA*.] But what
is very surprizing, the two Parties did not all this while carry their Resentments to
such Excess, as to commit any Acts of Violence. The Proceedings on both Sides
were carried on with an Air of Law, and the Appearances of Justice. The Houses
of the Rich were never plunder'd, even during so great a Famine, the People con-
tenting themselves with Roots and wild Herbs, as long as Corn and Money were
wanting.

§. 23. But the Animosity of the People against the *Patricians*, re-
markably appears, when the Time comes for electing new *Consuls*. *Coriolanus*, who
had

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Year of had made seventeen Campaigns, and distinguished himself in them all, is one of the chief Candidates, and uses great Sollicitations. Yet because of his Attachment to the *Patrician* Party, he is rejected; and the People chuse *M. Minutius Augurinus*, and *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, two Men advanced in Years, and who have been already *Consuls*. *Coriolanus* is out of all Patience, openly declares his Resentments against the People and their *Tribunes*; and being supported by the *Patrician* Faction, who idolize him, waits only an Opportunity to revenge himself on them. §. 24. The first Care of the *Consuls*, who are Men of Experience in Business, and zealous for the publick Good, is to banish Want from *Rome*. Great Quantities of Corn now arrive from *Sicily* and other Places; and the *Conscript Fathers* who favour the People, are for distributing it *gratis* among them. But the opposite Faction is for holding up the Price of Bread, in order to keep them in Dependence and Subjection. *Coriolanus* is at the Head of the severer Party, speaks loudly against any Indulgence to the People, proposes the abolishing the *Tribuneship*, and taking Vengeance on the Commons for their past Insolences. The *Tribunes*, who are present at the Debates, are mad with Rage, demand Justice of the Senate, and that *Coriolanus* be immediately condemn'd to Death, otherwise they threaten to get him condemn'd by the *Curia*. The Senate is divided in Opinion, and the Majority seem inclin'd to destroy the Treaty of the *Mons SACER*. Upon this, the *Tribunes* leave the Assembly in great Fury, calling out upon the Gods, the Avengers of the Breach of Oaths, to witness what had pass'd. The incens'd People are ready to break into the Senate-house, but the *Tribunes* stop them. To proceed regularly, the *Curia* are assembled, and *Coriolanus* summon'd to appear. He refuses to answer the Summons; the *Tribunes*, with their Officers, attempt to seize him, but are beaten off by the *Patricians* who guard him. The next Day the *Tribunes* get Possession of the *Tribune of Harangues*; and from thence they all in their Turns exaggerate the Offence of *Coriolanus*. They conclude with saying it is necessary to give the *Patricians* a Hearing; and desire the People to continue their Assembly till the Senate is risen. §. 25. As soon as the Senate is broke up, the *Consuls* appear upon the *Tribune*, and *Minutius*, the elder of them, in a Discourse to the People, clears the Senate from being the Cause of the Scarcity, excuses the imprudent Warmth of *Coriolanus*, bids them remember his Virtues, as well as his Faults; and intreats them, in the Senate's Name, and as a Favour to them, to forgive him. The gentle Words of *Minutius*, join'd with Promises of sudden Plenty, soften and calm the People. But the artful *Sicinnius* (now *Tribune* of the Commons a second time) continues to efface all Impressions made on their Minds in favour of *Coriolanus*. After having thank'd the *Consuls* and *Patricians* for their favourable Disposition to the Commons, he exhorts *Coriolanus* to apply himself to the Clemency of the People, and make an Apology for his Conduct. The *Tribune* knew that he had too lofty a Spirit to stoop to Supplications. Accordingly, instead of appearing as a Criminal, he gives himself the Airs of a Judge, and takes upon him to reprimand. He owns every thing he had said in the Senate, and glories in it. He refuses to submit to any Tribunal but that of the *Consuls*, and protests, with a high Tone of Voice, and a threatening Look, that he would not have vouchsafed to appear in a tumultuous Assembly of seditious Men, had it not been to reproach them with their Crimes, and put some Check to their boundless Desires. And lastly, he openly declares his Hatred to the *Tribunes*, as the Bane of the publick Happiness. Upon this, the People are so enraged, that some of them are for murdering *Marcus* with their own Hands: But the *Tribunes* think it necessary to observe a Form of Justice. They consult among themselves, gather the Votes, and then order him to be thrown down headlong from the *Tarpeian Rock*, which over-look'd the *Forum*. The *Ædiles* come to seize him; the *Patricians* interpose; and the Presence of the *Consuls* puts an End to the Commotion. *Brutus* represents to *Sicinnius*, that it has not the Appearance of Justice, to make himself both Accuser and Judge; and advises him to stop all Proceedings for the present, to enter a formal Accusation against the Criminal, and give him Time to prepare his Answer. *Sicinnius* follows his Counsel, and dismisses the Assembly, after having assured them that effectual Care shall be taken to give them Satisfaction, in relation to the Corn. §. 26. The Senate fearing lest the Prosecution of *Marcus* should be a Precedent for depriving them of the Liberty of speaking their Minds freely, endeavour to divert the *Tribunes* from pursuing it: But all they can gain is a longer Time for the Accused to prepare his Defence. And then they use Artifice to postpone the Trial, by decreeing a War against the *Antiates*, and that no Affairs in Dispute shall be determined during the Campaign. §. 27. But the *Antiates* being quickly brought to Reason, the Army returns to *Rome* sooner than the Senate had wish'd. And then the *Tribunes* cite *Coriolanus* to appear on a Day appointed. The Senators try all Means to ward off a Blow which must affect them all. *Minutius* calls the *Tribunes* together, and tells them, That by immemorial Custom, all Proceedings in capital Cases are to begin by the Senate's declaring whether it be proper to bring them before the People. Tho' *Sicinnius* opposes this Claim, yet the other *Tribunes* signify to the *Consul*, by one of their Body, named *Decius*, their Consent that the Senate first judge whether

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whether *Marcus's* Cause ought to be brought before the Commons: But this upon Year & two Conditions; 1st. That the *Tribunes* be allow'd to report it to the Senate. ROM. 2^{dly}. That the Senators, after having been sworn, all give their Opinions regularly; and that the *Consuls* pronounce Sentence according to the Plurality of Voices. These Conditions being accepted, and a Day appointed, *Decius* undertakes to shew that it belongs to the People to hear and determine the present Cause. He cites a Law of *Poplicola*, by which the *Plebeians*, when ill treated by the *Patricians*, are allow'd to bring their Complaints before the Commons. He urges, That *Marcus* having been guilty of a notorious Insult upon the Authority of the Roman People, and the Dignity of their *Tribunes*, the People are therefore his legal Judges. He exaggerates the *Heinousness* of *Coriolanus's* Offence; and advises the Senate to withdraw their Protection from so proud and insolent a *Patrician*. When the other *Tribunes* have added many Things to what *Decius* had said, *Appius Claudius* rises, and with great Warmth enumerates all the Encroachments of the Commons. At first, says he, they pleaded Indigence, and only demanded an Abolition of Debts. In the Beginning of their seditious Separation, they seem'd as if they would be content with Impunity and Leave to return Home. After this, they thought fit to demand a College of *Tribunes*, to protect them against our Decrees. The Authority of these Officers they would have to be sacred, and their Persons inviolable. Then, by the Help of these new Magistrates, they made Laws without our Privy, despised the Authority of the Senate and *Consuls*, and disannull'd our Decrees. And now, by an unheard of Usurpation, they summon a most illustrious *Patrician* to appear at their Tribunal, where he is to be tried as a Criminal, only for having delivered his Opinion freely. *Appius*, after this, exclaims against submitting *Coriolanus* to be tryed by the People, or making any Concessions to them; exhorts the Senate not to fear a Civil War, and tells them that Gods and Men will unite in their Defence. But the popular *Valerius* is of the contrary Opinion, and is for paying some Deference to the Commons. And for the sake of Peace, and in order to keep an even Balance of Power between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, advises the mutual delivering up of Offenders to each other. *Valerius's* Opinion prevails; and it is carried by a Majority, that *Coriolanus* shall be tried by the People. But just as the Decree is ready to be drawn up, he prays Leave to speak, and desires to know exactly what Crime he is to be accused of. Your Accusation, answered the *Tribunes*, will chiefly relate to your Design of usurping Tyrannical Power. Upon that Foot, replies *Coriolanus*, I have nothing to object to the Senate's Decree. Let it be put in Writing; I will appear before the People, and answer the frivolous Charge. §. 28. As soon as the Decree is pass'd, the *Tribunes* send a fresh Summons to *Coriolanus* to appear the third Market-day (or twenty seven Days after.) The Reason why they chose a Market-day was, that the Country People came then in Crowds to the City, and having all a Right to vote, the *Tribunes* thought they would be less at the Devotion of the *Patricians* than the Inhabitants of the City. When the Time appointed comes, new Wranglings arise about the Form of the *Comitia* by which he shall be try'd. Hitherto the *Romans* had known no *Comitia* but such as were assembled by *Curie* or *Centuries*: And the *Patricians* were for the latter on this Occasion, as they had good Reason. But the *Tribunes* of the People prevail'd that they should vote by *Tribes*, of which there were in all twenty one, in City and Country; and for Order's sake, the Forum was divided into as many square Parts, by Cords tied across, and each *Tribe* went into its own Square. The *Consul Minutius* speaks first, and endeavours to persuade the People to be satisfy'd with *Coriolanus's* Humiliation in being brought to a Trial before them, and not to proceed to voting upon his Accusation. But in case they persist, he tells them, that the whole Senate is come to sue for his Pardon. *Sicinnius* the *Tribune* answers haughtily, that the Assembly shall not be broken up, till the Affair is determin'd by Vote. He then runs over the whole Life of *Marcus*, and represents him, in every Part of it, as aiming at Regal Power. At length *Coriolanus* speaks, and is heard with profound Attention. He enumerates the Campaigns he has serv'd, the Wounds he has receiv'd, and the Crowns with which he has been rewarded. He calls over the Names of those Citizens whose Lives he had saved in Battle. They are all *Plebeians*. They cry out, and intreat the People not to destroy their Preserver; offer to take the Place of the Accused, and secure his Life, at the Expence of their own. *Coriolanus* then appeals to the People, whether it be probable that a Man who had done nothing to gain the Favour of the People, but hazard his Life for them, could design to usurp a Throne. Your Hatred, says he, is my Justification, and the Haughtiness laid to my Charge is my Apology. The most worthy Part of the People immediately cry out, That he ought to be acquitted; and the Assembly is just ready to break up to his Advantage, when *Decius* charges him anew with a Breach of the Laws, in disposing of the Spoil and Provision taken from the Enemy in his last Expedition during the Famine, among his Soldiers, and not bringing them to the Publick Treasury. Neither *Coriolanus*, nor his Friends, are prepared for this Chicane; so that the *Tribunes* take advantage of their Surprize, and get him condemn'd to perpetual Banishment. Nine *Tribes* were for him, and twelve against

COMITIA
TRIBUTA.

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Year of against him. An unjust Sentence! But it serv'd for a Precedent ever after, for the
ROME People to cite the Senators before their Tribunal, and thereby made the *Plebeians* su-
 perior to the Senate; and the Commons never expressed so much Joy after the greatest
 Victory, as on this Occasion. As for *Coriolanus*, he neither said nor did any thing
 unworthy of the Magnanimity he professed. All his Discourse to his Relations con-
 sisted of Exhortations to behave themselves with Constancy and Fortitude, under
 the various Events of Life. After this, he advanced towards one of the Gates of
Rome, without either Money or Provisions. He is said to have stopp'd at one of his
 Farms in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, there to shake off his Melancholy, and to
 form Schemes for revenging the Affront which the Senate had suffered the People to
 put upon him. He resolves at length to seek a Retreat among the *Volsci*, whom he
 judges the most likely to espouse his Quarrel.

263.

20th CON-
SULSHIP.

§. 29. In the mean time, the *Romans* elect new *Consuls*, *Q. Sulpitius*, and *Sp. Lartius*, (the latter a second time.) And
 this being a Year of Peace, Superstition prevails. Nothing is talk'd of but Visions,
 Spectres, miraculous Voices, Monsters, &c. *T. Latinus*, an old Man, and Bed-ridden,
 makes himself be brought to *Rome* in a Litter, and tells the *Conscript Fathers* of a
 Dream, in which *Jupiter Capitolinus* had appeared to him, and commanded him to tell
 the Senate, *That they must repeat the Celebration of the Publick Games; because in the*
last, a bad Dancer had led up the Dances. He adds, *That having neglected the Admo-*
nition, Jupiter, in Revenge, had first kill'd his Son, and afterwards thrown himself into
the Condition, in which he then was. As fast as the old Man discharges his Commis-
 sion, so fast he recovers the Use of his Limbs: and this puts the Senate into a terrible
 Fright. Great Enquiries are made after the bad Dancer: and he is at last found to be
 a substantial Citizen, who, the Morning of the Procession, had caused one of his
 Slaves to be whipped in the Cross-ways, the *Forum*, and the *Circus*, i. e. the Places
 through which the Holy Procession was to pass. And it seems this had offended *Ju-*
piter. The Criminal is fined, and Preparations are made at double Expence, to be-
 gin the Games again. [The manner of their Celebration is described.] §. 30. While
 these things are doing, *Coriolanus* is meditating Revenge: And calling to mind one
Attius Tullius, a considerable Man in *Antium*, an old Warrior, and who in Battle
 had been often his Rival for Glory; he judges, that he can no where intrust his Life
 more safely than with him. At his House therefore he resolves to seek an Asylum,
 without any previous Enquiries into his Inclination. He comes to *Antium*, enters
 the House of *Attius*, wraps his Head in his Robe, and sits down by the *Sacred*
Hearth. *Attius* was at Supper in an inner Apartment, when News is brought him,
 That a Stranger, of a very majestick Air, is, without speaking to any body, come
 into his House, and set down by the *Hearth* of his *Lares.* *Attius*, surprized at the
 Novelty, rises and comes out. *Coriolanus* discovers his Face, and throws himself at
 his Feet: but the other not recollecting him, he declares his Name, tells his Case,
 and offers to assist the *Volsci* against *Rome*, not only with his Sword, but with all his
 Experience in War. *Attius* gives him his Hand to rise, receives him graciously, and
 promises him the Friendship of the *Volsci.* But the great Difficulty is, how to bring
 the whole Nation into a War. *Coriolanus* proposes, That some means be found to
 make *Rome* take Umbrage against the *Volsci*, and be the Aggressor. In the mean
 time, he lies conceal'd at *Attius's* House.

Manner of
celebrating
the Publick
Games.

264.

21st CON-
SULSHIP.

§. 31. The renewing the Games at
Rome, had been deferred till after the Election of the new *Consuls*, who were *C. Ju-*
lius Iulus, and *P. Pinarius.* The Concourse of Strangers to see them, was incre-
 dibly great; and the *Volsci* especially came thither in great Numbers; but they met
 with little Hospitality, and few Friends. They went about the City in Companies,
 and their Numbers gave the *Romans* Uneasiness, which was increas'd by an Artifice of
Attius, which he had concerted with *Coriolanus.* He suborned one of his Nation, a
 bold impudent Fellow, to go to the *Consuls*, and pretend to make a Discovery of a
 Design the *Volsci* had to burn *Rome*, while the *Romans* were taken up with the
 Games of the *Circus.* Upon this, the Senate, in a Fright, order all the *Volsci* to leave
 the City before Sun-set, on Pain of Death; and they are driven out at the Gate *Ca-*
pena. *Attius* gets before them upon the great Road, and standing on a Hillock, stops
 his Countrymen as they pass, and exaggerates the Affront they have receiv'd. The
Volsci are easily exasperated, a General Diet is held at *Ecetra*, when all the Deputies
 are of opinion, That they are at liberty to begin the War, without waiting till the
 Truce is expired: And *Attius* persuades them to search for *Coriolanus*, as a Man very
 capable of doing them essential Service. *Marcus* is easily found; he comes to the
 Assembly, relates his Misfortunes and Affronts, makes a Merit of his seeking a Retreat
 among the *Volsci*, rather than with the *Latins* or *Uetrurians*, quickens their Jealousy of
 the *Romans*, persuades them to demand back all that the Republick has conquer'd
 from them, and offers to assist their General with his Counsel and his Sword. His
 Discourse is receiv'd with Applause, and a Deputation is order'd to go make the De-
 mand proposed. But the only Answer brought back from *Rome*, is this, *The Volsci*
will be the first to take up Arms, and the Romans the last to lay them down. Upon
 this, *Tullus* and *Coriolanus* are unanimously appointed Generals. They immediately
 raise

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22^d CON-
SULSHIP.

265.

raise two Armies of Volunteers, of which one covers the Country on the Side of the Year of *Latins*; while *Coriolanus*, with the other, enters the Territory of *Rome*, and com- ROME
mits inconceivable Devastations; only he spares the Houses of his Friends the *Patricians*. This increases the Misunderstandings and Jealousies at *Rome*. The *Romans* dare not appear in the Field; so that *Coriolanus* returns home loaded with Spoil, and in great Credit with the *Volsci*. A regular Army is then raised, and divided into two Bodies, one consisting of Veterans, the other of young Soldiers; and *Attius* compliments *Coriolanus* with the Command of the former, which is to act abroad. §. 32. And now at the Head of a noble Army, he first marches to besiege *Circaum*; but it immediately surrenders. The *Romans* are terrify'd; and the mutual Jealousies of the two Parties increase. *It was you*, said the *Patricians*, *who drove away Coriolanus*. *It is you*, replied the *Plebeians*, *who now bring him upon us by your secret Sollicitations*. But as urgent Necessity often unites divided Minds, the *Tribunes* at length come to a good Understanding with the Senate. The *Consuls* give Orders to raise an Army in the legal Way, and to get Auxiliaries from their Allies. And the *Latins* are allow'd, contrary to Custom, to arm in their own Defence. But before the *Romans* take the Field, new *Consuls* are chosen, *Sp. Nautius*, and *Sextus Furius*. *Coriolanus* in the mean time recovers from the *Romans* all the Places they had taken from the *Volsci*. He then marches into *Latium*, takes *Toleria* by Assault, defeats the Troops of *Bola*, enters the City with the Fugitives, plunders and burns it. Thence he hastens to *Labicum*, sets fire to the Corn-fields about it, storms the Town, and sells the Inhabitants for Slaves. And now the Torrent grows impetuous. *Pedum*, another Town of *Latium*, is carried by Assault; and then, such a Terror is every where spread, that all the Places surrender without fighting, as soon as the Conqueror appears before them; and these Experience his Clemency. §. 33. All this time the *Romans* dare not appear in the Field. Their *Consuls* are not Soldiers, and the People have no Confidence in the *Patricians*. Their Allies are not in a Condition to help them; and the *Aequi* have now join'd the *Volsci*: So that *Coriolanus's* Army is very numerous, when he sets down before *Lavinium*. During this Siege, the *Romans* have some thoughts of appeasing their injur'd Countryman, and the People cry out to have the Decree of his Banishment repeal'd. But, which is very surprizing, the Senate, who had formerly been his Protectors, oppose it: Which *Coriolanus* no sooner understands, but, leaving one Part of his Army before *Lavinium*, he comes and encamps with the other, within forty *Stadia* of *Rome*, at the *Fossa Cluilia*. As he continues there that Evening, and a good Part of the next Day, without making any Motion, the *Romans* imagine he only waits an Opportunity of reconciling himself with his Country. The Senate send therefore a Deputation to him of five illustrious Senators, who had all been *Consuls*. §. 34. When *Coriolanus* understands that the Deputies are coming, he pleases himself with the Thought of humbling those proud Republicans. He gives them Audience sitting, and surrounded by the most considerable Men among the *Volsci*. *Minutius*, who had been his chief Advocate, is their Speaker. He puts him in mind of the Regard the *Patricians* had always shewn him, and even excuses, in some measure, the People, of whom nine Tribes had voted for him. He expostulates with him concerning the Unreasonableness of carrying his Resentments to an unbounded Excess, reminds him of the Instability of Fortune, tho' it has hitherto favour'd him; and in fine, invites him to throw himself into the Arms of his Mother-City, which opens her Bosom to receive him.

Coriolanus answers with a haughty Air, That he has more Parts to act than one: That he is *Coriolanus*; That he is an injur'd Roman; and That he is General of the *Volsci*. That as to the first, he remembers with the utmost Pleasure all his Obligations to the Deputies, and especially their generous Protection of his Mother, Wife, and Children, since his Banishment. He bids them make their Demands, and they shall see how far his Gratitude will carry him. But as I am an injur'd Roman, adds he, is a bare Re-establishment in *Rome* a sufficient Satisfaction for the Affronts I have receiv'd? Can there be any Safety for me, while a *Sicinnius*, or a *Decius*, is able to arm the Populace against my Life? No! *Rome* is an unnatural Mother, who has cast off a Son who was useful to her, and zealous for her Glory, and she shall soon know by the Effects of my just Resentment, whose Cause it is that the Gods espouse. He then tells the Deputies, That, as General of the *Volsci*, he must direct them to apply to the Nation he serves, and in a suppliant manner ask Peace. And he engages to procure it for them upon Condition, that *Rome* restores all she has taken from the *Volsci*, makes a Treaty of Union with them on the same Foot as that with the *Latins*, &c. He allows them thirty Days to consider of it. In the mean time, he promises, that for *Minutius's* sake, he will draw off his Troops further from *Rome*. §. 35. It was *Coriolanus's* Fate to be the Object of Jealousy wherever he came. *Attius Tullus* becomes of a sudden his most implacable Enemy, and whispers Calumnies every where against him, as betraying the *Volsci*. The *Roman* has no Suspicion of this, and employs the thirty Days Truce in making new Conquests in *Latium*. He takes *Longula*, *Satricum*, *Ecetæ*, *Setia*, *Polusca*, *Albicum*, *Mugilla*, and at last *Corioli*,

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Year of *rioli*, which he restores to its old Masters. He then returns, and encamps before
ROME *Rome* with all his Forces. §. 36. The *Romans* had spent the thirty Days in De-
 liberations, and the Result of the Senate's Debates, may serve to give a true Notion
 of the Temper of those Republican Spirits. They resolve never to receive Law
 from their Enemy, nor so much as treat of Peace with him, till he has laid down
 his Arms, is retired into the Country of the *Volsci*, has sent an Embassy to *Rome*,
 and the *Roman* People have consented to accept the Terms proposed. They chuse
 ten new Deputies to carry this Message to *Coriolanus*. He gives them a short and
 disdainful Answer, refuses to hear their Reply, threatens to treat them as Spies, if
 they don't immediately quit the Camp, and allows the Republick but three Days to
 change her Resolution. The Report of the Deputies terrifies the City. All the Mi-
 nisters of Religion are ordered to go in Procession to the Camp of the *Volsci*; and
 without abating any thing of the Pretensions of the Senate, to exhort him to lay
 down his Arms. But this Deputation is as fruitless as the former ones. The Con-
 sternation among the Citizens is universal; yet they are resolved to run all the Hazards
 of a Siege. In this Distress the Ladies fly to the *Capitol*, and prostrate themselves be-
 fore the Statue of *Jupiter*. There, *Valeria*, Sister of the Great *Poplicola*, is struck
 with the Thought, that Women may perhaps accomplish what Men cannot; and
 she persuades the rest of the Ladies to follow her to the House of *Veturia*, the
 beloved Mother of *Coriolanus*. §. 37. *Veturia* is surprized at the Sight of so
 much unexpected Company; but *Valeria* tells her, she is the only Refuge they have
 left in their Misfortunes: and after much Reasoning and Intreaty, persuades her to
 make a last Attempt to soften her Son. *Veturia* takes *Volumnia*, her Son's Wife, and
 his Children with her; and attended by a Train of other Ladies, sets out in her
 Chariot for the Camp. *Coriolanus* has notice, by Scouts, of their Approach, and
 resolves to hold out against this new Deputation: but as soon as he hears who the
 Ladies are, he is half subdued, and walks out of his Tent to meet his Mother. He
 orders the *Lictors* of his Guard to lower their *Axes*, and lay down their *Fasces* before
 her. He comes to embrace her: But the haughty Matron, instead of appearing a
 Suppliant, assumes the imperious Mother, and thus addresses her Son: *Before I re-
 ceive your Embraces, Coriolanus, let me know whether I am your Mother, or your Cap-
 tive?* She then expostulates with him in a moving manner, and the proud *Roman*
 is struck dumb at her Presence. He seems to relent; and *Veturia* seizing the lucky
 Moment, falls down at his Feet, and intreats him, for her sake, to spare his native
 City. *Volumnia*, and her Children, at the same time prostrate themselves on the
 Ground; and *Coriolanus* at this Sight, can hold out no longer. He cries out, *Mo-
 ther, you disarm me. May the Gods grant, that my respectful Compliance may not turn
 to my Destruction! You gain a Victory over your Son, which is indeed advantageous to
 your Country, but will prove fatal to him.* This said, he retires with his Mother and
 Wife to his Tent, where the Conditions of his Retreat are adjusted. *Veturia*, and
 her Companions, are receiv'd with Acclamations at their Return; and the Senate al-
 low them to chuse their Reward. *We ask nothing*, replies *Veturia*, *but leave to build*
a Temple, at our own Expence, to THE FORTUNE OF WOMEN. The Senate are
 charm'd with her Disinterestedness, but order the Temple and Statue to be erected
 at the Expence of the Publick. *Valeria* is the first Priestess in it. §. 28. *Co-
 riolanus* leads back his Troops into the Country of the *Volsci*, and divides all the Spoil
 among his Soldiers, without reserving any thing for himself. However, some mur-
 mur at the Respect he has shewn for his Mother and his Country. *Attius* foment
 these Uneasinesses, and at length prevails to get him cited before the *Antiates*, to an-
 swer a Charge of High Treason. He makes himself the Accuser; and when *Co-
 riolanus* attempts to speak in his Defence, the opposite Faction cry out, *Kill
 him, Stab him*; and immediately he is murder'd. The Soldiers exceedingly lament
 his Death, and regret the Loss of him. Magnificent Obsequies are order'd for him
 by the *Volsci*: And tho' the Senate have Reasons of State for not doing him the same
 Funeral Honours, yet they give the Ladies leave, at their Request, to go into Mourn-
 ing for ten Months. [The Character of *Coriolanus*.] Upon the News of his Death,
 the *Consuls* venture to take the Field. But tho' the Confederate *Æqui* and *Volsci*
 quarrel among themselves about the Choice of a General, and fight a bloody Battel;
 yet the Coward-*Consuls* dare not attack them in their Retreat home; but chuse to
 return to *Rome*, where they are receiv'd with the Hisses of the People.

B O O K VIII.

266. §. 1. **T**HE *Romans* had of late placed such Persons only at their Head, as were
 pliable and submissive, without much regard to other Qualifications: But
 having experienced the Inconveniences of being govern'd by Men of little Merit, they re-
 solve for the future to change their Politicks; and therefore chuse now two *Consuls*, who
 [1] have

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23 ^d CON- SULSHIP.	have signalized their Bravery and Capacity in War, <i>Aquilius Tuscus</i> , and <i>Sicinnius Sabinus</i> . The former marches against the <i>Hernici</i> , and the latter against the <i>Volsci</i> . <i>Aquilius</i> gains a complete Victory, and takes the Enemy's Camp. This Success rouses the Indolence of the <i>Romans</i> , and animates them to assume their former Ascendant over the neighbouring Nations.	Year of ROME
24 th CON- SULSHIP.	§. 2. Nor indeed can the <i>Volsci</i> , who were so formidable under the Conduct of <i>Coriolanus</i> , withstand the brave Troops commanded by the Consul <i>Sicinnius</i> . They are entirely defeated, and their General, <i>Attius Tullius</i> , is slain in the Battel. This Victory being of greater Consequence than that of <i>Aquilius</i> , <i>Sicinnius</i> is decreed a Triumph, and the other only an Ovation.	267.
CASSIUS proposes a Law.	§. 3. These great Successes make the <i>Romans</i> take delight in bestowing the Consulship only on brave Warriors; so that <i>Sp. Cassius</i> , (who had been twice Consul before) and <i>Proculus Virginus</i> , are chosen for the present Year. It falls to <i>Virginus's</i> Lot to make War with the <i>Æqui</i> , who, upon the Rumor of the <i>Roman Army's</i> approach, retire with all their Effects within their Cities: and the Consul not being in a Condition to undertake a Siege, returns to <i>Rome</i> . <i>Cassius</i> marches against the confederated <i>Volsci</i> and <i>Hernici</i> , who submit, without fighting, but not the latter, till they are deserted by the former. The Consul has so much Deference for the Senate, that he will conclude no Alliance with them, till the <i>Conscrip't Fathers</i> have passed a Decree for their Admission into the Friendship of <i>Rome</i> : And this so obliges the Senators, that they empower <i>Cassius</i> to draw up the Conditions of the Treaty himself. This Mark of Distinction emboldens the ambitious Consul to demand the Honours of a Triumph; and tho' not due to him, as not having gained any Victory, yet it is granted: but his Pride is so visible, that many begin from this time to suspect his Designs.	
	§. 4. <i>Cassius</i> , in drawing up the Conditions of a Treaty with the <i>Hernici</i> , only copies those which had been formerly granted the <i>Latins</i> , a Nation long attached to <i>Rome</i> . This Condescension gives umbrage to some penetrating Republicans, and is thought so unreasonable, that it is enacted, that two thirds of the Lands belonging to the <i>Hernici</i> , shall be taken from them. But then the difficulty is, How these Lands shall be disposed of. <i>Cassius</i> , who has his private Views of Ambition, and is desirous to attach the Allies of the Republick to him, proposes a Law for the dividing these, and some other Lands usurped by the <i>Patricians</i> , in equal Portions between the People of <i>Rome</i> and the <i>Latins</i> . The Senators being jealous of <i>Cassius's</i> Designs, as well as touched in private Interest, oppose the Law. <i>Virginus</i> joins with the Senate, inveighs bitterly against his Collegue, and is seconded by <i>Appius Claudius</i> . So that <i>Rome</i> is divided into two Factions. The <i>Tribunes of the People</i> , (whether displeas'd to see a Consul, Author of a Law which favour'd the People, or afraid of aggrandizing a Man who would have it in his Power to subdue them, when he had made himself Master in the Republick) side with <i>Virginus</i> , and oppose the passing of the Law. Nay, they have address enough to bring over to them a good Part of the People, who at first had been fond of <i>Cassius</i> , and blamed both <i>Tribunes</i> and <i>Patricians</i> , as betraying their Interests. It is a Shame, said the <i>Tribunes</i> , to suffer Lands which you have acquired by the Sweat of your Brows, and by your Blood, to be profusely distributed among Allies who had no share in your Conquests. Why are the <i>Hernici</i> to have one third of their Lands left to them? Ought they not, as a conquer'd People, to be entirely depriv'd of them? There is undoubtedly, <i>Romans</i> , a Design upon your Liberty: Your Slavery will be the Consequence of this fatal Division of Lands, which the artful Consul would make between you and Foreigners. One Day, when <i>Cassius</i> and <i>Virginus</i> are disputing before the People, <i>Rabuleius</i> , a cunning Tribune, addresses himself thus to both of them: Is not your Dispute, says he, whether the People of <i>Rome</i> shall themselves take Possession of all the conquer'd Lands, or share them with the <i>Hernici</i> and <i>Latins</i> ? The Consuls agree it is. Upon which the Tribune, turning to the People, says, Our Consuls are agreed as to the main Point; they are neither of them for excluding you from one third of the Lands in Dispute. Lose no time then, <i>Romans</i> , in seizing what is unanimously granted you. As for the rest, let it continue in Suspence. This Advice pleases the People, and they are for having the Clause, in favour of Foreigners, dropt. But <i>Cassius</i> , who is fond of his own Scheme, dismisses the Assembly, and nothing is concluded. The People now all favour <i>Virginus</i> ; so that <i>Cassius</i> pretends to be indisposed, and does not appear abroad; but is contriving how to force the passing his Law. To this end he brings as many <i>Latins</i> as he can to <i>Rome</i> ; for they had the Privileges of <i>Roman Citizens</i> . <i>Virginus</i> , aware of his Collegue's Design, commands all such as are not Inhabitants of <i>Rome</i> , to leave it immediately. <i>Cassius</i> publishes a Counter-Order; so that a Sedition is like to ensue. The Senate assembles; <i>Appius Claudius</i> speaks first, and opposes the <i>Cassian Law</i> in both its Parts. He is not for distributing the Lands, either to <i>Romans</i> or Foreigners, and inveighs against <i>Virginus</i> , who had shew'd too much Indulgence to the People and their <i>Tribunes</i> . He proposes to have Part both of the newly-conquer'd Lands, and of those old Lands which some of the Nobility had usurp'd, sold, and the Produce put into the Treasury, for defraying the Expences of the Army; and lastly, moves that a College of ten Senators, under the Name of <i>Decemviri</i> , may be created to measure these Lands,	

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- Year of Lands, and determine the Differences which may arise about their Limits. *Sempronius Atratinus* speaks next, and proposes a new Method. He observes, that there are two Sorts of Lands to be disposed of; some, which were formerly conquer'd by the *Romans*, without the Assistance of their Allies; and these he would have divided between the Publick and the indigent *Romans* only. Others, that had been lately conquer'd from the *Hernici*, by the Assistance of the *Latins*; and these latter he would have divided between the Publick, the *Romans*, the *Latins*, and the *Hernici*. As to the Creation of the *Decemviri*, he seconds that Motion. *Sempronius's* Scheme is universally applauded, and drawn up into a Decree of the Senate, by which it is enacted, *That ten of the Fathers, who had been Consuls, shall be appointed to divide the conquer'd Lands, between the Treasury, the Romans, and their Allies. That for the future, all the Lands the Romans shall conquer, with the Assistance of their Allies, shall be divided between the Publick Treasury, the Citizens of Rome, and those Allies. And lastly, That the Choice of the first Decemviri shall be left to the Consuls for the ensuing*
268. Year. §. 5. *Q. Fabius* and *S. Cornelius* are elected in the *Campus Martius*; and at the same time two young *Patricians* of Distinction, *Cæso Fabius* (Brother to the first nam'd Consul) and *L. Valerius*, (Nephew of *Poplicola*) are appointed *Quæstors*. These latter are no sooner enter'd into Office, but they summon the old Consul *Cassius* to appear at their Tribunal, to answer the Charge of endeavouring to rob the publick Treasury of its Effects, in order to give them to Foreigners, of aiming at Tyranny, &c. All the Particulars are prov'd against him by the Testimony of the People assembled; and some say that his own Father condemn'd and put him to Death. §. 6. But *Dion. Hal.* relates, that at the Motion of the *Quæstors* he was led up to the *Capitol*, and thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian Rock* into the *Forum*. The People would have involv'd his three innocent Children in the same Punishment, it being customary, till this time, to extend the Punishment of Criminals to their Posterity. But this unjust Usage is now abolish'd by the Senate. §. 7. But the Pride of the *Patricians*, and their contemptuous Treatment of the Commons, make the Citizens soon regret the Loss of *Cassius*, who had been their zealous Defender. The Nomination of the *Decemviri* is delay'd, notwithstanding the Solicitation of the *Tribunes* to have the *Agrarian Law* executed. The *Consuls* have Recourse to their old Expedient, of amusing the People with a War. But they dare not attempt to make Levies in a legal Way, lest the *Tribunes* should oppose it. To intimidate the People, and terrify them to Obedience, they cause a Rumour to be spread, that the Senate is going to appoint a *Dictator*, and that *Appius Claudius* is to be the Man. This dreadful Report makes such an Impression on them, that they enlist themselves in the Troops, without Delay. *Cornelius* enters the Country of the *Veientes*, and *Fabius* marches against the *Æqui* and *Volschi*. Both *Consuls* have happy Expeditions. *Fabius* sells all the Spoils taken from the *Volschi*, and puts the Money into the Hands of the *Quæstors*, without giving the least Part of it to his Soldiers. And now, this Year being expired, his Brother *Cæso Fabius*, the *Quæstor*, and *Æmilius Mamercinus*, are chosen *Consuls* in the *Comitia by Centuries*.
269. §. 8. *Æmilius* marches against the *Volschi*, and is worsted in the first Engagement; but the Enemy coming to besiege his Camp, and he receiving a Reinforcement sent by his Colleague *Fabius*, sallies out upon them, routs them, and then pillages their Country. §. 9. During the Absence of the *Consuls*, the Senate, to divert the People's Minds from the *Agrarian Law*, order the Consecration of the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, which had been vow'd by *Posthumus*, at the Battle of *Regillus*; and they appoint his Son *Posthumus* to perform the Ceremony. In the mean while, the Time comes for electing new *Consuls*; and *M. Fabius* (Brother of *Quintus* and *Cæso*) and *L. Valerius* (who in his *Quæstorship* had got *Cassius* condemn'd) are chosen. *Rome* has now two Enemies to deal with, the *Volschi* and the *Veientes*: But *Mænius* the *Tribune* opposes the Edict of the Senate, and the Orders of the Consul for raising Troops, till the *Decemviri* are named, for executing the *Agrarian Law*. The *Consuls* have no Expedient but to remove their Tribunal out of the City, beyond the Gates of which the *Tribunes* have no Jurisdiction; and there two Armies are presently form'd; one to march against the *Veientes*, the other against the *Volschi*. The *Consuls*, being dissident of the Good-will of their Troops, agree to act only upon the defensive; and *Fabius*, who has to do with the *Veientes*, observes the Agreement. But *Valerius* has a desperate and bloody Battle with the *Volschi*, without much Advantage to either Side. The Friends of *Valerius* in *Rome* give out, that it was the Want of Affection in the Soldiers to their General, that a complete Victory was not gained: But the Soldiers, in all their Letters, lay the Fault on the Incapacity of their General. In the mean time, *Rome* is alarm'd with Prodigies, Spectres, &c. the Gods are suppos'd to be provok'd at being serv'd by impure Hands; *Opimia*, an unfortunate *Vestal*, is buried alive, and expiatory Sacrifices are offer'd. §. 10. When the Time comes to elect new *Consuls*, the *Patricians* are for promoting *Appius Claudius*, (Son of the famous *Claudius*, who had so signally shew'd his Aversion to the People,) but as often as the *Consuls* order the *Centuries* to assemble, the *Tribunes* oppose
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	pose the Election; and on the other hand, the <i>Consuls</i> oppose the <i>Comitia</i> summon'd by the <i>Tribunes</i> . This they had a mutual Right to do. But these Disputes threaten-	Year of ROME
INTER- REGNUM.	ing a Sedition, the Senate agree to reduce the Republick, for some time, to an <i>Interregnum</i> . <i>Semp. Aratinus</i> is the first <i>Interrex</i> , and has the Care of the publick Affairs for a few Days. To him succeeds <i>Sp. Lartius</i> , who orders the <i>Centuries</i> to as-	
28 th CON- SULSHIP.	semble in the <i>Campus Martius</i> , where they come to a peaceable Election of <i>C. Julius</i> , and <i>Q. Fabius</i> ; the former a Favourer of the People, the latter a Partisan of the <i>Patricians</i> , but not violent. The <i>Tribunes</i> make some Opposition to new Levies, on the old Pretence; however, both Generals march against the <i>Veientes</i> , who at their Approach retire into their Forts, and leave the <i>Consuls</i> Masters of the Country. §. 11. And now <i>Rome</i> becomes sensible what a Wound the Party-Zeal of the People and <i>Patricians</i> had given to the antient Form and original Liberty of Elections. As the Commons insist on chusing <i>Patricians</i> of their Party, and the Senate of such as are in the Interest of the Nobility, one of each is appointed. The Senate name	271.
29 th CON- SULSHIP.	<i>Cæso Fabius</i> , and the People chuse <i>Sp. Furius</i> . The Danger of the <i>Roman</i> Allies, and of <i>Rome</i> it self, which is threatned with a Siege by the <i>Hetrurians</i> , calls for a speedy Defence. But when two Armies come to be rais'd, <i> Icilius</i> the <i>Tribune</i> revives the old Quarrel about the Division of Lands. To remove this Obstacle, <i>Appius Claudius</i> advises the <i>Consuls</i> to sow Division among the <i>Tribunes</i> themselves. The Project succeeds, and the Troops are rais'd. <i>Furius</i> is to act against the <i>Æqui</i> , and being belov'd by his Soldiers has a successful Campaign. But the Troops of <i>Fabius</i> , who are to engage with the <i>Veientes</i> , chuse rather to lose their own Glory, than gain any Honour to their General. They refuse to pursue the Enemy after they have broke them; and the following Night strike their Tents, without Orders, and	272.
30 th CON- SULSHIP.	march back to <i>Rome</i> . §. 12. The <i>Patricians</i> cast their Eyes on <i>M. Fabius</i> , and the People on <i>Cn. Manlius Cincinnatus</i> , to be <i>Consuls</i> for the next Year; and all the Hopes of <i>Rome</i> is founded in their Wisdom and Unanimity; for she is now threatned by a prodigious Army of <i>Hetrurians</i> . <i>Pomifcius</i> the <i>Tribune</i> would have renew'd the old Complaint, but the Senators successfully repeat the Artifice of <i>Claudius</i> . The Forces rais'd amount to 20000, which are equally divided between the two <i>Consuls</i> . They encamp near each other, but have so little Dependance on the Affection of their Troops, that they keep quiet within their Entrenchments; at which the Enemy triumph, believing it to proceed from Fear. §. 13. At this Time an Accident happens which employs the Divination of the <i>Hetrurians</i> . Lightning falls upon <i>Manlius's</i> Tent, throws down a Pan of Coals, damages his Arms, kills his War-Horse, and some of his Servants. The <i>Augurs</i> who attend the <i>Roman</i> General, declare that his Camp will be taken by the Enemy. And upon their Credit he decamps the same Night, and joins his Army to that of <i>Fabius</i> . The <i>Hetrurians</i> interpret the Omen to their Advantage; first seize the deserted Camp, and then insult the <i>Romans</i> in their Entrenchments. <i>These are a Parcel of Women</i> , say they, <i>whom the Republick has sent hither to rid her self of them. If she has no better Defenders, she ought to abate much of her Pride.</i> Upon this, those very Soldiers who a little time before had plotted together not to come to a Battle, now murmur and mutiny at their Commanders for delaying to lead them on. The Generals Policy is, by refusing them Leave to fight, to make them the more eager; and accordingly, they grow so impatient to engage, that the <i>Consuls</i> are forc'd to take away their Arms, lest they should fall upon the Enemy without Orders. But then the Soldiers come in Crowds about their Generals Tents, making great Clamours; and <i>Fabius</i> takes that Opportunity to reproach them with their former Behaviour, and to encrease their Ardour by expressing some Remains of Diffidence he has of them. The Soldiers immediately cry out, <i>Lead us on, and lay aside your Suspicions.</i> And then one <i>Flavoleius</i> , a Man in great Esteem among the Troops, getting upon an Eminence, <i>Fellow Soldiers</i> , says he, <i>do you take the same Oath I am now going to do.</i> At which Words, he draws his Sword, and lifting it up to Heaven, cries out, <i>O Great Jupiter, Mars, and Thou God, whosoever thou art, who punishest Breach of Faith, I call you to witness that I will never return to Rome till I have conquer'd.</i> The <i>Consuls</i> , inferior Officers and Soldiers, all take the same Oath, and confirm it by Sacrifices. [A Description of the Battle with the <i>Hetrurians</i> .] The <i>Romans</i> gain the Victory; but <i>Manlius</i> , one of the <i>Consuls</i> , and <i>Quintus Fabius</i> , Brother of the other <i>Consul</i> , are kill'd. While <i>M. Fabius</i> is yet in his Camp, a Triumph is decreed him at <i>Rome</i> . But when the <i>Romans</i> expect to see him enter the City in a magnificent Chariot, they are surpriz'd to see him enter it in Mourning, and bringing with him the Bodies of his Collegue and Brother. He declines the Honours of a Triumph, but mounts the <i>Tribune</i> , and there makes a Panegyrick on the two illustrious Heroes who fell in Battle; without saying any thing of his own Exploits. He then abdicates the <i>Consulship</i> , that he may not countenance the least Appearance of Monarchy, and leaves the Government in an <i>Interregnum</i> , while he retires to his own House to take care of the Wounds he had receiv'd in the Action. From this time the <i>Fabii</i> become popular. §. 14. The	273.
BATTLE OF VEIL.	<i>Roman</i> People assemble in the <i>Campus Martius</i> , and chuse <i>Cæso Fabius</i> (now a third	
31 st CON- SULSHIP.	time)	274.

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- Year of time) and *T. Virginius, Consuls*. *Fabius* endeavours to persuade the Senate to quiet *ROME* all domestick Dissentions, by putting in execution the *Agrarian Law*. But some rally, others murmur at his new Zeal for the Interests of the Populace. He is order'd to march against the *Æqui*; whom he soon disperses; and afterwards goes seasonably to the Relief of his Collegue, who, with his Troops, is surrounded by the *Veientes*, and, without timely Assistance, will be forc'd to surrender at Discretion.
275. §. 15. The *Roman Territory* being perpetually infested by the *Hetrurians*, who, like Robbers, make mischievous Incursions into it; and the Senate being greatly at a Loss how to put a Stop to them, the *Consul Fabius* forms a Design worthy of his Affection for his Country. He assembles his own Family, and *FABII* having communicated to them his Project, which was, That the Family of the *Fabii* should alone, and at their own Expence, take upon them to secure the Frontiers from the Invasions of the *Veientes*; he then imparts it to the Senate, obtains their Approbation, and then the *Fabii* set out, with the universal Applause and good Wishes of the People. They are three hundred and six in Number. *M. Fabius* commands the Troop; and he carries with him about 4000 Men, Vassals and Clients of his Family. They arrive at length upon the Banks of a little River call'd the *Cremera*. There they build a Fort in a steep Place, surround it with a double Ditch, and erect Towers at certain Distances. Their Manner of making War is to divide their Men into four small Parties, one of which is left to guard the Fort, while the other three march into three several Parts of the Enemy's Country, and pillage it; and nothing can be more successful than their first Expeditions.
- §. 16. In the mean time *32^d CON-*
new *Consuls* are chosen, *L. Æmilius*, and *C. Servilius*. As for *Cæso Fabius*, his Year *SULSHIP*, is no sooner expir'd, but he desires the Senate's Permission to go join his Family on the Frontiers; and the *Conscript Fathers*, to gain him the more Respect, create a new Office for him, and give him the Title of *Proconsul*, by which he is invested *PRO-* with the same Power over the Troops he commands, as a *Consul*; but it gives him *CON-* no other Authority. The Republick being like to have a serious War with all *Hetruria*, and the *Æqui* and *Volsi* beginning to ravage the Country of the *Latins*, the *Consuls* raise three Armies. *Æmilius* leads one against the *Hetrurians*, *Servilius* another against the *Volsi*, and *S. Furius* (made *Proconsul*) the third against the *Æqui*. The *Æqui* fly at the Approach of *Furius*. The *Volsi* repulse *Servilius*, and force him to keep within his Camp. The *Veientes* are defeated by *Æmilius*, who treats them with Indulgence, upon their Submission. At this the Senate are angry, and refuse him a Triumph; but invite him to assist *Servilius* against the *Volsi*; and on that Condition, promise to receive him into Favour. He being piqued, returns to *Rome*, disbands his own Army, recalls the *Proconsul Furius*, and complains to the People, that the Senate prolong the War, only to delay the Execution of the *Cassian Law*. And from this time, the *Tribunes* renew the Pretensions of the Commons to the Division of the conquer'd Lands.
276. §. 17. Such is the Situation of Affairs at *Rome*, when *C. Horatius* and *T. Menenius* enter upon the *Consulate*. The *Fabii* still *33^d CON-* keep their Post, and it is not long before the faithless *Veientes* give them fresh Occa- *SULSHIP*. sion to employ their Valour. The rest of the *Hetrurian Lucumonies* being dissatisfy'd with the Treaty the *Veientes* had made with *Rome*, reduce them to the Dilemma of either breaking with the Republick, or sustaining a War with all *Hetruria*. They chuse the former, and give the *Fabii* Notice to quit the Frontiers. Upon this, Hostilities are renewed. The *Veientes* lay Snares for the Brave *Romans*, and at length surprize them in an Ambush. The *Fabii* are all cut off; not one of the whole Fa- *FABII all* mily escapes. [The Particulars of the Action are related.] *Rome*, at such a Loss, *slain*. shews all the Concern which Gratitude can express; the Gate *Carmentalis*, through which they had pass'd when they left the City, is henceforward call'd the *Accursed Porta Scelerata*. Gate; the Day of their Defeat is reckon'd among the unlucky Days, and it is forbidden to begin any thing of Consequence upon it.
- §. 18. The *Consul Menenius*, who had Orders to march against the *Hetrurians*, might, if he had us'd Dispatch, have deliver'd the *Fabii* in their Distress: But he is thought to have designedly and out of Jealousy, given them up to Destruction. He encamps disadvantageously on the Side of a Hill, without securing the Top of it, so that the *Hetrurians* encamp above him, attack him from the higher Ground, give him an entire Defeat, and take his Camp. Thence they advance as far as the Hill *Janiculus*; but the *Consul Horatius* gives them a severe Blow, near the Temple of *Hope*, and revives the Courage of the *Romans*.
- §. 19. The *Hetrurians*, however, do not decamp from the *Janiculus*, but keep the City block'd up, and the Lands having been left unsown the last Year, a Famine begins to be felt in *Rome*. The meaner People go together in Companies to plunder the Granaries of the Rich; and the *Tribunes* encourage their Clamours and Mutinies, by laying the Scarcity to the Fault of the Senate. Nevertheless, the *Conscript Fathers* give the best Orders possible for the Relief of the People. It is all in vain; and the *Romans* are under a Necessity of starving, or of driving the Enemy farther off. They march out therefore, under the Command of their
277. two new *Consuls*, *A. Virginius*, and *P. Servilius*, and give the *Hetrurians* an entire *34th CON-* Overthrow *SULSHIP*.

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Overthrow. The two Generals are decreed a Triumph: But when they see the great Number of *Romans* who perish'd in the Battle, and who are brought to the City to be burn'd, they decline it. Year of ROME

And now the Complaints about the *Agrarian* Law are renew'd; but the Senate quiet them by setting *Tribunes* against *Tribunes*, as formerly. Nevertheless, that the People may have something to amuse them, the *Tribunes* begin a Prosecution against the late *Consul Menenius*, whom they hate, merely for his Adherence to the *Patricians*. They accuse him at the Tribunal of the Commons, of having lost the Fort of *Cremera*, and suffer'd the *Fabii* to perish, by his Dilatoriness; to which Crimes are added, the imprudent Operations of his Campaign. The People are assembled by *Tribes*, and condemn him to Death; but the Sentence is chang'd into a Fine of 2000 *Asses of Brass*, which reduces him to Indigence. He is so sensible of the Affront done him, that he grows sullen, morose, refuses the Liberality of his Friends, and pines away for Want. He was the Son of the famous *Menenius Agrippa*. His Death affected even those who had condemn'd him, and it greatly augmented the Animosity between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*. The former keep no longer any Measures

35th CONSULSHIP.

with the latter. §. 20. Such is the State of *Rome*, when *P. Valerius Poplicola*, and *C. Nautius*, take upon them the Government of it. The *Tribunes* are grown fond of humbling the Nobility, and take a particular Delight in summoning the *Consuls* to appear before the Tribunal of the People, as soon as they have laid down their Office. And because *Servilius*, in the last Action in which the *Hetrurians* were routed, had rashly pursu'd them too far, and thereby lost a good Number of his Men, *Cedicius* and *Statius*, two of the *Tribunes*, cite him to appear before the Assembly of the *Curiae*, to answer for his Indiscretion. *Servilius* has too much Confidence in the Goodness of his Cause to apply to the Senate to intercede for him. When he comes upon his Trial, his Behaviour is noble and modest, and his Defence judicious and full of Reason. *Virginus*, who had been his Collegue, makes likewise an Apology for him; and not only justifies him from the Accusation of the *Tribunes*, but enlarges upon his Ability in War, and ascribes the Victory chiefly to him. So that *Servilius* is unanimously acquitted. §. 21. The *Hetrurians* and *Sabines* having just now jointly declar'd against *Rome*, the *Consul Valerius*, by a quick and secret March surprizes the *Sabine* Camp in the Night, kills many in their Beds, and those who fly are overtaken and cut to Pieces by the *Roman* Cavalry. He then, without losing Time, marches strait to the Camp of the *Hetrurians*, which was not far off, forces them to an Engagement, and gives them an entire Overthrow. The Honour of this Victory is ascrib'd to the brave *Servilius*, who had acted as Lieutenant-General; it is acknowledg'd, that he has effectually wiped off the Ignominy of his Accusation, by his last Conduct; and the *Consul* does him Justice in the Distribution of Rewards. But *Valerius* is decreed a Triumph. The People come out of the City a great way, crown'd with Flowers, to meet the Army, burn Perfumes as the Conqueror passes by, and treat his Soldiers with Wine. *Nautius* had kept near *Rome*, to hinder the *Sabines* and *Hetrurians*, in case they proved victorious, from seizing any advantageous Post in its Neighbourhood; but upon the News of *Valerius's* Victory, he is order'd to march to the Assistance of the *Latins*, against the *Æqui* and *Volscei*. He cannot bring the Enemy to a Battle, and is forced to content himself with burning their ripe Corn. §. 22. *Aulus Manlius*, and *L. Furius*, are

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36th CONSULSHIP.

chosen *Consuls* for the new Year; and it falls to the former's Lot to lead the victorious Army into the Country of the *Veientes*. The Enemy shut themselves up in *Veii*, where they are so distress'd by Want, that they turn Suppliants, beg Peace, and are granted a forty Years Truce. *Manlius* is decreed an Ovation. But intestine Broils are revived by the *Tribunes* as soon as there is Quietness Abroad. The *Consuls* declare resolutely for the *Patricians*, notwithstanding the Threats of the Commons.

279.

37th CONSULSHIP.

§. 23. In this cloudy Season, *L. Æmilius*, and *Vopiscus Julius*, enter upon the *Consulate*. The *Consuls* of the last Year are cited by *Genucius* the *Tribune*, to appear before the People, for having refused to execute the Decree of the Senate, and the *Cassian Law*, concerning the Distribution of Lands. The Day comes for the Trial. The Accused appear; but the Assembly is surprized to see no Accuser. Some impute his Delay to Business, others to his being gained over by the *Patricians*: But while every one is interpreting the Absence of the *Tribune* according to his own Fancy, his Collegues come and inform the Assembly, that *Genucius* is found dead in his Bed, without any Marks of Poison, or Violence. The People disperse like Troops who have lost their General; the *Tribunes* are terrify'd, and silent; the old *Consuls* are acquitted for Want of an Accuser, and the *Patrician* Party triumph with Levity. Even those, who had no hand in the *Tribune's* Death, boast that they have been the Authors of it, and publicly declare, that such Strokes are necessary, to humble the Pride of the *Tribunes*. At the same time, many sensible Men among the *Plebeians* condemn the too violent Measures of *Genucius*; while the common People in a Rage cry out, That *Liberty is buried with Genucius*. We have nothing now to do, but to take Arms, or make a Secession. §. 24. The first Fury of the Commons would have been laid

280.

GENUCIUS the Tribune.

asleep,

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Year of asleep, if a Moment's Superiority over the *Plebeian* Party had not made the *Consuls* *ROME* haughty and unjust. As they are chusing Soldiers for the Army, they cause one *Volero Publius* to be called, to be enlisted as a common Foot-Soldier. *Volero*, tho' of no great Family, had raised himself, by his Merit, to be an Officer, and expected to have been promoted to the Post of a *Centurion* at least. Not able therefore to stifle his Resentment, he complains to the *Consuls* of their Injustice, demands to be restor'd to his former Post, or to know for what Fault he is degraded. The *Consuls*, in great Anger, order the *Lictors* to beat him with Rods, in sight of the People. In vain does the Brave *Roman* appeal to the *Tribunes*. The Death of *Genucius* has terrify'd them, and they dare not appear. He calls out therefore to the Company about him, *Help, Romans, help*, he cries; *it is your Protection I implore, since our Tribunes had rather see a Roman Citizen beaten with Rods, than run the Hazard of dying in their Beds, by the Treachery of the Consuls.* The Spectators assist him, he frees himself from the *Lictor*, and a Scuffle ensues. The *Lictors* are repulsed, their *Fasces* broken, and the *Consuls* themselves obliged to fly to the Senate-house for Refuge. The *Tribunes* recover their Spirits, and level all their Fury at the *Consuls*, who had shewn a Contempt for their Authority, by taking no Notice of *Volero's* Appeal. They, on the other hand, assemble the Senate, and bitterly complain of the Insult upon their Dignity. And these reciprocal Complaints continue till §. 25. *L. P. 38th CON-*

281. *narius* and *P. Furius* are chosen *Consuls*. And then the People immediately proceed *SULSHIP.* to the Election of a *Tribune* in the room of *Genucius*; and they chuse *Volero*. The Disturbances are ready to be renew'd, when a dreadful Plague suspends the Animosity of both Parties. Processions are made, the Diviners and *Pontifices* are consulted, and the Gods are at length appeas'd, by the Punishment of *Urbina* a *Vestal*, who by her Incontinence is suppos'd to have drawn down the Anger of Heaven upon *Rome*.

The Plague no sooner ceases, than the Spirit of Faction revives. But *Volero* does not attack the *Patricians* in such an ill-bred manner as might be expected from one of his Birth and Education. He endeavours to sap their Authority by imperceptible Means. He presents a Petition to the People, desiring, *That the Magistrates appointed by the Commons, may not for the future be elected in Comitia by Curiae, but in Comitia by Tribes.* In this the subtle *Tribune* had two Views, very prejudicial to the *Patricians*. In the first place, the *Curiae* were never assembled for the Elections, till the Senate had consented to it by a Decree. In the second place, the *Patricians* being able to command the Suffrages of their Clients, they often got such *Tribunes* of the People elected in *Comitia* by *Curiae*, as were agreeable to themselves. But neither of these Inconveniences would attend the *Comitia* assembled by *Tribes*. The *Tribunes* would be at liberty to assemble them without the Consent of the Senate, and the *Country-Tribes* would not be so devoted to the *Patricians*, as those in the City. *Volero* gets two of his Colleagues to declare for the Law, and the other two do not disapprove it. But when the People are assembled to deliberate upon it, the *Consuls* and oldest Senators make warm Remonstrances against it. The whole Day is spent in serious Debates between the *Consuls* and *Tribunes*; and the Affair is postponed to the third Market-Day. During this Interval, the *Patricians* do their utmost to engage one *Tribune* at least to protest against *Volero's* Law; but to no purpose. However, they get the Affair postpon'd for three Market-days, *i. e.* twenty-seven Days more. And then they place Numbers of their Clients up and down in the *Comitium*, who by their Clamours are to interrupt those who speak for the Law, and by their Applauses encourage those who speak against it. *Volero*, to remedy this Disorder, forms a Design to hinder the *Consuls* from speaking, and the *Patricians* from appearing, in the next Assembly. But a more violent Plague than the last, puts a stop to all Assemblies for some Months. In the mean time, *Volero's* *Tribuneship* expires: but he is chosen again; and this disconcerts all the Measures of the *Patricians*. They have but one Expedient left, which is, to set up against him, *Appius Claudius*, the most intrepid and inflexible Man in the Senate. In his Hatred to the *Plebeians*, he equal'd, if not surpass'd, his Father, the famous *Claudius*. This Man they chuse *Consul* for the next Year, and join with him *T. Quintius*, a venerable Senator, and of a sweet 39th CON-

282. Temper, who desired to hold the Balance even between the two Parties, and had an *SULSHIP.* excellent Talent at finding Expedients to reconcile them. §. 26. *Appius* following the Dictates of his natural Severity, proposes to the Senate, to raise an Army among the People, and send them to vent abroad that martial Courage which made them untractable at home. But *Quintius* opposes this Motion, as violent, unreasonable, and unjust: And it being his Month of presiding in the Assemblies, both of Senate and People, his Opinion prevails by the help of Authority as well as Reason. The Division of the *Consuls*, and the Union of the *Tribunes*, make *Volero* believe he shall now get his Law past; and he has the Confidence to add two important Articles to it, *That all Affairs relating to the People, shall no longer be brought before the Curiae, but before the Tribes; and That the Aediles shall be chosen by them.* When the Senate meet to consult how to ward off this Blow, *Appius* is for making a Decree, to invite all Lovers of their Country to take Arms, &c. But the more moderate Coun-

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LÆTORI-
US.

VOLERO'S
Law pass'd.

Decima-
tion.
40th CON-
SULSHIP.

sels of *Quinctius* prevail; and the *Tribunes* are desir'd to appoint an Assembly to de-
bate the Merits of *Volero's* Law; and the *Consuls* demand leave to speak in it. This
latter is granted, but not without difficulty. When the time comes, *Quinctius* speaks,
and by his soft and insinuating Eloquence, makes such an Impression upon the Peo-
ple, that *Volero* would certainly have lost the Day, if *Appius*, when his Turn came
to speak, had not by his imperious Behaviour, his Threatnings, and his Invectives
against the People, and especially against their *Tribunes*, render'd all that his Collegue
had said, abortive. *Lætorius*, (who pass'd for the boldest and most enterprizing Offi-
cer in the Roman Soldiery, and had for that Reason been rais'd to the *Tribuneship* at
a time when the Civil Broils were like to end in Blows) rises up to answer the *Con-
suls*, and without taking notice of *Quinctius's* Arguments, insists only on the Invec-
tives of *Appius*; which he retorts, and thus concludes his Speech: *But to what pur-
pose is it to fight with Words against a wild Beast? The Sword is the proper Weapon
to be used in such Engagements. That may perhaps make you sensible, that the Roman
People are not so despicable as you think them. In the mean time, you shall experience
the Authority of those Tribunes, who are the Objects of your Contempt, but whom the
Laws have made your Judges.* Upon this, there was a profound Silence; and *Læto-
rius* lifting up his Eyes and Hands to Heaven, swore that he would get *Volero's* Law
pass'd, or perish: And then, *I command*, says he, *I command the Consul Appius to
leave the Assembly.* *Appius* makes a Sign, and his Friends and Clients gather about him.
The *Tribune* renews the Charge, and commands one of his Officers to carry *Appius*
to Prison. A Scuffle begins between one of the *Consul's* *Lictors*, and the *Tribune's*
Officer. However, as Arms were forbidden in the *Comitia*, little Blood is spilt in
the Fray. *Quinctius*, attended by some old Senators, throws himself into the midst of
the contending Parties, and separates them; and Night approaching, every one re-
turns home. §. 27. As many Persons are provok'd by the Blows they have re-
ceiv'd, it is necessary to appease them, before any Determination upon *Volero's* Law.
Quinctius undertakes it, goes from the *Consul* to the *Tribunes*, and from the *Tribunes*
to the *Consul*, and prevails with them to refer their Grievances to the Senate; and
there a Decree is made, *That as the Scuffle was not premeditated, but the Effect of a
sudden Commotion, arising on both Sides from a pretended Zeal for the Republick, all
Injuries committed and receiv'd, should be forgotten.* And now the *Tribunes*, to pre-
vent any Tumult in the next Assembly, where the Affair of *Volero's* Law is to be de-
cided, think fit to seize the *Capitol*: Upon which, *Quinctius* finding it is to no
purpose to hold out any longer, prevails with the Senate, notwithstanding the Re-
monstrances and Reproaches of *Appius*, to consent to the Law with a good Grace.
§. 28. Soon after this, the *Consuls* are obliged to take the Field. *Quinctius* marches
against the *Æqui*, and *Appius* against the *Volsci*. The former is so much esteemed
and loved by his Army, and they have such a Zeal to gain him Honour, that the
Æqui do not care to appear against Troops so dispos'd. They shut themselves up in
their Cities; and the *Consul* returns to *Rome*. But while *Quinctius* is call'd the Fa-
ther of his Soldiers, *Appius* is stiled by his Troops, *The Tyrant of the Army*. Never
was Army more severely govern'd, or Discipline executed with more Rigour. The
Consequence of which is, that the Soldiers first do their Duty negligently and unwil-
lingly, and at last come to an avowed Disobedience. If *Appius* commands them to
make haste, they march more slowly. If he orders them to halt, they run. If he
comes to inspect their Works, their Arms fall down by their Sides, as if they were
tired. As soon as he appears, they all fix their Eyes on the Ground, without saying a
word; or if they break silence, it is only to curse him. *Appius* however ventures to
lead out his Troops to Battel: but they are no sooner drawn up, than Officers and
Soldiers all fly with one Consent, and return to the Camp. The rash *Consul* would
have led them again to face the Enemy the next Day; but they cry out to decamp,
and he is forced to comply. As soon as *Appius* is enter'd the *Roman* Territory, where
he is in a Condition to revenge the Affront offer'd him in the Enemy's Presence, he,
by his own absolute Authority, condemns some of the *Centurions*, and other Offi-
cers, to die by the *Axes* of the *Lictors*; others to be beaten to death; and the com-
mon Soldiers to be *decimated*: And then returns to *Rome* universally hated, as the
Cause of all the Disasters of the Year. §. 29. And now the Republick chuses
new *Consuls*, *L. Valerius*, (a second time) and *Tib. Æmilius*; and the *Tribes* create
new *Tribunes*. *Æmilius* hates the Senate, because it had refused his Father a Tri-
umph; and *Valerius*, to remove the People's Hatred, which he had drawn upon him-
self by his Prosecution of the popular *Cassius*, devotes himself entirely to their In-
terests. The *Tribunes* therefore hope, that they shall now, after seventeen Years De-
lay, get the *Cassian* Law executed. Accordingly, the Senate is convened: The *Tri-
bunes* take their Places as usual; and the *Consuls* report their Petition to the House.
Æmilius, the *Consul's* Father, speaks first, and votes for creating *Decemviri*, to distri-
bute the Lands, and put the *Agrarian* Law in Execution. But *Appius*, that sworn
Enemy of the People, opposes it with so much Warmth, and so much Strength of
Reason, that the Senate reject the Request of the *Tribunes*, tho' presented by the *Con-
suls*.

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Year of *suls.* Upon this, the *Tribunes* resolve to destroy so violent an Adversary. They agree *ROME* to accuse him before the People, and make his Behaviour in his *Consulship* amount to a capital Crime. And now no Intreaties can prevail with *Appius* to humble himself like a Suppliant. He forbids his Friends to lessen him by any Sollicitations in his Favour; And when he appears upon his Tryal, his Harangue to the People is rather an Invective, than a Defence. His Steadiness puts his Enemies into a Consternation; and tho' under Prosecution as a Criminal, he gains more Respect than when he was *Consul*. So that the *Tribunes* being bent upon his Destruction, are forc'd to postpone his Sentence to another Day. But *Appius* prevents the Shame of a Condemnation, and kills himself. The *Tribunes* endeavour to deprive him of the Funeral Honours due to his Rank and Merit; but the *Consuls* allow his Body to be carried into the *Forum*, and his Son to pronounce his Funeral Oration. The People hear the Praises of the Deceas'd with Patience, and shew him great regard after his Death. [His Character.]

284. §. 30. *Æmilius* marches against the *Sabines*, and *Valerius* against the *Æqui*; but Superstition in the latter, and Want of Precaution in the former, are the Cause, that they both return home without deserving a Triumph. §. 31. The Beginning of the Administration of the new *Consuls*, *A. Virginus* and *T. Numicius*, is disturb'd by fresh Disputes about the *Cassian Law*: but all Seditions are stopped by an Alarm from the *Æqui*. *Virginus* leads an Army against them, but with little Advantage. But *Numicius*, who marches against the *Volsci*, has better Success. And then the two *Consuls* join their Forces, enter *Sabinia*, and return loaded with Spoil. §. 32. Soon after the Return of the Army, the Commons shew their Resentments against the *Patricians*, by refusing to appear at the *Comitia* for electing new *Consuls*. To punish this Perverseness, the Nobility alone, with their Clients, who represent the People, proceed to an Election without them; but being guided by Prudence, they chuse two Men agreeable to both Parties, *T. Quinctius* and *Q. Servilius*. The Commons like them too well to quarrel with the want of Form in their Election. However, they press their old Pretensions about the *Cassian Law*, till Foreign Wars extricate the *Consuls* out of the Difficulty. *Servilius* has great Success against the *Sabines*; yet his Glory is not equal to what *Quinctius* gains by his Victory over the united Forces of the *Æqui* and *Volsci*. In the Heat of the Battel, and when he is like to be worsted by the Enemy's Superiority of Numbers, he tells his Left Wing, that the Right is victorious, and by that means makes the Left really so: he then flies to the Right Wing, informs them of the Defeat of the *Volsci*; and crys out, *Shall I find less Valour among you, than among your Fellow-Soldiers? Are not you Romans as well as they?* And then nothing can stand before them: But *Quinctius* does not think fit to pursue the Enemy; he sounds a Retreat, and makes a Truce with them for some Days. §. 33. The Truce is scarcely expired, when the *Consul* finds his Camp invested, about Midnight, by a Multitude of *Æqui* and *Volsci*, five times as numerous as his Army. However, by his able Conduct, he defeats them, and afterwards lays Siege to *Antium*, one of the two chief Cities of the *Volsci*, [the other was *Ecetra*.] The Inhabitants surrender upon Conditions; and *Quinctius* is decreed a Triumph. The Senate and People go without the Walls to meet him, and attend him in his Procession to the *Capitol*.

B O O K IX.

§. 1. **I**N the space of almost three Centuries, in which the *Romans* had always had their Swords in their Hands, they had scarcely extended their Conquests twenty Leagues from *Rome*. To the East, the *Latins*, the *Hernici*, and the *Antiates*, were the only Nations they had subdued; and their Dominion over the last was as yet but wavering. To the West, the Progress they had made in *Hebruria*, was so inconsiderable, that they had not above two or three Leagues of Land beyond the *Tyber* within their District. To the North, the *Æqui* and the *Sabines* still defended their Territories, and preserved their Liberty.

286. The *Consuls* chosen for the Year 286, are *Tib. Æmilius* (a second time) and *Q. Fabius*, Son of one of the three famous Brothers who perish'd in the Battel of *The Cremera*. *Æmilius*, who had favour'd the People in his first *Consulate*, renews his Endeavours to get the *Cassian Law* executed. But when Commotions are like to ensue, *Fabius* finds an Expedient to appease both Commons and *Patricians*. He proposes to send a Colony of the poorer sort, to people and cultivate that pleasant and fruitful Canton of the *Volsci*, which *Quinctius* had just conquer'd; and this Motion is approv'd, and pass'd into a Decree by the Senate. Three Senators, of whom *Quinctius* is one, are named to make the Distribution of the Lands. But so fantastical are these People, who had so long seditiously demanded Lands, that they now refuse them, when offer'd. They change their Style, and complain of the Senate, who, they say, are sending brave Men out of their Country, because they oppose their Oppressions. *The People refuse Lands when offer'd.*

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	<p>Oppressions. The greatest Part chuse rather to stay at <i>Rome</i>, and go on, begging Lands, than leave it, in order to take Possession of them in another Place. Such Charms do the most indigent Citizens find in the Bustle of great Cities, especially if the People have Authority in them. The Lands of the <i>Antiates</i> are divided by three Commissioners between the <i>Latins</i>, the <i>Hernici</i>, and some of the old Proprietors.</p>	Year of <i>ROME</i>
44 th CONSULSHIP.	<p><i>Fabius</i> marches an Army against the <i>Æqui</i>, and <i>Æmilius</i> another against the <i>Sabines</i>. The Expedition of the latter has nothing remarkable in it; but the <i>Æqui</i> submit to <i>Fabius</i>, first buy a Truce very dear, and then obtain a Peace, on the Condition of being subject to the Republick. §. 2. Upon the Return of the <i>Consuls</i> to the City, <i>Sp. Posthumius</i>, and <i>Q. Servilius</i>, (now <i>Consul</i> a second time) are chosen to succeed them. The old Inhabitants of the Canton of <i>Antium</i>, being almost totally deprived of their Lands, take Refuge among the <i>Æqui</i>, and turn Robbers. Some of the <i>Æqui</i> join them, and make mischievous Incurfions into the Territory of the <i>Latins</i>. Nevertheless, these faithful Allies are not allow'd to arm in their own Defence, nor will the <i>Romans</i> send them Troops to defend them. The Senate chuse rather to appoint a Deputation to the Council of the <i>Æqui</i>; and <i>Fabius</i>, who had made the Peace with them, is at the Head of the Embassy. He finds that they have no mind to give Satisfaction, but only endeavour to amuse him. He therefore makes his Observations, by visiting their Temples and publick Buildings, and discovers that they are filling their Magazines, and preparing for War. Of this he makes a Report to the Senate; and an Army is form'd under <i>Servilius</i>; but, by Sickness, is hinder'd from entering upon Action till next Year. In the Interval, a Temple, which had been built on the Hill <i>Quirinalis</i>, by the last King of <i>Rome</i>, to <i>Dius Fidius</i>, i. e. Jupiter the Witness of Treaties, and the Preserver of Fidelity, is dedicated.</p>	287.
DIUS FIDIUS. 45 th CONSULSHIP.	<p>The War which the Republick was going to renew with the <i>Æqui</i> and Fugitive <i>Antiates</i>, made the Republick chuse two <i>Consuls</i>, whose Names were formidable to the two Nations; <i>T. Quinctius</i>, who had conquer'd <i>Antium</i> in his second Consulship; and <i>Q. Fabius</i>, who had forc'd the <i>Æqui</i> to sue for Peace, in his first. <i>Fabius</i>, who is order'd to march against the <i>Æqui</i>, tries first in vain to reduce them by Negotiation. The two <i>Consuls</i> then join their Forces, and come to a bloody Battel with the Enemy, near <i>Algidum</i>, fifteen Miles from <i>Rome</i>. There is little Advantage on either Side. The <i>Æqui</i> then divide their Army into small Parties, make Incurfions into the <i>Roman</i> Territory, and appear where they are least expected. The Senate and City are alarm'd; but the Presence of <i>Quinctius</i> encourages them. He marches out in quest of the Enemy, to no purpose; but <i>Fabius</i> by an Ambush intercepts them in their Retreat, recovers the Booty they had taken, and then encamps in their Country, to keep them within Bounds. In the mean time, <i>Quinctius</i> appoints a <i>Census</i> of the <i>Roman</i> People, and a <i>Lustrum</i>. The Number of Men able to bear Arms, appears to be 124215. §. 3. In the Election of the new <i>Consuls</i>, the Choice falls upon <i>A. Posthumius</i>, and <i>Sp. Furius</i>, Men little skill'd in the Business of War. The latter commands the Army against the <i>Æqui</i>, while the former stays behind to cover the Country. <i>Furius</i> encamps imprudently, decamps, engages rashly with the Enemy, is defeated, and then so closely besieged by them in his new Camp, that not a Man can go out to give notice at <i>Rome</i> of his Danger. However, the Senate have notice of it, and in so great a Distress, resolve upon an Expedient, never used but in great Extremity. They give up the <i>Roman</i> Government absolutely into the <i>Consul's</i> Hands, by these Words: <i>Videret Consul ne quid Respublica detrimenti caperet</i>; i. e. Let the Consul take care that the Republick suffer no Detriment. <i>Posthumius</i>, who receiv'd this Commission, makes all take Arms who are able, and gives <i>T. Quinctius</i> the Command of the Army, with the Title of <i>Proconsul</i>. As soon as <i>Quinctius</i> comes within sight of the invested Camp, the <i>Æqui</i> leave the Attack, and retire in haste; but <i>Furius</i> had before made a Sally, in which his Brother <i>L. Furius</i>, and two Cohorts, consisting of a thousand Men, had been surrounded by the Enemy, and all slain, having chosen rather to die fighting, than surrender their Arms. The <i>Consul</i> being now equal in Numbers to the Enemy, becomes the Aggressor, and obliges them to keep within their Camp, while <i>Posthumius</i> attacks a great Body of their Pillagers, loaded with Spoil, and makes a great Slaughter of them: And by these Successes <i>Rome</i> is again in Tranquillity.</p>	288.
46 th CONSULSHIP.	<p>§. 4. The <i>Consuls</i> for the new Year are <i>P. Servilius Priscus</i>, and <i>L. Ebutius Elva</i>. They enter on their Office the first of <i>August</i>. A dreadful Plague sweeps away almost all the Flower of the <i>Roman</i> Youth, and a fourth Part of the Senators. The Dead are so numerous, that they are thrown into the <i>Tyber</i>, without Burial. Upon the News of this Mortality, the <i>Æqui</i> and <i>Volsci</i> enter into a League to go and besiege <i>Rome</i>. They begin with committing Hostilities in the Territories of the <i>Latins</i> and <i>Hernici</i>, who apply to the <i>Roman</i> Senate for Succour. But their Deputies find <i>Ebutius</i> breathing his last, and <i>Servilius</i> not far from Death. However, the latter makes himself be carried to the Senate-house, whither some of the Senators likewise crawl: But all they can do, is to give leave to the Allies to arm and defend themselves, and to promise them Assistance in better times. The <i>Latins</i> and <i>Hernici</i> are forc'd therefore to shut themselves up in their Towns, and</p>	289.
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Year of and leave their Country open to the Ravages of the Enemy, who at length appear *ROME* before *Rome*. The two *Consuls* are dead, the greatest Part of the *Tribunes* of the People are carried off, and the rest unable to give any Help, either with their Hands or Advice: So that the *Aediles* are the only Magistrates in a Condition to assist the Republick. But notwithstanding so many Calamities, the *Romans* seem to have lost nothing of their ancient Steadiness. They crawl to the Ramparts, and put a good Face upon their Affairs. The very Senators mount the Guard, and stand Centinels, and the City is strong on every Side. The *Aequi* and *Volsci* at length lay aside their Thoughts of a Siege, and turn their Arms towards *Tusculum*. Just as they are decamp'd, an Army of *Latins* and *Hernici* comes to the Relief of *Rome*, and pursues the Enemy; but is defeated by them. In the mean time, the Plague still rages; the People turn their Thoughts wholly to divine Assistance, all make their Vows upon the Altars, the Ladies sweep the Temples with their Hair, and continue prostrate in the Presence of the Gods; till at length a more wholesome Season puts an End to the Distemper, and *Rome* in a Condition to apply her self to Affairs. Several *Patricians* had presided in the *Interregnum*, since the Death of the *Consuls*; and now *Valerius Poplicola*, being *Interrex*, assembles the People by *Centuries*, for the Election of new ones.

291. §. 4. The *Comitia* elect *L. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, and *T. Veturius Geminus*; but they do not enter upon Office till the ninth of *August*. Past Afflictions have neither corrected the factious Spirit of the *Romans*, nor diminished their Ardour against their Enemies Abroad. The *Tribunes* of the Commons are for immediately reviving the Disputes about the Division of Lands, but the People are more eager upon revenging the Insults of the *Aequi* and *Volsci* the last Year. Even those whom the Laws exempt from going to War, neglect their Privileges, and voluntarily insist themselves for the Service. So that two *Consular* Armies are presently form'd, and it is *Lucretius's* Fortune to engage with the Confederate Army, and give them a dreadful Overthrow. They lose 13460 Men in the Battle and Flight. They rally again, and are again defeated by the Forces of the two *Consuls* united; and these Successes seem a just Pretence for the Absence of the *Consuls* from *Rome*; but it occasions fatal Dissentions.

Terentius the *Tribune* pitches on the Time when *Lucretius* and *Veturius* are pursuing their Victories, to represent to the People the Iniquities committed in Courts of Justice. That the *Consuls* having no Rule to go by in deciding Causes, but their Caprice, are guilty of Tyranny and Oppression. He proposes therefore, That five Men of known Integrity may be chosen to draw up Rules, whereby the *Consuls* shall govern themselves in all their Decisions concerning Estates, Honours, Contracts, Wills, &c. This reforming Scheme is very disagreeable to the *Patricians*; and in the Absence of the *Consuls* they apply to *Q. Fabius*, Governour of the City. He upbraids the *Tribune* with Baseness, in attacking the Characters of the *Consuls* in their Absence; and by his Authority and Discourse obliges *Terentius* to be less hasty in pursuing his new Law. At length *Lucretius* and *Veturius* return to *Rome*. The former is decreed a Triumph; but refuses to accept of it till *Terentius* has consented to desist from his Purpose. (*Veturius* has only an Ovation.)

292. §. 5. However, the Change of *Consuls* revives the *Terentian* Law. As soon as *P. Volumnius Amintinus*, and *Serv. Sulpitius Camerinus*, are enter'd upon Office, all the five *Tribunes*, of whom *Virginus* is the most zealous, (*Terentius* being out) use their Efforts to get it pass'd. The Dissentions on this Head rise to a great Height, and the publick Uneasiness is increas'd by Prodigies, Spectres, Earthquakes, and particularly by the falling of a Sort of Snow like little Pieces of chopp'd Flesh, of which the Birds eat plentifully. The *Sybil's* Books are consulted, and they are made to say, that *Rome* is threatned with an Incurfion of Foreigners, who will almost reduce her to Slavery; that this foreign War, will be preceded by intestine Divisions, and that the Gods must be appeas'd by Sacrifices, in order to make her superior to her Enemies. This, with a Report spread by the *Hernici*, that the *Aequi* and *Volsci* are arming again, is a sufficient Pretence for the *Consuls* to raise and march away an Army of those Citizens, who are the main Supports of the *Tribunes*. But as the latter give no Credit to this Report, they exhort the People not to take Arms on any Pretence, till the *Terentian* Law be secured. The *Consuls* come into the *Forum*, seat themselves there in their *Curule Chairs*, and order an Army to be rais'd; but the *Tribunes* openly oppose it, and the People pay no Obedience. On the other hand, the *Patrician* Youth make Disturbances in the *Comitia*, disperse the People by Violence, and hinder the reading of the Law, which was drawn up in these Words: *Let the People in lawful* TERENTI-
Comitia elect ten Men, of a mature Age, consummate Wisdom, and unspotted Reputation, US proposes
to draw up a Body of Laws, as well for the publick Administration, as for the Deter- a new Law.
mination of private Affairs. Let these Laws be fixed up in the Forum; and let the an-
ual Magistrates, as well as other Judges, be obliged to conform themselves to them in
their Decisions of the Controversies which may arise in Rome. But at length the *Tri-*
bunes prevail to have the Law proposed to the People, and then new Intrigues are
set on foot to hinder its being approved. The young *Patricians* will not suffer the
49th CON-
SULSHIP.
Virginus.
TERENTI-
AN LAW.
Populace

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Populace to be present where the *Tribunes* are haranguing. And when the Day comes for the *Comitia* by *Tribes* to determine the Affair, they use such Violence that the Voting-Place is deserted. *Cæso Quintius*, a tall young Man, of great Strength, Bravery and Eloquence, is at the Head of them, and is always attended by the most shining Part of the Nobility. At him therefore the *Tribunes* level all their Strength, and resolve to destroy him. *Virginus* declares himself his Accuser, and summons him before the People, to answer a Charge of a capital Nature. This Affront makes *Cæso* more violent in his Opposition to the *Terentian* Law; and by his Indiscretions he gives his Adversary great Advantages. The *Tribunes* enrage the *Plebeians* against him; while the Senate and Nobility promise him their Protection at the critical Moment. When the Day comes for his Trial, *Cæso*, whether for Want of true Courage, or at the Request of his Friends and Family, condescends to mean and unworthy Sollicitations to save his Life. However, he refuses to submit to be try'd by the People; and this sets them more against him. His Accusation was, *The having hindered, by Violence, the meeting of some judicial Assemblies, legally called.* *Cæso* refusing to plead, his Father undertakes his Defence, denies the capital Points of the Charge, and as to hasty Words or Blows, he excuses them as the Indiscretions of Youth, which deserve Pity more than Resentment. Then *T. Quintius*, (the Uncle of the Accused, and who had been three times *Consul*;) *Sp. Furius*, and *Lucretius*, all give Testimony to his Bravery in Battle, and his other good Qualities. Upon which, the People are inclin'd to favour him. But *Virginus* starts a new Crime, which he had suborned *Volscius*, one of his Collegues, to charge upon him. The false Witness accuses *Cæso* of having murdered the Deponent's Brother, and almost kill'd the Deponent himself, in the Year of the last Plague. Upon this, the *Plebeians* are ready to stone him; but the *Tribunes* interpose, and prevail to have the Sentence deferr'd to another Day. They are afraid to put the Accused to Death before he has made his Defence. The only Question is, Whether he shall be imprison'd? *Virginus's* Officers have already seiz'd young *Quintius*; but his Uncle opposes his Imprisonment. To this time no Criminal had been arrested till he had either confess'd his Crime, or been convicted. The *Tribunes* therefore being consulted, take a middle Way, and consent to release the Prisoner, upon his giving Bail for his Appearance. The Sum is fixed by the Senate to 3000 *Asses* of *Brass*, and the *Tribunes* demand ten Citizens to be Security. This was the first time that Bail was ever given at *Rome* in Publick and Capital Affairs. *Cæso* is no sooner at Liberty, but he leaves *Rome*, and flies to *Hetruria* for Refuge. The *Tribunes* insist on the Security-Money; and *Quintius* the Father pays the whole, which reduces him almost to Want. He is forced to go live in a Cottage, and cultivate with his own Hands a little Field of about four Acres of Ground, on the other Side the *Tyber*.

The *Tribunes* imagine now that the Banishment of *Cæso* will facilitate the passing of the *Terentian* Law, and order all the *Patricians* to be driven away from the Assembly of the People. But the Nobility, attended by their Clients, make the *Tribunes* feel the ill Consequences of their Rashness. Nevertheless, out of the *Comitia*, and when the *Terentian* Law is not in question, a good Understanding, and good Manners are preserv'd, between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*; and thus, partly by Violence, and partly by Moderation, the Law is hindered from passing this Year.

§. 6. The following Year, when *L. Valerius Poplicola* (a second time) and *C. Claudius* are raised to the *Consulate*, the *Tribunes* finding the Zeal of the People for the *Terentian* Law abated, endeavour to revive it by a sham Plot. They forge Letters, which they pretend to have receiv'd from Abroad, giving Advice of a Design, in which many of the *Patrician* Body were engaged, to ruin the Republick; and they demand Power from the Senate to draw up Informations against the Conspirators. But *Claudius*, perceiving the Artifice, desires them to declare who are their Correspondents, who brought those Letters, and why the Couriers have disappear'd. In short, he makes it evident to the Senate, that the Plot is only a wicked Invention of the *Tribunes*, to be revenged on those who had opposed the *Terentian* Law; upon which, those *Plebeian* Magistrates are not suffer'd to reply, and the Assembly is dismiss'd.

§. 7. The intestine Broils of the Republick encourage one *Herdonius* a *Sabine* to get together his Friends, Clients and Slaves, to the Number of four thousand, and make an Attempt upon *Rome*. The Number was small; but he hoped that not only the Malecontents in the City, but likewise the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, would join him, on the first Rumour of his Enterprize. He embarks by Night on the *Tyber*, which brings him to the Foot of the *Capitol*. The *Romans*, thro' some Superstition, always left one Gate of it open. By this he enters, and makes himself Master of that Citadel, and then takes Possession of the Hill *Quirinalis*. It is in the dead of Night; and upon the first Alarm, the City is in the utmost Fright, Hurry and Confusion. The *Consuls* resolve at length to arm all the Citizens, without Distinction. But the *Tribunes* seize this Juncture, to press the Acceptance of the *Terentian* Law, and exhort the People to give no Assistance till that Affair is determin'd. *Claudius* in a Rage is for having the *Patricians* attack the Citadel, attended only by their Clients, and some Volunteers; and

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Year of and is for setting the Slaves at Liberty, rather than borrowing any Succour from the *ROME* refractory Commons. But *Valerius* is more moderate and popular. He reasons with the People, and threatens the *Tribunes* to treat them as his Father had done the Tyrant *Tarquin*. By this means, he hinders the passing the Law for the present, and raises an Army to scale the Capitol. It falls to his Lot to command it. After a stout Resistance, the *Sabines* are overcome, and *Herdonius* kill'd; but *Valerius* likewise loses his Life in the Attack. The *Romans* purify the Temple of *Jupiter*, and make a magnificent Funeral for the dead *Consul*. The People contribute towards it, every one throwing his Piece of Money into *Valerius's* House. §. 8. *Valerius* had promised the People, upon their Submission, to favour the Pretensions of the *Tribunes*; and the latter require of *Claudius* to make good his Colleague's Word. But he finds several Pretences for delaying the Matter, and at length brings on the Election of a new *Consul*. *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, the Father of the banish'd *Cæso*, and an implacable Enemy of the *Tribunes*, is unanimously chosen by the first Class, containing a Majority of the *Centuries*. A Deputation is sent to the new *Consul*, to bring him from his Cottage, where he had lived since the Banishment of his Son. He is hardly persuaded to leave it. It happens to be Sowing Time; *Alas*, says he, *my little Field will be left unsowed, and we shall be in danger of Want*. But he is no sooner entered upon Office, than he turns his Thoughts to reform the Senate, as well as restrain the People. He reproaches the *Conscript Fathers* with their excessive Indulgence to the *Tribunes*; tells the *Tribunes*, that the *Terentian Law* shall not pass in his Time, and threatens to make the People march into the Field in spite of them. And when the *Tribunes* talk of hindering the Soldiers from taking the military Oaths, the *Consul* answers, that there is no Occasion for new Engagements, the Oaths they had taken to *Valerius*, whose Place he supply'd, being still binding. So that *Quinctius* giving Orders for the Army to appear the next Morning at *Regillum*, all that the *Tribunes* can do, is only to delay its Departure for some Days. In the mean time, he causes a Report to be spread, that the Augurs are gone to consecrate a Place near the Lake *Regillus*, for holding *Comitia*, in which all the Laws introduced by the *Tribunes* are to be abrogated. He declares every where, that in the present Situation of Affairs it is necessary to name a *Dictator*, whose Power may not be curbed by perpetual Oppositions. These Rumours terrify the *Tribunes*. They think themselves undone. They come to the Capitol, (where *Quinctius* now assembles the Senate,) seem all in a Consternation, and refuse no Submission. They address themselves, as humble Petitioners, sometimes to the *Consuls*, sometimes to the Senators. *Quinctius* is inflexible, till they promise to be more submissive; and then, at their Request, pronounces a Decree, dictated by the Senate, importing, *That the Terentian Law shall no more be brought into Dispute this Year; and on the other hand, that the Citizens shall not take the Field all that time*. To this is added, *That it is against the Publick Good, for either CONSULS or TRIBUNES to be continued in their Offices beyond their Year*. *Quinctius* then applies himself to hear and determine private Causes, and gives such entire Satisfaction, that the People feel no Necessity for the *Terentian Law*. But notwithstanding the Senate's Decree, the *Tribunes* get themselves continued in their Posts. Upon which, the *Patricians* are for continuing *Quinctius* in the *Consulate*. But he upbraids the Senators with their contemptible Levity, in being so ready to infringe their own Decrees, and thereby countenancing the Breach of them by the Commons; and he absolutely refuses to stand. But before he retires to his Farm, he presides at the *Comitia Centuriata* for electing new *Consuls*. §. 9. *Q. Fabius* (a third time) and *L. Cornelius* are chosen. News comes that *Antium* has revolted to the *Volsci*, who, with the *Æqui*, are in Motion. This Alarm suspends *Virginus's* Pursuit of the *Terentian Law*. It falls to *Fabius's* Lot to march against the *Volsci*, with an Army one third *Romans*, the rest *Latins* and *Hernici*, who all make three separate Corps. *Cornelius* stays with an Army, all *Roman Citizens*, to cover the Territory of *Rome* from the *Æqui*. *Fabius* defeats and makes a great Slaughter of the *Volsci*: But in the mean time the *Æqui* surprize *Tusculum*, and treat the Inhabitants, those affectionate Allies of *Rome*, inhumanly. *Fabius* marches to recover it, (tho' the *Tribunes* oppose the sending him Succours,) and starves the Garrison out. They are all made to pass under the Yoke. He then hastens to the Country of the *Æqui*, surprizes them asleep near *Columa*, and (as some Historians say) does not let a Man of them escape. After this, he penetrates into the Territory of the *Volsci*, who take Refuge in *Ecetræ* their Capital. The Plunder which the *Roman Soldiers* get in this Expedition makes them rich for a great while after. And now *Cornelius* enters upon Action. He routs an Army of the *Æqui* and *Volsci* near *Antium*, takes the Town by Assault, orders the chief Men to be first whipp'd in the Market-place, and then beheaded; and the rich Spoils of all Sorts found in the City are put into the Hands of the *Quæstors*, to be sold for the Benefit of the Publick. The *Æqui* being disheartened after so much ill Success, sue for Peace; which is granted, on the same Terms as that with the *Latins* and *Hernici*. They submit to be under the Dominion of *Rome*.

QUINCTI-
US CIN-
CINNATUS.

§ 1st CON-
SULSHIP.

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Year of
ROME

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SULSHIP.

4th DICTA-
TORSHIP.
QUINCTI-
US CIN-
CINNATUS.

Corona ob-
sidionalis.

53^d CON-
SULSHIP.

murmur about the *Terentian Law*, and pretend, that the Troops are kept so long in the Field, only to hinder its being pass'd in lawful *Comitia*: And *Lucretius*, the Governor of *Rome*, has some difficulty to hinder them from passing it before the Army's Return. At this time the Uncasiness of the *Tribunes* is increas'd by an Accident. The *Quæstors* being Men of Probity, had discover'd, that *Volscius* the *Tribune* had borne false Witness in the Affair of *Cæso Quinctius*, and had been suborned by *Virginus*. It appear'd, that the Brother of *Volscius* had died of Sickness, and that *Cæso* was in the Army at the time of the pretended Murder. The *Quæstors* therefore cite *Volscius* to appear before the People. His four Collegues defend him, and protest against holding any *Comitia* by the *Quæstors*, till the *Terentian Law* is determin'd. And these Contests are spun out till the Return of the *Consuls*, who enter *Rome* in Triumph. They now finish a *Census*, begun the last Year, and find 132419 Citizens, fit to bear Arms, exclusive of the Slaves, and meanest of the Artificers. §. 10. The new *Consuls*, *C. Nautius*, and *L. Minutius*, find themselves immediately incumbered with two Affairs which disturb the Beginning of their Administration, the *Terentian Law*, and the Prosecution of *Volscius*. The *Tribunes* and *Quæstors* come at length to this Compromise: That the *Consuls* shall have two Months to examine the Law, and make a Report to the *Centuries* of the Merits of it; after which the *Tribunes* are to make their Report of it; and then to suffer the People to determine the Affair of *Volscius* by their Suffrages. The *Consuls* think by this to get two Months of Tranquillity: But the *Æqui*, with one *Cluilius* at their Head, make an Irruption into the Territory of *Tusculum*. Deputies are sent to demand Satisfaction; but to no Purpose. The *Sabines* at the same time enter upon the *Roman Lands*, commit Ravages, and advance as far as *Fidenæ*. *Nautius* marches successfully against them. But *Minutius* with his Troops, is by a Stratagem of *Cluilius* led into a Valley, near the *Algidus*, where he is shut in, and invested by the *Æqui*, and is in danger of being starv'd into a Surrender at Discretion. *Rome* is in a Consternation at the News, and the Expedient thought best in this Extremity is to create a *Dictator*. §. 11. *Quinctius Cincinnatus* is immediately named. Deputies are sent to fetch him from his Cottage, and they take with them the Purple Robe, twenty four *Lictors* with their *Fasces* and *Axes*, a long Train of Attendants, and a great Number of led Horses, to wait upon him to the City. He was at Work in his Field, with his Wife *Racilia*. Seeing a numerous Company coming towards him, he sends *Racilia* to fetch his Robe, (for he was undress'd, to be more fit for Work;) and when he has got it on, *How go Affairs?* says he to the Deputies, still keeping his Spade in his Hand. *Rome*, reply they, *being in great Danger, stands in need of a Dictator, and has pitch'd upon You to be the Man. You are the only Refuge your Country has.* At these Words he sighs, as formerly, and is sorry to leave his Field uncultivated. But he obeys the Orders of the Senate, and when he has clean'd himself, takes the Habit of his new Dignity, and goes down the *Tyber* in a Boat to *Rome*. He immediately names *L. Tarquilius*, a *Patrician*, as poor and as brave as himself, to be his General of Horse. He then orders all Tribunals and Shops to be shut up, commands all the Youth both in City and Country to take Arms, and assembles the Troops of his Allies. The *Dictator* tells the Soldiers that all depends on their Expedition; upon which they march so quick that the Army comes near the *Algidus* about Midnight. *Quinctius* seizes the Eminencies round about the *Æqui*, and invests them, as they do the *Consul*. They are forced to submit at the Discretion of the *Dictator*, who requires to have *Cluilius*, their chief Officers, and the Heads of the Revolt, deliver'd up to him in Chains, and makes the rest all pass under the Yoke, to imprint it strongly on their Memories, as he tells them, *That the Æqui are a conquer'd Nation.* He won't allow the Troops of *Minutius* to have any Share of the Spoil, and degrades *Minutius* himself to the Post of Lieutenant-General under him, bidding him, *study the Trade of War in an inferior Rank, before he pretended again to command in Chief.* The *Consul* is obedient; and his Army are so far from thinking themselves ill used by the *Dictator*, that they make him a Present of a Crown of Gold of a Pound Weight; so impartially just are the *Romans* at this time. *Quinctius* is decreed a Triumph with particular Marks of Honour. Both his own and *Minutius's* Army march into *Rome* before him; and the General of the Enemy, with the other Officers of the *Æqui*, walk before his Chariot in Chains, two and two, with such Yokes about their Necks as were put upon Oxen (doubtless to shew that the Victor had been taken from the Plough.) The *Dictator* having finish'd his Expedition in sixteen Days, is going immediately to lay down his Office, and retire to his beloved Solitude; but his Friends persuade him to continue in the *Dictatorship* till he has done Justice to the Memory of his Son *Cæso*, by finishing the Prosecution against *Volscius*. He assembles the *Curia*, where the infamous *Tribune* is condemn'd to Banishment. This done, *Quinctius* immediately quits the Purple, refuses all Offers of Wealth from the *Romans*, and retires again to his little Field. §. 12. Soon after this, the *Centuries* chuse new *Consuls*, *C. Horatius Pulvillus*, and *Q. Minutius Augurinus*. The People chuse their *Tribunes*, and, in spite of the Decrees of the Senate, *Virginus* and his Collegues are continued a fifth

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ROME a fifth time; and what is more surprizing, *Volscius* is recalled from Banishment, and Year of reinstated in his Office. The *Romans* being now insulted again by the subjugated *Æqui* on one Side, and by the *Sabines* on another; the *Consuls* order two Armies to be raised: but the *Tribunes* renew their Chicane about the *Terentian Law*; and the two Parties grow furious. An extraordinary Assembly of the Senate is summoned to deliberate on the present Troubles, and *Quinctius Cincinnatus* is called to it. His Opinion is first ask'd; and he proposes that the *Patricians*, without the Commons, should raise an Army of themselves and their Clients, to deliver their Country. His Advice is receiv'd with Applause, and *Horatius* is entrusted with putting it in Execution. But he thinks proper first to inform the People of it. He assembles the *Curia*, and asks whether they are willing to join the *Patricians* in their Design. *Virginus*, in the Name of his Collegues and the People, refuses to serve in the Army, till the *Terentian Law* be accepted. Upon this, *Horatius* makes a reproachful Speech to the *Curia*, which, with the Concern express'd by the old Senators, makes an Impression on them. But when they begin to be moved, the artful *Virginus* takes this Opportunity to discover a Design he had before form'd. No, says he, we don't pretend to obstruct the publick Good. As to the *Terentian Law*, we are ready to sacrifice our Interests, for the present, to the common Necessity. We have only one Favour to ask, which if granted, may perhaps put an end to our Desires of obtaining a Law to restrain the arbitrary Proceedings of the *Consuls*. Double the Number of the *Tribunes*, and the People, will readily consent to enter into the Service. But if you give us a refusal in an Affair of such little Importancce, then accuse yourselves only of all the Misfortunes the Republick shall suffer. This unexpected Request of the *Tribunes* divides the Senate. Few of them foresee the Consequences of it. *Q. Cincinnatus* declares for it: But *Appius Claudius* is of a different Opinion, (possibly because he is govern'd by this invariable Maxim in his Family, That all Requests of the *Tribunes* ought to be suspected) and remonstrates vehemently against it. However, *Quinctius's* Opinion prevails, and the Senate make a Decree, giving the People leave to chuse ten *Tribunes* annually, provided they do not continue the same Men in Office above a Year. Accordingly the *Tribes* are immediately assembled, and they chuse two out of each of the first five Classes. §. 13. The *Tribunes* being satisfy'd, two Armies are rais'd without Opposition. *Minutius* marches into *Sabinia*, but finds no Enemy. *Horatius* leads his Troops against the *Æqui*, retakes *Corbio* and *Ortona* from them; and then both *Consuls* return to *Rome*, in order to the Election of their Successors.

TRIBUNES
increas'd to
Ten.

297. *M. Valerius Laetucinus*, and *Sp. Virginus Tricostus* are chosen. And now the *Tribunes* being grown stronger, renew their Efforts to weaken the *Patrician Party*. *Icilius* is at the Head of them, and he undertakes to make the Senate (which has hitherto been convened only by the *Consuls*) assemble at the Pleasure of the *Tribunes*, and by his Art, Eloquence, and Interest, gains a Point so contrary to the Dignity of the *Conscript Fathers*. The *Consul* endeavours in vain to sow Divisions among the *Tribunes*, in order to hinder the Innovation. The College had agreed among themselves, to be determin'd in all Affairs by a Plurality of Voices; whereas formerly it was enough to render any Decree of the *Tribunes* ineffectual, if only one of them oppos'd it. *Icilius* forces the Senate likewise to pass four other Laws, the last of which enacts, That all Ground belonging to the Publick, and not built upon, shall be distributed among the People, gratis.

54th CON-
SULSHIP.
ICILIUS the
Tribune.

298. §. 14. The great Wound which the consular Authority has receiv'd, is felt by the new *Consuls*, *T. Romilius* and *C. Veturius*. The *Tribunes* make more noise than ever, and resolve to press the Acceptance of the *Terentian Law*. The *Consuls* Refuge is to raise Armies; but they do it in so severe and indiscreet a manner, that the Citizens appeal to their *Tribunes*, and Scuffles ensue, in which the *Tribunes* Officers are ill-treated. Upon this, *Icilius*, one Market-Day, when the Country-People are in the City, and assembled with the rest in *Comitia*, makes his Complaints to the Assembly, of the Outrages committed on them by the *Consuls*. The People in a Rage, come to violent Resolutions, and summon the *Consuls* to appear before the *Curia*, to answer for the Disorders they had occasion'd. The *Consuls* refuse to appear. The *Tribunes* bring their Complaints to the Senate, (which happens to be sitting) and threaten, that in case the *Consuls* don't come and clear themselves before the People, they will assemble the *Tribes* to judge them. Upon this, the *Consuls* accuse the *Tribunes* of being the Aggressors, and threaten them with the Resentments of the *Patricians*, if they persist in their Insolence. The Senate is embarrassed by these Contests, and adjourn the Sitting to another Day. In the mean time, *Icilius* convenes an Assembly of the People. Some are for taking Arms, and retreating to the *Mons Sacer*; others, for proceeding against the *Consuls* in a legal Way, in order to get them condemn'd to Death or Banishment; and the most moderate are for letting the *Consuls* alone, and only prosecuting some of the most furious *Patricians*. At length it is agreed to summon the *Consuls* to appear the third Market-Day. §. 15. In the mean time, the *Tribunes* consider better of the furious Steps they had taken, desist from summoning the *Consuls*, declare in an Assembly of the People, that they forgive the *Consuls* the personal Injuries they have receiv'd from them, but cannot neglect

ICILIAN
Law.
55th CON-
SULSHIP.

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SICINNIUS
DENTAT-
TUS.

56th CON-
SULSHIP.

ÆTERNI-
AN Law.

TERENTI-
AN Law
pass'd.

lect the Interests of the Commons; and therefore propose both the *Agrarian* and *Terentian* Laws to their Deliberation. *Speak*, say they, ROMANS, *declare your Opinions without Fear*. Upon this, many brave *Romans* make their Complaints concerning the Non-execution of the *Agrarian* Law. Particularly, *Sicinnius Dentatus* enumerates his Exploits in War during forty Years Service, tells them, that he has been in an hundred and twenty Actions, and has receiv'd forty five Wounds before, and not one behind: And yet all the Recompence hitherto given him, has been military Toys, fourteen *Civic* Crowns, one *Obsidional*, three *Mural*, eight others for different Services, eighty three Collars, sixty Bracelets, eighteen Lances, twenty five Sets of Furniture for Horses; that he had likewise got nine Sets, from so many Enemies conquer'd in single Combat. *This*, adds he, *is all my Fortune*. *No Land, no Share of the conquer'd Countries*. *Usurpers, without any Title but that of Patrician Extraction, and many Friends, keep Possession of them*. *Let us revive, let us revive, the Agrarian Law*. *If the young Patricians oppose it, do you, Tribunes, make them feel your Power*. No body, in so numerous an Assembly, dares contradict *Sicinnius*; and the *Tribunes* appoint *Comitia* for the next Day to determine concerning the Law. When the greatest Part of it has been spent in Wranglings and Noise, and the People are preparing to divide themselves into *Tribes*, in order to vote, the young *Patricians* overturn the Baskets in which the Suffrages are put, snatch away the Tablets on which they are written, and beat the Officers appointed to take them; the *Sempronii*, *Posthumii*, and *Cloelii*, being the foremost in this Fray. The *Tribunes* therefore summon one of each of these Families to appear before the People. But before the Tryal, they first settle the Punishment. Some are for Death, others for Banishment; but the brave *Sicinnius* prevails to have it only Confiscation of Goods to the Use of the Temple of *Ceres*. The Accused don't appear on the Day of Tryal; Judgment passes on them by Default; and the Body of the *Patricians* raise a Tax among themselves, to redeem the confiscated Estates of the young Men. However, the Deference of the Senate for the People, in suffering this Process, procures the Republick some Moments of Tranquillity. §. 16. But this Peace is soon disturbed by the *Æqui*, who make an Irruption into the Territory of the *Tusculans*. The Senate order the *Consuls* to march immediately to the Defence of those faithful Allies; but the *Tribunes* oppose the Levies; so that a Decree is made to raise a *Patrician* Army, and that Prayers shall be offer'd for whatever *Plebeians* shall join the *Consular* Troops. *Sicinnius* is one of the first: He puts himself at the Head of a *Cohort* of eight hundred Soldiers, all Men of Experience and Bravery. A few Minutes before the *Consuls* come to an Engagement with the Enemy, *Romilius* puts *Sicinnius* upon a desperate Attempt to take their Camp, which was on a steep Rock. *Sicinnius* is aware of the Snare, and desires more Strength to execute the Design. The General with a Sneer accuses him of Cowardice. The brave *Plebeian* answers, *I see the extreme Danger to which you expose my Honour or my Life. I have hitherto always preferred the former to the latter, and I now chuse to die*. *My dear Fellow-Soldiers*, says he to his Troop, *let us go wherever Honour and the Command of the General call us: But bear witness, after I am dead, that I have been destroyed, only for defending the publick Liberty*. However, his Anger does not make him lose his Presence of Mind. By his wise Precaution and Conduct, he surprizes the Camp of the *Æqui*, defeats the Troops left to guard it, then falls upon the Enemy in the Plain, and gains the Victory for the *Romans*. The next Morning he marches away for *Rome*, gets there before the *Consuls*, tells his Story, prevents their having a Triumph, and is himself elected a *Tribune*. §. 17. *Rome* is govern'd the next Year by more popular and less odious *Consuls*, *Sp. Tarpeius* and *A. Æternius*. The *Tribunes* undertake to get the two last *Consuls* condemn'd. *Sicinnius* is to prosecute *Romilius*, and the *Ædile* *Alienus* is to accuse *Veturius*. *Romilius* insists on this old Maxim, *That a Consul is not accountable for his Administration*. However, he is convicted before the *Tribes* of Sedition and Cruelty, and is fined 10000 *Asses* of Brass. *Veturius* is fined 15000. §. 18. This first Act of *Sicinnius* makes him Master of the Commons, and intimidates the *Consuls* and the Senate. *Tarpeius* and *Æternius* disclaim being any longer the Heads of the *Patrician* Faction. They shew themselves Friends of the People in the first *Comitia* by *Centuries*. *Poplicola* had made a Law, *That the Fine for Disobedience to a Magistrate, should be two Sheep and five Oxen*. The *Consuls* get it raised to thirty Oxen and two Sheep; every Ox valued at an hundred *Asses* of Brass, and every Sheep at ten. And the Word *Magistrates* is made to include the *Tribunes* as well as *Consuls*: And this new Regulation puts the former almost upon a level with the latter. But the brave *Sicinnius* has it at heart to get the *Terentian* Law pass'd in his Time. Accordingly, he petitions the Senate; and to the Surprize of every body, *Romilius* speaks strenuously in behalf of it: and he reasons upon the Folly of having any more Contests with the People about Laws. *Sicinnius* immediately rises up, and speaks in Commendation of *Romilius*. Never was a more sudden Reconciliation. He would have remitted the Fine, which *Romilius* had not yet paid: But the latter declines the Favour, because the Money is consecrated to the Gods. As to the *Terentian* Law, it passes by a Majority; and *Sp. Posthumius*,

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Year of *mius*, *S. Sulpicius*, and *A. Manlius*, are deputed to go to *Athens*, to get Copies of the *ROME* Laws of *Draco*, *Solon*, and other Law-givers, and to study the Manners and wise Instructions of the Cities of *Greece*.

B O O K X.

300. §. 1. **T**HE Year 300, in which *Sex. Quintilius* and *P. Horatius* are *Consuls*, is a 57th CON-
Year of Peace both at home and abroad. But *Rome* was said to be like a SULSHIP.

muddy Lake, which, if not kept in Motion by the Winds of War or Sedition, threw out pestilential Vapours, which infected the Air. A most cruel Plague now makes exceeding havock; and as it takes off the Husbandmen, the Ground is neglected, and a Famine ensues. The *Romans* invent new and illegal Sorts of Worship, to appease the Gods; but all is fruitless. *Quintilius* the *Consul*, *Sp. Furius*, nominated to succeed him, *Serv. Cornelius*, High Priest of *Jupiter*, *Horatius Pulvillus* the *Augur*, and four *Tribunes*, with many of the wisest Senators, are involved in the common Destruction.

301. §. 2. Early the next Year, in the *Consulship* of *P. Sestius* and 58th CON-
T. Menenius, first Health and then Plenty returns. The three Deputies likewise come SULSHIP.

back from *Greece*, and petition the Senate to nominate ten Commissioners who, as Law-givers, are to draw up *Ten Tables* of Laws, out of the Materials which they have brought with them. But what is very strange, their Arrival, which had been so impatiently expected, is agreeable hardly to any body but the *Tribunes*. Every one seems afraid of Innovations. The *Consuls* prolong the Affair, under pretence that they shall soon be out of Office. This hastens the Election of new *Consuls*; and *Appius Claudius* and *T. Genucius* are chosen before the usual time. The *Consuls Electi*, plainly foresee, that the *Decemviri* must necessarily take their Places in their Year, and be Masters of all Power in the Republick. So that they join with the *Tribunes*, in order to get the ten Lawgivers appointed, in hopes to be themselves of the Number. *Appius Claudius* particularly, who had long valued himself on his firm Attachment to the *Patricians*, publickly undertakes the Defence of the popular Faction, and thereby shews, that he had been always actuated by Ambition. His intended Colleague enters into his Measures, and they force the *Consul Sestius* to preside in the Senate alone, and declare for the Creation of the *Decemviri*. The other *Consul*, *Menenius*, pretends Sickness, and absents himself. The Affair is not carried without Opposition; but *Appius*, who votes first, gets a Majority, and obtains a Decree, That Ten Men, venerable for their Wisdom, shall be chosen, to whom shall be referred the Examination of the Laws brought from *Greece*; and that each shall take his Part, and reduce under proper Heads, what concerns the Rights of private Families, the Government of the State, the Rites of Religion, and the Worship of the Gods. That the Authority of the *Consuls*, *Tribunes*, *Aediles*, and *Quæstors*, shall cease: That there shall be no Appeal from the *Decemviri* elsewhere; and in short, That during their Administration, they shall be sole Judges of War and Peace, and of all Matters of Right and Wrong.

§. 3. When the new Governours come to be chosen, the *Tribunes* at first demand to have a Part of them *Plebeians*; but at length they yield this Honour wholly to the Nobility; on Condition nevertheless, That the *Decemviri* make no Alteration in two Laws, favourable to the People, The *Idilian*, and that of the *Mons Sacer*. The Ten Legislators chosen in *Comitia* by *Centuries*, are *Appius Claudius* and *Genucius*, (the *Consuls Electi*) *Sestius*, (the present *Consul*) *Sp. Posthumius*, *Serv. Sulpitius*, and *A. Manlius*, (the three Deputies) *T. Romilius*, *C. Julius*

302. *Iulus*, *T. Veturius*, and *P. Horatius*. §. 4. When the time comes for *Appius* and 59th CON-
Genucius to enter upon the *Consulship*, they decline it; and the whole Care of the Re- SULSHIP.

publick falls upon the *Decemviri*. These agree among themselves, That only one of their Body shall have the *Fasces* carried before him for ten Days, and wear the Purple *VIRI*. Robe like the *Dictators*; that then another shall succeed to these Honours, and so *Appius* every one in his Turn. The *Decemviri* appear every Day early in the Morning upon *CLAUDI*-different Tribunals, hearing Causes; and such Suitors as think themselves injur'd at us, &c.

one, may have a Rehearing (not by Way of Appeal) at another. Tho' these new Magistrates have absolute Power, yet in criminal Causes they pay a Deference to the People, and refer them to the *Comitia*. Of all the *Decemviri*, *Appius* is the most popular. He who was formerly such an austere Magistrate, and so difficult of Access, is now the most affable and complaisant of Men. He knows all the Citizens by their Names, receives them with Respect, and salutes them with great Marks of Affection; so that he becomes the Idol of the People.

§. 5. Before the End of the Year, each *Decemvir* presents to the People that Part of the Laws which he has drawn up. The Lawgivers had been assisted by one *Hermodorus*, (banish'd from *Ephesus*, and then accidentally at *Rome*) in understanding the *Greek* Transcripts brought from *Athens*. It is said, that *Heraclitus*, the Friend of *Hermodorus*, wrote him a congratulatory Letter on the Pains he had taken in drawing up the *Roman* Laws;

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adding, *That in a Dream he had seen all the Nations of the Earth bowing down before these Laws, and worshipping them in the Persian manner.* 'Tis certain that the Roman Laws extended themselves as far as the Roman Empire, and even survived its Fall. There is no entire Body of these Laws remaining, as they were first compiled. The *Ten Tables*, as they are given in this History, are taken out of ancient Writers, where they are found scatter'd.

They concern,

TEN TABLES OF LAWS. 1. Law-Suits. 2. Robberies. 3. Loans, and the Right of Creditors over their Debtors. 4. The Rights of Fathers of Families. 5. Inheritance and Guardianships. 6. Property and Possession. 7. Trespasses and Damages. 8. Estates in the Country. 9. The common Rights of the People. 10. Funerals and all Ceremonies relating to the Dead.

These *Ten Tables* are propos'd to the *Curie* by the *Decemviri*, who harangue them in this Manner: *May the Gods grant, that what we now present you, Romans, may be equally agreeable and advantageous to the Republick, to you, and to your remotest Posterity! Go, read the Laws we have drawn up. We have used all the Care and Attention we could. But after all, a whole Nation must see further than any ten Persons. Examine our Laws therefore in private, make them Matter of publick Conversation; confer upon them among yourselves, and consult with one another what ought to be taken from them, and what may be added to them. Nothing that we have drawn up, shall have the Force of a Law, till it be receiv'd with universal Consent. Be you, Romans, rather the Authors, than barely the Approvers of Laws, which are to establish Order and Regularity, and to be the main Foundation of the Happiness both of Senate and People.* Immediately the *Ten Tables* of Laws are cut in Oak, fixed up in the *Forum*, and all are well receiv'd who come to start any Difficulties about them. At length the Senate is assembled to deliberate upon them. They meet with no Opposition there; and nothing is now talk'd of, but the getting them confirm'd in *Comitia* by *Centuries*. The *Decemviri* make the *Comitia* as solemn as possible; and *Rome* had never seen a more regular and orderly Assembly, nor one more unanimous: So that the Laws being legally confirm'd, are transcrib'd on Pillars of Brass, ranged in order in the *Forum*; and become the Foundation of all Judicial Determinations, with regard both to publick and private Affairs.

But the ambitious *Appius* had form'd the Design of getting the *Decemvirate* continu'd; and to that Purpose had caused a Report to be spread, that two Tables of Laws were yet wanting. When the Motion is made to the Senate, they readily consent, as being pleas'd to be rid of the *Tribunes*; whom the People on the other hand do not miss, while they have the Liberty of getting the Judgment of one *Decemvir* rectify'd by another. Never was any Office so much solicited, by the gravest and wisest Senators, as the *Decemvirate* at this time. *Claudius*, tho' a *Decemvir*, forgets his Office, and is more cringing, and full of Intrigue, than any of the Candidates: Infomuch that he raises the Jealousy of his Collegues concerning his Designs, and especially when they hear him propose to have three of the new *Decemviri* chosen out of the *Plebeians*. In order to exclude him from the *Decemvirate*, they commission him to preside in the *Comitia* for the Election. Thus it was his Business to propose to the People, the Persons who were fit to be chosen; and it had never been known that any one had nominated himself. But *Appius* turns their Artifice to his own Advantage. He impudently proposes himself, excludes all his Collegues, and all the eminent Men who stand Candidates, except *Q. Fabius*, (who had been three times Consul.) The other five *Patricians*, whom he gets chosen, are *M. Cornelius*, *M. Sergius*, *L. Minucius*, *T. Antonius*, and *M. Rabuleius*; Men scarce known. The three *Plebeians* are *Cæso Duilius*, *Q. Petilius*, and *Sp. Oppius*.

2^d DECEMVIRATE. When the Day comes for the new Magistrates to enter upon Office, the People are surprized to see them appear early in the *Forum*, each attended by twelve *Lictors* with *Fasces* and *Axes*, and marching with the Pomp and Train of a King. The People draw sad Prognosticks from this Sight, and their Fears are not groundless. The new *Decemviri* prove ten Tyrants, who by their arbitrary Proceedings, and cruel Executions, make the People sigh after their old Constitution. In the mean time, the *Ides of May*, the time fix'd for holding the *Comitia Centuriata*, in order to the Election of Magistrates, draws near: But instead of new *Decemviri*, the old ones propose two new Tables of Laws; the first, relating to THE WORSHIP OF THE GODS, AND RELIGION: The second, to MARRIAGES AND THE RIGHT OF HUSBANDS.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS, &c. §. 6. Notwithstanding the Peoples Hatred to the *Decemviri*, they find little to object to the new Laws, unless to the last, *forbidding Patricians to intermarry with Plebeians*. This they imagine to be an Invention of the Tyrants, to keep the two Parties always divided, that they may reign with more Security.

TWO NEW TABLES added to the TEN. The *Ides of May* are pass'd. The same *Decemviri* illegally continue to govern. The young Nobility declare openly for them, while the Tyrants give them all manner of Power to vex the People, and protect them in their Debaucheries, Cruelties, and

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Year of and Oppressions. The People being exhausted by vexatious Prosecutions, the Storm *ROME* turns against the Senators and *Patricians*. *Rome* is like a City taken by Assault, where no Quarter is given. The Goods of the most wealthy Citizens are taken from them, tho' deposited in Sanctuaries; and Violence is offer'd to their Wives and Daughters. If they resist, they are beaten, and treated with the same Severity as Slaves. In short, Disorder is carry'd to such a height, that the Men of Conduct and Sobriety are forced to leave *Rome*, and seek a Retreat among the *Hernici* and *Latins*.

§. 7. It was impossible that the weak Condition of the Republick should be a Secret from her Enemies. Accordingly, the *Sabines* invade the *Roman* Territory. The *Decemviri* are alarm'd, and hold a Consultation, to which they admit none but those of their own Faction. While they are deliberating, a second Piece of News comes, That the *Æqui* have fallen upon the *Tusculans*, those faithful Allies of *Rome*, and are encamp'd near the *Algidus*, as usual. It is necessary to make Head against both Enemies; but the Difficulty is, how to raise an Army when the People are dissatisfy'd with their Governors. In this Perplexity, the *Decemviri* resolve to assemble the Senate, and endeavour to prevail with the *Conscript Fathers* to interpose their Authority, and make a Decree for legal Levies. The People are surpriz'd to hear a Proclamation in the *Forum*, for the Senators to meet. *Thanks to our Enemies*, say they, *for the Appearance of this single Spark of our antient Liberty*.

§. 8. The Senators who appear on the Day appointed, are so few, that the *Decemviri* are surpriz'd. They adjourn the Assembly to the next Day, and send particular Summons to fetch them from the Country. Upon this it happens, that more of the *Conscript Fathers* appear at the Assembly, than the *Decemviri* wish'd. *Appius*, in a studied Harangue, represents the Danger which threatens the Republick, from the *Sabines* and *Æqui*, and desires a Decree for Levies, without Delay. He has scarce finish'd, when *Valerius* rises up to speak, before his Turn. *Appius*, apprehensive that he is going to say something against the *Decemviri*, commands him to hold his Peace. But the Brave *Valerius* despises the Command, complains of the Pride of the insolent *Claudius*, and calls upon *Fabius*, one of the *Decemviri*, as a Man of Worth, to rouse, and undertake the Defence of the oppressed Republick. *Fabius* blushes, but keeps his Seat, and is silent. *Appius* and the rest of his Collegues surround *Valerius*, and oblige him to hold his Peace. All the Senate is in a Commotion. Some approve of the Violence of *Appius*: But *Horatius*, an avowed Friend of *Valerius*, cries out, *What hinders us from immediately executing the same Vengeance on the new Tarquin, as our Ancestors did upon the former Tyrants? To restore Liberty to Rome, is an hereditary Honour which belongs to the Valerii and the Horatii. It is not the Name of King, that makes a Tyrant, &c.*

§. 9. *Horatius* is going on, when he likewise, in his Turn, is surrounded by the *Decemviri*, who drown his Voice with their Clamours, give him to understand that they are invested with the Authority of the *Tribunes*; and threaten to condemn him to be thrown headlong from the Capitol. But at these Menaces the Senators hiss; and then the *Decemviri* repent of their Rashness. *Appius* declares that it is not their Intention to hinder the *Conscript Fathers* from giving their Opinion, but that it is necessary to keep to Order in Speaking, and to confine themselves to the Matter in hand. He adds, that the Commission of the *Decemviri* was limited to no Period but the Establishment of the Laws; and that when the twelve Tables were settled in due Form, they wou'd then give an Account of their Administration. After this, he desires *C. Claudius* his Uncle to give his Opinion concerning the Levies. Old *Claudius*, in a long Harangue, imputes all the Misfortunes of the State to the Usurpation and Tyranny of the *Decemviri*, exhorts the Senators to insist on their being deposed, urges his Nephew to a voluntary abolishing an Authority which is become intolerable, and concludes with saying, *Let us have no more Decemviri, and we shall soon have no more foreign Enemies*. *Appius* dares not answer his Uncle; but his Collegue *M. Cornelius* speaks for him. *We don't want your Advice*, says he to *Claudius*; *you may save your self the Trouble of giving it. Tell us in plain Terms your Opinion concerning the Levies*. The old Man rises up a second time, and, after having expostulated with his Nephew in a pathetick Strain, votes for coming to no Determination concerning the Levies, till new Magistrates are created. And this Opinion is follow'd by *Quintius Cincinnatus*, and the most considerable Senators. At length it comes to *L. Cornelius*'s Turn to speak; he was Brother to one of the *Decemviri*, and a great Advocate for them. His Speech had been concerted with the Tyrants beforehand. He imputes the Enmity of the old Senators against the *Decemvirate*, to Envy and private Resentment, for having been themselves disappointed in the Pursuit of that Office. And he urges the Unreasonableness of losing Time in Disputes about new Magistrates, when the Enemy is almost at the Gates of *Rome*; that it is impossible to come to a new Election under twenty seven Days; in which Time the City may be besieged, and reduced to the utmost Extremity. What *Cornelius* says, seems plausible; and the Majority of the Senators voted with him. But then *Valerius*'s Turn to speak comes, and he endeavours to bring back the Fathers to his

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Sentiments. And, to obviate at once all *Cornelius's* Arguments, proposes the creating a *Dictator*; an Expedient which had been so successfully practis'd in great Emergencies. The young Senators all embrace this Opinion, and the old ones seem inclined to come over to it; upon which *Valerius* demands, that the two Questions concerning the Levies and the *Dictator*, may be again consider'd. But *Cornelius* opposes it; and *Appius* declares that *Cornelius's* Opinion has prevail'd by a Majority. He had brought the Decree for the Levies ready drawn up, in his Pocket, and he causes it to be read. Upon this, *Valerius* and *Horatius* cry out, *To the People! To the People then, we must have Recourse!* and advance towards the Door of the Senate-House. *Appius* sends a *Lictor* to stop them. A Scuffle ensues. But the Decree is confirm'd. The most honourable Citizens have no Remedy, but to retire to their Country Houses. Old *Claudius* retires to *Regillum*, follow'd by a great Number of Friends and Clients. As for the illustrious Families who stay in *Rome*, they make a League for their mutual Defence. The *Valerii* and *Horatii* arm their Slaves, and set a Guard before their Houses. Hitherto the *Plebeians* had rejoiced to see the Senate humbled; and the Senators to see the People deprived of all their Privileges. But now the Violence of Oppression unites all Minds against the Oppressors; and both Parties wait only for a favourable Opportunity to recover their Liberty. §. 10. In the mean time the *Decemviri* raise ten *Legions*. *Q. Fabius*, with two more of the *Decemviri*, marches at the Head of three *Legions*, against the *Sabines*, and encamps in the Enemy's Country. Five other *Decemviri* lead five *Legions* against the *Æqui*; and the two other *Legions* stay with *Appius* and *Oppius* in the City. Old *Sicinnius* joins *Fabius* with his Cohort of 800 Veterans. But nothing succeeds in this General's Camp. The Soldiers designedly let the Enemy get all Advantages; and at length feign a sudden Fright, disperse in the Night, and return into the *Roman* Territory. Upon this, the Brave *Sicinnius* will stay no longer in an Army where no Glory is to be gained, and marches back his Troop to *Rome*. There he exclaims both against the affected Cowardise of the Soldiers, and the Tyranny of the *Decemviri*; and drops some Words, of the Necessity of a *Secession*. *Appius*, who is informed of it, sends for him, caresses him, and examines him concerning *Fabius's* Conduct. He desires him to speak with Freedom. True Valour is a Stranger to Jealousies and Distrusts, and is often wanting to it self in Circumspection. *Sicinnius*, without Reserve, blames the Proceedings of *Fabius* and the other Generals. *Appius* admires his Wisdom, and prevails with him to go and assist *Fabius* with his Advice; and, to deceive him the more, creates him Lieutenant-General; a Title which makes his Person inviolable. *Fabius* receives him with great Appearances of Joy and Respect, is profuse in Presents to him, and consults him concerning the Operations of the Campaign. *Sicinnius* advises the encamping in *Sabinia*, that the Army may live at the Enemy's Expence. This was what *Fabius* waited for; and immediately proposes to him to go in Person and find out a proper Place, in order to execute his own Scheme. *I will provide you a Guard*, adds the General; *and tho' contrary to Custom, yet on account of your Age and Merit, you shall go on Horseback*. This seem'd to raise him to the Rank of a *Roman* Knight; and *Sicinnius* does not decline the Commission. He takes with him only one Servant, on whose Courage and Fidelity he can depend. They leave the Camp in the Night. The Guard march before their Commander, and lead him into a narrow Stony Road, in which it is difficult to advance, and where it is impossible for him to escape to the Right Hand or to the Left. *Sicinnius's* Servant first perceives the Treachery, and informs his Master that the villanous Guides are preparing to invest him. *Sicinnius* dismounts, posts himself so as best to avoid being surrounded, draws his Sword, and stands upon his Defence, assisted only by his Servant. The whole Band advance against him. He lays fifteen of them dead upon the Spot, and wounds above thirty more. The base Assassins think the Hero invincible by the Sword, climb up to the Top of the Hill, and from thence overwhelm him with Stones. The Guard return to the Camp, pretend to have been attack'd by the Enemy, and that *Sicinnius* fell in Battle. But when the Soldiers, who march'd out under Arms to fetch his Body, and give it honourable Burial, come to the Place of the pretended Action, find *Sicinnius* in his Cloaths, and all the *Romans*, who were slain, lying unstripp'd, and with their Faces towards him, and not one *Sabine* kill'd, they immediately conclude his Death to have been the Work of the *Decemviri*, and demand Justice upon the Murderers; but the General conceals and protects them. However, he dares not march against the Enemy with so discontented an Army, but keeps within his Entrenchments.

On the Side of the *Æqui*, *Cornelius* with his five *Legions* has yet less Success. He practises the same Methods of Deceit and Villany to take off those Soldiers of his Army who were Enemies to the *Decemviri*; and by these Practices so diminishes its Strength, that the Enemy attack him, and take his Camp and Baggage. It was not that brave Men were wanting in the *Roman* Army, who would have done Honour to their Country under other Generals. One *L. Virginius* particularly, a *Censurion*, a Man famous for Probity and Valour, was in the Troops of *Cornelius*, and distinguish'd

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Year of distinguish'd himself in the War. §. 11. But whilst he is signaling his
ROME Courage on the Frontiers, his Daughter *Virginia*, at *Rome*, unknowingly makes
 a Conquest of the Tyrant's Heart. *Virginia* was the most beautiful Woman
 there; her Mother (now dead) had given her an Education truly *Roman*, and
 had fill'd her Heart with the Love of Virtue. As soon as she was mar-
 riageable, her Father had promis'd her to *Icilius*, a young *Plebeian*, descended
 from the famous *Icilius*, first *Tribune* of the People; and during the Campaign
 had committed her to the Care of *Numitorius*, her Mother's Brother. In
 these Times it was customary at *Rome* for young Persons of both Sexes to pursue
 their proper Studies, in different Schools erected for them in the *Forum*. It
 was there that *Appius* first saw her accidentally, and was charm'd with her
 Beauty, and with her intent Application to her Book. Cruel as he was, and
 dead as he seem'd to all the softer Passions, *Virginia* quicken'd in his Breast a
 fatal Tendernefs. The severe Magistrate, the grave Lawgiver, is often seen lingering
 about the Schools, in the Hours of Study. But what then? his Office requires him
 to be frequently in the *Forum*. *Appius* is married; and tho' Divorces are allow'd
 by Law, there had never yet been any Instance of one; Poligamy is strictly for-
 bid; and besides this, the *Decemvir* himself had just pass'd a Law, prohibiting all
 Marriages between *Patricians* and *Plebeians*. What shall the amorous Tyrant do in
 this Perplexity? He hires Women to corrupt the Charmer's Innocence. These Ma-
 nagers carry rich Presents to *Virginia*, from an unknown Admirer, who, as they in-
 sinuate, is able to do much Good, or much Harm. But the beauteous *Roman* has
 too exalted a Soul to think any Presents valuable, which are designed to be the Price of
 yielded Virtue. His Passion; therefore suggests a new Scheme, the Execution of which
 he entrusts to *M. Claudius*, one of his own Clients, an infamous Wretch, and fit for
 any villanous Enterprize. *Claudius* takes a Band of resolute Fellows with him to the
 School, and there seizes *Virginia*, with the Authority of a Master who is carrying
 back a Fugitive Slave to his House. The People flock together at the Sight, and are
 all in a Commotion. *Claudius* requires the Damsel to appear before the *Decemviri*;
 and in Obedience to the new Laws she is forc'd to follow him to their Tribunal.
Appius is designedly alone upon the Bench, and is just ready to adjudge the young
 Woman to his Client, as his lawful Slave, when the People present cry out, That
Virginia's Relations ought to be first heard. *Appius*, as absolute, and as enamour'd
 as he is, dares not refuse to suspend the Sentence, and give *Numitorius*, the Prisoner's
 Uncle, Time to appear. He comes to the Tribunal, with young *Icilius*, her intend-
 ed Husband, and follow'd by a Company of the most considerable *Plebeians*. *Clau-*
dius repeats his Claim, founded on a Lie, concerted between him and the Judge.
 He pretends, That *Virginia* is the Daughter of a *She-Slave* who belong'd to him, and
 who had given her Child to *Numitoria*, *Virginus's* Wife; and that *Numitoria* had
 imposed the Child upon her Husband, as her own, and his Daughter. And he offers to
 give Security to produce the young Woman again in Court, when *Virginus* returns
 from the War. *Numitorius* perceives that the Client is only serving the Passion of
 his Patron; and he inveighs bitterly against the infamous Design of the *Decemvir*.
 He exposes the Nonsense of *Claudius's* Allegations, insists upon one of the new Laws,
 That in Disputes of this Kind, the Presumption shall be in favour of Liberty; and
 then adds, I might demand, that her Cause should not be heard till after the Army's
 Return; and then only in full *Comitia*. But since there are private Reasons (are you
 ignorant of them, *Appius*?) for hastening so much the Determination of the Affair, give
 us Leave to call *Virginus* from the Camp; and in the mean time, let me, who have the
 Care of her Person, be the Guardian of her Honour. This Demand seems reasonable
 to the whole Assembly, who express a Horror at the Proceeding: But *Appius* de-
 crees, That *Virginia* shall be put into *Claudius's* Hands, upon his giving Security to pro-
 duce her on the Return of *Virginus*. The Iniquity of the Judgment incenses all present;
 and the Women shriek so loud that they are heard at a great Distance: But young
Icilius breaks thro' the Crowd, and forces his Way to the Tribunal, to defend his
 dear *Virginia*. A *Lictor* endeavours to oppose his Passage, and cries to him, Sentence
 is pass'd. But nothing can stop the enraged Lover; he takes *Virginia* in his Arms,
 No, Tyrant! he cries, Nothing but Death shall separate me from my promis'd Wife.
 Add my Murder to the many Crimes with which thou art already polluted; assemble all
 thy *Lictors*, and, if thou wilt, those of thy Collegues; to my last Breath, I will defend
 her Honour. Have you deprived us of the Protection of our Tribunes, only to subject
 our Wives and our Daughters to your Lewdness? Go on to exercise your Rage upon our
 Estates and Lives; but spare the Chastity of our Virgins. If any Attempt be made upon
Virginia, I call the Gods to witness, that her Dishonour shall be washed off by a Deluge
 of Blood. What will not *Virginus* be able to do in the Army, and *Icilius* among the
 People, when the one is to revenge the Cause of an injured Wife, the other of a disho-
 noured Daughter. He is going on, when the *Lictors* have Orders to take him away;
 and *Claudius* lays Hands upon *Virginia*; but the People in a Rage fall upon the Of-
 ficers of the *Decemvir*, and *Claudius* is obliged to take Refuge under the Tribunal.

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Appius seeing this, calls his Client to him, whispers something in his Ear, causes Silence to be made, and then says, *It is not the Fury of the violent Icilius, which makes me comply, but the Intreaties of Claudius my Client. He is willing to wave the Right he has of carrying home his Slave, upon giving Security. He commits her to the same Hands in which she was before; provided they promise to bring her into Court again to Morrow. The Persons concern'd have therefore all the remaining Part of this Day, and four Hours of to Morrow, to fetch Virginius from the Camp. Numitorius demands more Time; but the Decemvir orders the Curule Chair to be taken away.* §. 12. *Icilius* and *Numitorius* immediately dispatch, the first his Brother, the second his Son, to bring *Virginius* from the Camp. *Appius* at the same time sends a Courier, with Orders to the Generals to put him under Arrest; but he comes too late. The other Messengers had been more expeditious; and *Virginius*, upon the first Notice of his Daughter's Danger, had left the Army; and he was so fortunate to escape two Parties of Soldiers, which were sent, one from the Camp, to overtake him; the other from the City, to stop him. He appears the next Morning in the *Forum*, leading his Daughter in deep Mourning, attended by a great Number of Ladies. He addresses himself to his Fellow-Citizens as he passes, and utters his Complaints with an Air of Dignity that seems rather to demand Assistance, than to implore it. *To what Purpose,* says he, *do we every Day expose our Lives to preserve our Wives and Children from a foreign Enemy, if our Tyrants at Rome exercise upon them all the Violence and Oppression which can be suffer'd in a City taken by Assault?* *Icilius*, for his Part, breaks into the Throng, rages from Crowd to Crowd, and seems to transfuse his own Resentments into every Breast. The Roman Ladies, in the mean while, let fall their silent Tears, the most persuasive of all Eloquence. *Appius* is inform'd of the Dispositions of the People; but his Love will admit of no Fear. He appears upon the Bench of Justice. *Claudius* speaks first, renews his Claim, and produces the Slave (whom he had alledg'd to be the Mother of *Virginia*) and several other suborned Witnesses. Their Depositions are favourable to his Pretensions; but all the Marks of Truth are against him. *Virginius* lays them open in the plainest Manner, and in the artless Language of a Soldier. He urges the little Probability of *Numitorius's* imposing a Child upon him, having no possible Temptation to it; and especially the Child of a Slave. *Besides,* adds he, *is it likely that a Contrivance carried on between two Women should continue so long a Secret? Wou'd not the Slave, at least, have made her Court to her Master, by discovering it after Numitorius's Death, when she cou'd have no Interest to conceal it? How came the Mystery to be unreveal'd till Appius was Decemvir?* To these Presumptions, *Virginius* adds Proofs, which are incontestable, of *Numitorius's* Pregnancy, and of her suckling her own Daughter. The most considerable Women in *Rome* are produced as Witnesses of it. And now all the Attention of the Assembly is fixed on *Virginia*. Her modest Countenance, her Eyes bath'd in Tears, and her Looks fix'd upon the Ground as a Victim who expects to die, touches every Heart with Pity; and what raises their Compassion still vastly more, is her amazing Beauty: For her Form seems more than human; and by her Air one wou'd take her for a Goddess. Nothing remains, but for *Appius* to give Sentence. His Passion is too strong for any Remorse. He pretends to be himself in the Secret; and that *Claudius's* Father had at his Death discover'd it to him, when he made him his Son's Guardian. And therefore, both as Witness and Judge, he declares the young Woman to belong to *Claudius*, and orders her to be deliver'd to him, as his Property. The ill-disguised Iniquity of the *Decemvir* is visible to all present; *Virginius* trembles with Rage; and with a threatening Voice, *Infamous Wretch,* he cries, *I never designed my Daughter for thee. I educated her for a lawful Husband, and not to serve the Lust of a brutal Ravisher. Romans! Will you suffer these Things?* The People express their Indignation by an universal Out-cry, and seem ready to oppose the *Decemvir's* Decree. But *Appius* insinuates to the Multitude, that he has posted his Troops up and down the City, and threatens them severely if they don't immediately disperse, and return every one to his House. *As for You, Claudius,* adds he, *seize your Slave, and make use of my Guard to disperse the Crowd.* *Claudius* causes *Virginia* to be led towards his House, and *Appius* follows him with his Guard. *Virginius* cannot leave his Daughter; he walks by her Side, and keeps his Arm round her Waste. But when they come to the farthest Side of the *Forum*, over-against the Temple of *Venus Cloacina*, he draws near to *Appius*, and in a suppliant Manner says, *Pardon, Sir, the unguarded Words which escaped me in my first Transports of Grief; and allow me, if you please, one Moment to speak privately to Virginia, and ask her some Questions concerning her true Parents; that so I may carry Home the Consolation at least of being set right in this intricate Affair.* *Appius* has no Pretence to refuse so reasonable a Request, and keeps at a Distance with his *Lictors*. *Virginia* sees her self alone with her Father and her Governess; and then, either from a greater Flow of Tenderness for him to whom she ow'd her Life, or from a Horror of the Treatment she is to expect, and which now affects her more than ever, she falls into a Swoon. Her Governess holds her up, and *Virginius* for some time seems very earnest in endeavouring

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Year of deavouring to bring her to her self. Then, under pretence of seeking some Assistance, he runs to a Butcher's Stall, seizes a Knife, and returns to his Daughter, who is yet in her Swoon. *Here, my dear Daughter,* says he, *receive this last Pledge of my Love. Go, Virginia, go to thy Ancestors, whilst thou art yet a free Woman, pure and undefiled.* At these Words he gives her the fatal Blow, and then turning to *Appius*, *By this Blood,* he cries, *I devote thy Head to the Infernal Gods.* The Decemvir immediately orders him to be seiz'd; but he with the Knife in his Hand, and all bloody, makes his way through the People, who flock about him, gets out of the City, mounts on Horseback, and takes the Road to the Camp. §. 13. In the mean while, *Numitorius* and *Icilius* raise a great Commotion in *Rome* among the People, who will not quit *Virginia's* dead Body, but utter bitter Exclamations against the *Decemviri*, and demand the Re-establishment of the antient Government, and of the *Tribunes*. As for *Appius*, he is scarce Master of his Reason. He had waded through a Sea of Villany, to reach a Prize which escaped him for ever, in the very Moment he thought to take Possession of it. He had been the Cause of the Murder of what he lov'd to Excess; and besides the inward Torment of his own Reflections, had made sure of the eternal Hatred and Indignation of the *Roman* People. Instead of endeavouring to appease them, he sends his *Lictors* to seize *Icilius*, and carry away the dead Body; and upon their being repuls'd, is rash enough to come in Person, attended by a chosen Company of young *Patricians*, to see his Orders executed. But *Valerius* and *Horatius*, those sworn Enemies of the *Decemviri*, had put themselves at the Head of the Multitude, who beat the *Decemvir's* Officers, and break their *Fasces*. *Appius* flies to the Temple of *Vulcan*, and there pretends to exercise the Authority of a *Tribune* of the People, demanding that *Icilius*, and the other Disturbers of the publick Peace, should be thrown headlong from the *Capitol*. But his Harangue is often interrupted with Hisses; and in the mean time *Valerius* and his Party carry the Body of *Virginia* to the Top of a Flight of Steps, where the People may see it, and whence he may be heard by them. So that there are two Assemblies, and two Orators, in different Parts of the *Forum*, declaiming against each other at the same time. But *Appius's* Auditors soon leave him to go to *Valerius*; and the *Decemvir*, to avoid being stoned, is obliged to hide his Face with his Robe, and seek Refuge in a neighbouring House. §. 14. But just as *Horatius* and *Valerius* have gain'd great Advantages over *Appius*, *Oppius*, the *Plebeian Decemvir*, arrives to defend his Colleague. And he judges, that the wisest Method is to assemble the Senate. The People are immediately quieted, as hoping that the *Decemvirate* will now be abolished. But the Fathers then in *Rome* are Friends to the *Decemviri*, order the People to behave themselves peaceably, and commission some young Senators to go to the Camp near the *Algidus*, to prevent the Seditions *Virginius* might cause in it. In the mean time, there is a wonderful Emulation in the City, who shall make the richest Presents for the Decoration of *Virginia's* Funeral; nothing else is talk'd of, and all possible Honour and Respect is shewn to the Memory of the innocent Victim of *Roman* Chastity. §. 15. But in the Camp of the five *Legions*, the Commotion rais'd by *Virginius* is yet greater. He arrives there at Night, when the Soldiers are at Supper. He is attended by four hundred Citizens, who enter the Camp in small Companies. As for himself, with the fatal Knife in his Hand, and cover'd with Blood, he passes through the Tents, and places himself on an Eminence where several Ways meet. The Soldiers crowd about him. His Tears and his Gesture increase their Curiosity. He relates to them the Plot laid by *Appius* against his Daughter's Liberty and Honour, and the cruel Method he had been forc'd to take to preserve her Chastity. The Citizens who come with him from *Rome* confirm his Relation, and exaggerate the Miseries of the City under the Government of the *Decemviri*. They report likewise, that *Appius* has been forc'd to banish himself. The Soldiers upon this News are ready to snatch up their Standards, and march away. The five *Decemviri* who command the Army, hold a Consultation upon the proper Means to appease the Tumult. In the mean time, word is brought them, that the Soldiers are retired to their Tents, and that all is quiet. Upon this, it is determined that *Virginius* shall be put in Arrest the next Day, and that the Army shall march into the Enemy's Country, that they may be out of the hearing of what passes at *Rome*. But these Generals do not know that the *Centurions* have conspired to abolish the *Decemvirate*. The next day, they refuse to march against the *Æqui*; and not only protect *Virginius*, but at his Instigation (who removes their Scruples about the military Oaths, which did not bind them to obey Usurpers) snatch up the *Roman* Eagles, march out of the Camp, and take the Road to *Rome*. The Army follow their Standards, and come and intrench themselves on the Hill *Aventinus*. *Oppius* convenes the Senate (for *Appius* appears no more in publick) and the *Conscript Fathers* send three of their Body to the Army, to ask the Reason of their leaving their Generals. The Answer was easy: but the Deserters had not chosen a Head, and they therefore all cry out with one Voice, *Let Valerius and Horatius be sent to us, we will return no Answer to the Senate but by them.* *Virginius* being alarm'd at the Timorousness

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Timorouſneſs of the Troops, when queſtion'd by the Deputies from the Senate, is ſenſible that they want Chiefs to govern them, and to answer for them. Ten are choſen under the Name of MILITARY TRIBUNES. The Army are deſirous to have *Virginius* at the Head of them; but he declines the Honour. *My Daughter*, ſays he, *is dead, and I have not yet reveng'd her Death. No kind of Honour will become me, till her Manes are appeas'd. Besides, what prudent or moderate Counſels can you expect from one who is all Rage againſt the Tyrants? I ſhall be of more Service to the Common Cauſe by acting in it as a private Man.* §. 16. In the mean time, the three Legions ſent againſt the *Sabines*, pay as little Deference to their Generals. The Murder of the incomparable *Sicinnius* had provoked them. *Numitorius* and *Icilius* increaſe their Diſpoſition to revolt, by their Account of the Death of *Virginia*; and the News of the Deſection of the five Legions, determines them to take the ſame Steps. *Icilius* is at their Head. They alſo chuſe ten *Military Tribunes*, and march to the Hill *Aventinus*, where the two Armies united under the Government of twenty *Military Tribunes*, reſolve for the future to obey only two Generals, *Oppius* and *Manlius*. Theſe appoint themſelves a Council, conſiſting of all the *Centurions* in the Army, and govern it with unexpected Prudence. §. 17. While theſe things are doing, *Oppius* the *Decemvir* thinks to put an end to all Miſfortunes, by the Intervention of the Senate. But the *Conſcript Fathers* only diſpute, without coming to any Determination. The Majority are for deputing *Horatius* and *Valerius* to the revolted Army; but they reſuſe to accept the Commiſſion, till the *Decemviri* have laid down. Theſe Delays tire out the two Armies, and they march to the *Mons Sacer*, entrench themſelves there, and obſerve the ſame good Diſcipline their Anceſtors had formerly done. They are follow'd by ſuch numbers of the Citizens with their Wives and Children, that *Rome* is in a manner deſerted. The Senators are ſurpriz'd to ſee the Streets ſo thin of Inhabitants, and unanimouſly reſolve to aboliſh the *Decemvirate*, reſtore the People their *Tribunes*, and the Senate its *Conſuls*. *Valerius* and *Horatius* being now inveſted with full Power to treat with the People, accept of the Deputation to the *Mons Sacer*. The Joy of the Army on the Arrival of theſe Senators is inexpressible. *Icilius*, who is their Speaker, after having return'd the Deputies thanks, demands in the Name of the Revolters, 1. *The Re-eſtabliſhment of the Tribunes of the People, with a Right of Appeal to them from the Deciſions of the Conſuls.* 2. *The Punishment of the Decemviri, who, they deſire, may be burnt alive.* But the prudent Deputies make a great difference between the two Articles. One, ſay they, *is the Dictate of Reaſon, the other is the Effect of Paſſion. You are offer'd a Shield, do not pretend to take a Sword too. The Senate has not yet declared you innocent, and will you already take upon you to give Law to it?* The People ſubmit to the Reaſons of the Deputies, and empower them to make what Terms for them they think fit. *Valerius* and *Horatius* return to *Rome*; and their Report is receiv'd with Joy by the Senate. Nine of the *Decemviri*, when they hear that the People do not demand their Heads, readily conſent to every thing ask'd. *Appius* is the only Man who thinks himſelf loſt. *To re-eſtabliſh the Tribuueſhip*, ſays he, *is only to put Arms in the Hands of the People. I find my Execution is only poſtponed, and my Life muſt be ſacrificed to the publick Hatred. But ſince it muſt be ſo, let us begin by diveſting ourſelves of the Decemvirate.* Accordingly, a Decree is paſſ'd to aboliſh the *Decemvirate*, and reſtore the *Tribunes*. The News is carried to the Army; they come and encamp a ſecond time on the Hill *Aventinus*, where they proceed to chuſe ten *Tribunes*, the *Pontifex Maximus* preſiding at the Election. *Virginius*, *Icilius*, and *Numitorius*, the Father and Defenders of *Virginia*, are firſt named. (Nothing was more glorious in the antient Romans, than this ſteady Love of Chaſtity, by which alone the two firſt Revolutions in their State were brought about.) §. 18. The only thing which remains now for the perfect Re-eſtabliſhment of the Republick, is to hold an Aſſembly of the *Centuries* for the Election of new *Conſuls*; and *Valerius* and *Horatius* are choſen. They keep the Promise they had made the People on the *Mons Sacer*, to favour them in every thing, in caſe they came into Office; and they are wholly bent upon giving the *Plebeians* a Superiority over the Senate. This is evident by the Laws they introduce. Formerly the Ordinances made by the People in *Comitia by Tribes*, oblig'd only the *Plebeians*; and to make them of general Obligation, it was neceſſary that they ſhould be confirm'd in *Comitia by Centuries*. But now it is enacted, *That the Decrees of the Tribes ſhall be as univerſally obſerved by the Patricians, as thoſe of the Centuries are by the Plebeians.* And that the *Tribunes* may be maintain'd in perpetual Poſſeſſion of their Right of judging Cauſes brought before them by Appeal, it is likewiſe enacted, *That for the future no Magiſtrates of any kind ſhall be inveſted with ſupreme Authority, without Appeal; and that it ſhall be lawful for any one to kill the Author of ſuch an Innovation.* The Ceremonies are likewiſe renew'd, whereby the Perſons of the *Tribunes* were made ſacred. And to theſe Regulations another is added, *That the Decrees of the Senate ſhall for the future be carried to the Ædiles, and kept in the Temple of Ceres.* This is done for fear the ſucceeding *Conſuls* ſhould ſuppreſs the Decrees now made, and render them uſeleſs. §. 19. The *Tribunes* now finding themſelves in a Condition

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Year of to undertake whatever their Revenge can dictate, resolve to humble the proud *Decemviri*, and begin with *Appius*, who is cited to appear. *Virginus* is his Accuser, and without enumerating all his Crimes, insists only on *his having, contrary to Law, refused a young Woman, who was in Possession of her Liberty, the Right of enjoying it, on her giving Security.* Name your own Judge, adds he, to determine the Cause. If you don't, I order you to be laid in Irons in a Dungeon. *Appius* names no body; he has neither the People nor the *Tribunes* on his Side, and the Senate are not Judges in Capital Causes. But when the *Tribunes* Officers are just seizing his Person, he cries out, *I appeal.* He enumerates the Services done the Republick, by his Family; reminds them of his own Zeal for the publick Good, with relation to the Twelve Tables; and claims the Benefit of the Laws just made in favour of Appeals. *Virginus* answers, *That such a Monster as the Accused, is not worthy to partake of the common Benefits of Society, nor to be allow'd to escape Imprisonment on giving Security, since he had refused that Privilege to Virginia, when it was to preserve her from Slavery.* Accordingly, *Appius* is carried to the Prison he himself had built, and named the *Habitation of the Romans.* However, the Sentence against him is deferred to the third Market-Day; and in the Interval, old *Claudius*, who had so much disapproved of his Nephew's Proceedings, yet upon hearing of his Danger, and of the Shame that is like to come upon the *Claudian* Family, comes to *Rome*, and intercedes with the People; but to no Purpose. It is uncertain whether *Appius* kill'd himself, or was dispatch'd by Order of the *Tribunes.*

§. 20. The Prosecution of *Oppius* the *Plebeian Decemvir*, follows next; and *Numitorius* is his Accuser. The main Witness against him, is a Man who had serv'd twenty seven Years in the Army, and had been eight times honour'd with military Rewards. He uncovers his Shoulders, on which appears the Marks of the Rods, with which he had been whipped by *Oppius's* Orders; and he offers to undergo the same Treatment again, if *Oppius* can assign any good Reason for his Cruelty. This is enough. The Accused is order'd to Prison, and dies the same Day. There yet remains to punish *Claudius* the suborn'd Client of *Appius.* He is condemn'd, but *Virginus* has pity on a Wretch who had acted in compliance with a sovereign Magistrate, from whom he could have no Appeal. So that his Sentence of Death is chang'd to Banishment, upon his confessing that he had been suborned. After this, *Duilius*, one of the *Tribunes*, persuades the College to carry Vengeance no farther. A general Amnesty is granted to all, and the State is wholly taken up with making Preparations for War.

§. 21. For during these Broils, the *Æqui* had join'd the *Volsci* to give the finishing Stroke to the divided Republick, and she is attacked on another Side by the *Sabines.* *Valerius* is appointed to march against the former, and *Horatius* against the latter. But first the Two new Tables of Laws which had not been yet establish'd in due Form, receive a proper Sanction, are graven in Brass, and fixed up in the *Forum.* *Valerius*, by his wise Conduct, and the affectionate Zeal of his Soldiers to gain him Honour, obtains a complete Victory over the *Æqui.*

§. 22. And this Success raises an Emulation in *Horatius's* Army. The Consul, with the Approbation of his Troops, resolves to come to a decisive Battle. He gains the Day by the Bravery of his Cavalry, who dismount to cover his Left Wing, which by a Stratagem of the *Sabine* General, is surrounded soon after the Action begins.

§. 23. But though these two Victories are of great Importance to the Republick, yet the Senate being dissatisfied with the Consuls, on account of their Popularity, and of the Laws they had made in favour of the *Tribunes*, decree, contrary to Custom, but one *Supplication* for both; but the People, to make them amend, prolong the Ceremony all the next Day. The Generals, upon their Return to *Rome*, petition the Senate for a Triumph. Old *Claudius*, piqued at the little Regard which had been shewn to his Intercessions in favour of his Nephew *Appius*, opposes it with Warmth, and taxes them with Partiality to the *Plebeians* in their Civil Administration; upon which the *Conscript Fathers* declare them unworthy of the Honour they request. But this Opposition serves only to gain the People a new Prerogative, the Right of decreeing Triumphs. *Valerius* and *Horatius* apply to them, the *Tribunes* back their Suit, and *Scipio* declares in the Name of the Com-

mons, that the Consuls shall have the Honour of a Triumph; which was afterwards thought so legal a one, as to be mention'd in the *Fasti Capitolini.* The People take upon them to decree the

§. 24. The greater Part of the *Tribunes* form a Scheme for continuing themselves in Office the next Year; Consuls also in theirs. But *M. Duilius*, one of the College, is a Man of Probity, and undertakes to defeat their Design. It falls to his Lot to preside in *Comitia Tribes* for electing the new *Tribunes*: And he there declares, that all Votes for continuing his Collegues in the *Tribuneship*, shall go for nothing. The rest of the *Tribunes* oppose this, and insist, that the People be left free. Upon which he brings the Consuls into the *Comitia*, and asks them whether they will accept of the *Consulship*, in case the People offer to continue them in it for another Year. They answer, *That they shall be far from imitating the odious Usurpation of the Decemviri.* And their Moderation

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is much commended. But when the Election of *Tribunes* comes on, the People, instead of chusing Ten, can agree on no more than Five; and the old *Tribunes* therefore contend, that they are hereby authorized to continue in their Offices. So that *Duilius* is forced to propose this new Law to the People. *When in the Comitia for chusing the Tribunes of the People, the Electors cannot agree upon Ten; let those who shall be agreed upon, be empower'd to chuse the rest of their Collegues.* The Law is passed; the five *Tribunes* chosen, nominate five others; and by the Advice of *Duilius*, chuse two of them out of the *Patricians*, *Sp. Tarpeius* and *A. Aternius*, who had been *Consuls* in the Year 299.

DUILIUS'S LAW.
Two PATRICIANS chosen TRIBUNES of the PEOPLE.

BOOK XI.

61st CONSULSHIP. §. 1. ROME is in perfect Tranquillity, when *Lart. Herminius* and *T. Virginius* take Possession of the *Consulship*. The new Governors endeavour to hold the Balance even between the *Patricians* and the *Plebeians*. But *Trebonius*, one of the *Tribunes*, who for his restless Spirit, gets the Surname of *Mutinous*, is dissatisfied to see two *Patricians* in the College, and likewise with the *Duilian Law*, relating to the Election of *Tribunes*. By his Credit therefore with the People, he procures this new Law to be pass'd. *Whenever the Tribunes of the Commons are to be chosen, let not him who presides put an end to the Comitia, till the Tribes have chosen Ten.* He judges, that the Tribes will never chuse *Patricians*. §. 2. The following *Consulate* of *M. Geganius* and *C. Julius*, proves a Year of little less Tranquillity than the past, and produces nothing remarkable. §. 3. But the succeeding *Consuls*, *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* (a fourth time) and *Agrippa Furius*, find the People highly exasperated against the Nobility; the young *Patricians* having been guilty of new and provoking Insults, both on the People and their *Tribunes*. Upon the News of these fresh domestick Broils, the *Aequi* and *Volsci* resolve to seek the Wolves (so they stiled the *Romans*) in their Dens. They enter the Country of the *Latins*, lay it waste, and advance into the *Roman Territory*, whence they carry off a great deal of Booty to *Corbio*. The *Consul Quinctius* has no hopes of bringing the *Tribunes* to consent to the raising an Army; but he assembles the People, and expostulates with them on the Shame both to them and him, of letting the Enemy insult *Rome*, without revenging it; and imputes the Insolence of the *Aequi* and *Volsci* to the intestine Divisions of the *Romans*. I grant, adds he, that the GREAT set no Bounds to their Ambition. But do not the People likewise carry their Love of Liberty to an Excess? They desired TRIBUNES; we established them. They wanted DECENVIRI; we consented. They insisted upon these new Magistrates being deposed; we deposed them. They demanded to have the Tribuneship restor'd; we suffer'd it. They desir'd to have popular Men chosen *Consuls*; we chose them. In short, we have suffer'd them to enjoy the Protection of their own Magistrates, with a Right of Appeal to their Tribunal; and we have subjected ourselves to the Laws made in their Comitia. Are not the Nobility sufficiently humbled? What have you to ask more? He then ascribes all their shameful and unworthy Conduct to the seditious Harangues of their *Tribunes*, and exhorts them to resume the old *Roman Spirit*, and follow him into the Field. Never was the Harangue of any *Tribune* more favourably receiv'd by the People, than that of this venerable *Consul*. A Decree is unanimously pass'd for making the necessary Levies; and all the young Men are summon'd to appear in the *Campus Martius* to be enlisted. Every Cohort consisted then of six *Centuries*, and every *Legion* of ten Cohorts. Each Cohort had leave to chuse its own *Centurions*; and besides them, two Senators were placed at the Head of it. These Dispositions are so expeditiously made, that in four Hours time, the Troops are ready to fetch the *Roman Eagles* from the Houses of the *Quæstors*, (to whose Care they were always committed.) They encamp the same Day ten Miles from *Rome*, and the following come in sight of the Enemy near *Corbio*. §. 4. The third Day they come to a pitch'd Battel with them. [The Particulars of it are related.] But tho' the Victory be complete on the Side of the *Romans*, the *Consuls* have no Triumph. §. 5. Soon after this, the *Roman People* are chosen Arbitrators in a Dispute between the Inhabitants of *Ardea* and those of *Aricia*, concerning a large Tract of Land, to which each of the Cities laid claim. The Tribes are assembled, the Cause is heard, and the Votes are just going to be taken, when one *Scaptius*, a *Roman*, a very old Man of the meanest of the People, desires to be heard. He pretends to have known the District in question about forty seven Years, that it formerly belong'd to *Corioli*, and consequently now to the *Romans*, who ought therefore to make no scruple of seizing it. This Motion gives the *Consuls* a great deal of Concern, when they find it favourably listen'd to. They use their utmost Endeavours to dissuade the People from taking a Step which must cast a Blemish on the *Roman Probity*. But they strive in vain. The *Romans* adjudge the Territory to themselves. §. 6. The *Plebeians* have now gain'd such an Ascendant over the Nobility,

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Year of Nobility, that the *Tribunes* think themselves in a Condition to attempt what they please. And being jealous of the Prerogative, which the *Consuls* enjoy, of chusing the *Quæstors*, they contrive to deprive them of that Privilege; and accordingly the People for the first time appoint the *Quæstors*, but adhere to the old Custom of nominating only *Patricians*.

308.

§. 7. The new *Consuls*, *M. Genucius Augurinus* and *C. Curtius Philo*, are no sooner in Office, than the *Tribunes* form new Designs. *Canuleius*, an active Man at the Head of them, presents a Petition to the People, desiring, *That the Law, forbidding Patrician and Plebeian Families to intermarry, may be abolish'd*; and likewise, *That Plebeians may have leave to stand for the Consulship*. The Disputes which arise upon these two Articles, put the Enemies of Rome in motion again.. The Defection of the *Ardeates* is followed by a Declaration of War on the Part of the *Veientes*; and the *Æqui* and *Volsci* at the same time prepare great Armies to enter the *Roman Territory*. However, the *Tribunes* obstinately oppose all Levies, till the Senate shall pass a Decree, authorizing them to assemble the People to determine upon the new proposed Laws. Many of the Senators make warm Speeches against the Pretensions of the Commons; but *Canuleius* encourages them not to abate any thing of their Pretensions, and by a long and artful Harangue, makes such an Impression on them, that they bind themselves by the most solemn Oaths, not to submit to any Orders about Enrollments, till the Senate have complied with their Demands. The *Consuls* are terrify'd, and hold private Meetings, to which only the gravest and oldest Senators are invited. Here *C. Claudius* proposes an Expedient which is receiv'd with Applause, and which we shall soon see put in Execution. §. 8. When the Senate assembles to put some end to the Affair, the *Tribunes* are order'd to explain their Pretensions, and give their Reasons for the two Laws in question. But instead of this, the Harangue of *Canuleius*, who is their Speaker, turns wholly upon the Irregularity of secret Assemblies, and the double Dealings of the *Consuls*, who propose an Affair to the Deliberation of the Fathers, which has been already determin'd in private: And lastly he complains, that *Valerius* and *Horatius* had not been call'd to the secret Council. *Genucius* protests, that the *Consuls* had had no other View in calling a private Assembly, than to pave the Way for Concord: That they had not invited *Valerius* and *Horatius* to it, lest it should lessen their Interest with the People; and as a Proof of his Esteem for them, he invites them to speak out of their Turn, and before the more antient consular Senators. (To engage those two Senators to speak first in the Debate, was a Part of old *Claudius's* Scheme.) *Valerius* is of opinion, *That the Enemy ought to be first conquered before the Senate hear even the just Desires of the People*; but that they ought to be encouraged to contend for Victory by a Decree, or written Promise, to empower the *Tribunes* to propose the two Laws to the People, as soon as the Campaign should be ended. *Horatius* seconds this Motion. Long and warm Debates arise; till at length old *Claudius*, (as had been agreed) declares against the Suffering the two Laws to be propos'd to the People in *Comitia*, either now or hereafter. Then *Genucius*, the *Consul's* Brother, plays his Part, and proposes as an Expedient for Reconciliation, *That the consular Power be divided among six Persons, three chosen out of the Nobility, and three out of the Commons*; that they be call'd *Military Tribunes*; and that when their Year shall be expired, the Republick may continue the same kind of Government, or return to her *Consuls* as she shall see proper. This Motion is approv'd of both by Senate and *Tribunes*. A Decree for this third Revolution in the *Roman Government* is pass'd; and there is an universal Joy in *Rome*. *Comitia* are held without delay. But when these new Governors come to be chosen, it is with great difficulty that any of the *Patricians* are prevail'd upon to stand Candidates, while the *Plebeians* solicit the Office with Earnestness: And it now appears how different the same People are from themselves, when spirited up by seditious Harangues, and when left to their own Reason. When they come to vote, they only promote three *Patricians*, and refuse to nominate any *Plebeians* to be joined with them in the *Military Tribuneship*. As to the foreign Enemies of the Republick, they seem to be dispers'd by the Reestablishment of Concord in *Rome*, and there is no Necessity of raising Troops to oppose them.

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§. 9. *A. Sempronius*, *L. Attilius*, and *T. Clælius*, the first *Military Tribunes*, do not continue long in Office. *Curtius* the late *Consul*, who had presided at their Election, declares three Months after, that the *Auguries* preceding it had been inauspicious, which disannulled their Promotion. (This was probably an artful Contrivance of the Nobility, not to let the new Form of Government take root.) The three Magistrates readily abdicate their Dignity, and *Rome* thereby falls into an *Interregnum*. *T. Quintilius*, when *Interrex*, assembles the People to determine, whether the consular Government shall be restored, or that of *Military Tribunes* continued. The Senate are for the former, the *Tribunes* of the Commons are for the latter, while the People being resolv'd to confer the supreme Dignity only on *Patricians*, are indifferent whether it be call'd *Consulship* or *Tribuneship*. At length all agree to restore the old Form of Government; *Patricians* only are suffer'd to stand for the *Consulship*, and *L. Papyrius Mugillanus*, with *M. Sempronius Attratinus*, are chosen

64th CONSULSHIP.
CANULEIUS the TRIBUNE.

MILITARY TRIBUNES.

1st MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

INTER-REGNUM.

65th CONSULSHIP.

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	chosen by the <i>Centuries</i> . The Union which now reigns among all Orders of Men in the Republick, keeps the neighbouring Powers quiet. Even the <i>Ardeates</i> return to their Duty, and renew their Alliance with <i>Rome</i> . The Senate give them good words concerning the Restitution of their Lands in due time; but cannot repeal a Decree of the People.	Year of ROME
66 th CONSULSHIP.	§. 10. The <i>Consuls</i> for the next Year, are <i>T. Quinctius Capitolinus</i> , (a fifth time) and <i>M. Geganius</i> , (a second.) There had been no <i>Census</i> for seventeen Years, which occasion'd great Disorders. The new <i>Consuls</i> undertake to remedy them: but as they have so many Affairs both Civil and Military upon their Hands, they desire the Senate to discharge them of the Care of numbering the People, and taking an Account of their Effects, and to lay it upon two Magistrates, created on purpose, who should be stiled <i>Censors</i> . The Fathers readily consent to it, and the <i>Tribunes</i> think the Employment of too little Importance to oppose its Establishment. They do not foresee to what a pitch of Grandeur and Power the Office of <i>Censor</i> will in time arrive. The Law which settles the Functions of the new Officers, is drawn up in these Words. <i>Let the Censors enquire into the Ages and Number of the Persons in every Family, and the Value of the Effects which belong to them. Let them have the Inspection of the Temples, Streets, Fountains, publick Treasure, and Taxes. Let them determine to what Tribe every Citizen shall belong. Let them inform themselves of every one's Age and Income, that they may place all in their Order. Let them keep a Register of the Roman Knights, and of the Foot-Soldiers. Let them take care that no body lives single. Let them inspect the Manners of the People, and not suffer any Stain to rest upon the Senate. Let there be two Censors, and let them continue in their Office five Years, tho' other Magistrates be changed annually. And lastly, let this Office continue in the Republick for ever.</i> <i>Papyrius</i> and <i>Sempronius</i> , <i>Consuls</i> of the last Year, are the first <i>Censors</i> . The numbering of the People is follow'd by a <i>Lustrum</i> , being the eleventh from its Institution.	310.
CENSORS.	§. 11. In the mean time, the <i>Ardeates</i> are involv'd in a Civil War, occasion'd by two Citizens of <i>Ardea</i> , one of a Noble Family, the other of a <i>Plebeian</i> , who had both fallen in love with the same Woman. It becomes a Party Quarrel, and rises to such a height, that the <i>Plebeians</i> leave the City in great Numbers, encamp on a Hill in the Neighbourhood, pillage and lay waste the Lands of the Nobility. The Mutineers are join'd by the <i>Volsci</i> , and having chose themselves a Commander, one <i>Cluilius</i> , lay siege to <i>Ardea</i> . The Nobility apply to the <i>Romans</i> . The Senate send to their Relief the <i>Consul</i> <i>Geganius</i> , who invests the Besiegers, reduces them to surrender their Arms, and makes them <i>pass under the Yoke</i> .	
Character of QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS.	§. 12. But tho' <i>Geganius</i> returns to <i>Rome</i> with all the Glory of a Conqueror, his Triumph being attended with uncommon Pomp and Solemnity; yet his Collegue <i>Quinctius Capitolinus</i> , who had continued in <i>Rome</i> , is for his admirable Conduct rather more esteem'd. He was an excellent Soldier, an incomparable Statesman, and scarce inferior in Merit to his Brother <i>Quinctius Cincinnatus</i> . He was not one of those Men who have no Weight any longer than they are in Office. He seem'd a <i>Consul</i> in all the Parts of his Life; and when advanc'd to the highest Post, less Respect was shew'd to his Office than to his Person. No body ever knew so well how to temper Severity and Mildness together. The Senators themselves thought him too severe to the People, and yet the People were perfectly satisfy'd with his Goodness to them. In his happy <i>Consulship</i> , <i>Herodotus</i> came into <i>Italy</i> , and resided some time at <i>Thurium</i> , near <i>Tarentum</i> , where it is probable he compos'd some Part of his History.	
67 th CONSULSHIP.	§. 13. The succeeding <i>Consuls</i> are <i>M. Fabius</i> and <i>Posthumus Ebutius</i> , who make it their Business to bury in Oblivion the Remains of that Infamy which the <i>Roman</i> People had brought upon themselves by the unjust Judgment formerly pass'd against the <i>Ardeates</i> . They prevail on the Senate to pass a Decree for sending a Colony of <i>Romans</i> to <i>Ardea</i> , to defend and re-people the City, much depopulated by the Civil War. It is agreed, but secretly, for fear of the <i>Tribunes</i> , that only a small Part of the Lands, formerly in Dispute, shall be divided among the new Colony, and the rest restor'd to the <i>Ardeates</i> . This was disannulling the Judgment of the People by an Act of Power. And accordingly <i>Agrippa Menenius</i> , <i>T. Clælius</i> , and <i>M. Ebutius</i> , the Commissioners for making the Distribution, are, after a faithful Discharge of their Trust, cited to appear before the People. But these three <i>Patricians</i> avoid the Prosecution, by declaring themselves Citizens of <i>Ardea</i> , and continuing there.	311.
68 th CONSULSHIP.	§. 14. The new Year of <i>C. Furius</i> and <i>M. Papius</i> , is as peaceful as the foregoing. <i>Petilius</i> , one of the <i>Tribunes</i> , endeavours to engage the <i>Consuls</i> to present a Petition to the Senate, concerning the Distribution of Lands among the People, and to move, that <i>Military Tribunes</i> may be chosen for the following Year, instead of <i>Consuls</i> : But both to no Purpose. The <i>Romans</i> adhere to their old Government; and,	312.
69 th CONSULSHIP.	§. 15. <i>Proculus Geganius</i> and <i>L. Menenius</i> are promoted to the <i>Consulship</i> . The Harangues of the <i>Tribunes</i> , and the Storms of the <i>Comitia</i> , having of late distracted the Minds of the <i>Roman</i> Citizens, who are almost all Husbandmen, the Lands are but indifferently cultivated; and it proving, besides, a bad Year, a Famine begins to be sensibly felt. The People, to prevent the ill Consequences of it, create, with the Consent of the Senate, an extraordinary	313.
	Magistrate,	

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- Year of Magistrate, with the Title of SUPERINTENDENT OF PROVISIONS. His Name is
ROME *Minucius*. He sends into several Provinces by Sea and Land, in quest of Corn: but
 no Supplies can be got, except from *Hetruria*; and even thence he gets but little
 for the Publick, because one *Sp. Mælius*, an eminent Corn-Merchant, who by his
 Riches had rais'd himself to the Rank of a *Roman Knight*, causes so great a Quantity
 to be brought to *Rome* on his own Account. But as this *Mælius* is partly the Cause
 of the Scarcity, so he in part removes it, by distributing Corn *gratis* to some, and sel-
 ling to others at a low Price. And this makes him so popular, that he first aspires
 to the *Consulate*, and soon carries his Views beyond it. He thinks it will be as easy
 to invade the *Regal*, as the *Consular* Authority, and looks on the former as more wor-
 thy of his Pursuit; so that he does not appear among the Candidates for the *Consul-*
 ship. §. 16. And it is happy for the Republick, that *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* is
 now elected a sixth time. (His Collegue is *Agrippa Menenius*.) However, *Minucius*
 the *Superintendent* has the Glory of first discovering *Mælius's* Plot to raise himself to a
 Throne. He makes a Report of the Conspiracy to the Senate; upon which, the
Conscript Fathers inveigh against the *Consuls* of the last Year, for suffering *Mælius's*
Liberalities, and the private Meetings at his House: and they accuse the present
Consuls of Want of Vigilance in detecting the Plot, and of Want of Expedition in
 punishing the Conspirators. *Quinctius* answers, That the Delay ought not to be im-
 puted to the weak Conduct of the *Consuls*, but to the narrow Compass of their
 Power. The People, says he, have a Privilege of appealing from our Sentences to their
 Tribunes, and this Usurpation cuts all the Sinews of the Government. I therefore de-
 clare my self for creating a Dictator; and as it is my Right to appoint the Man, I nomi-
 nate my Brother *Quinctius Cincinnatus*. This Step is applauded; but *Cincinnatus* at
 first declines the Office, being now fourscore. However, he is at length persuaded
 to accept it; and then, that the Change, made in the Senate, may not be known in
 the City, no body is suffer'd to leave the House all day. In the Night, the Dictator
 chuses *Servilius Abala* to be his General of Horse; then seizes the *Capitol*, and posts
 his Horse to guard it. As soon as it is Day, he surprizes the City, by appearing in
 the Habit, and with all the *Insignia*, of a Dictator. *Mælius* is summon'd to appear
 before him, and answer to the Crimes laid to his Charge. Upon this he retires among
 his Friends, who defend him from the Officer sent to seize him. But *Abala* comes
 up with him as he is flying, and calling upon the People for Assistance, and with a
 Sabre cuts off his Head. The News of this Action pleases the generous, old Dictator;
 he congratulates *Abala* upon it, and becomes his Apologist with the People. He
 further orders *Mælius's* House to be razed, and his Corn to be sold to the Citizens at
 a very low Price. A Statue is erected to *Minucius*, and a Field and an Ox are given
 him for his Reward. However, three of the Tribunes, who had doubtless been Con-
 fidents and Accomplices of *Mælius*, do not forgive *Minucius* and *Servilius Abala*.
 They refuse to confirm by a Law the Honours done to *Minucius*; and to revenge
 themselves on the *Patricians* in general, get the *Military Tribuneship* reviv'd, in hopes
 that the People will now divide the Government between three *Patricians* and three
 Plebeians. §. 17. But they chuse only three *Patricians*, *Mamercus Æmilius*,
L. Quinctius, (Son of *Cincinnatus*) and *Julius Iulus*. In this Year *Fidenæ* revolts from
 the Republick to *Tolumnius*, (Chief of the *Hetrurian* Nation) and to the *Veientes* his
 Subjects; the Senate send four Ambassadors to ask the Reason of the Revolt; but they
 are murder'd by the *Fidenates*, and the *Romans* erect four Statues to their Memory.
 As a War must necessarily ensue, it is thought more proper to chuse *Consuls* than
 Military Tribunes, for the next Year. §. 18. *M. Geganius*, (a third time) and
L. Sergius, are elected. It falls to the latter to make War with *Tolumnius*. But tho'
 he gains some Advantage over the Enemy, it costs the *Romans* dear, and they don't
 think fit to continue a General at the Head of the Army who is so prodigal of *Ro-*
man Blood. The Senate order a Dictator to be created, and *Mamercus Æmilius* is
 nominated by the *Consuls*. He chuses young *Quinctius Cincinnatus* to be his General
 of Horse, and appoints *Quinctius Capitolinus*, and *M. Fabius Vibulanus*, two great
 Commanders, to be his Lieutenants General. The *Falisci* join the *Fidenates* and *Ve-*
ientes. The Dictator comes to an Engagement with them. [The Particulars of the
 Engagement are related.] *Cornelius Cossus*, a *Legionary Tribune*, having kill'd King
Tolumnius with his own Hand, and stripp'd him of his Armour and Royal Robes,
 carries (in the Dictator's Triumph) those Spoils, call'd *Opima Spolia*, on his Shoul-
 ders, and deposits them in the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*. They were the se-
 cond of the Sort known in *Rome*. The first were born by *Romulus*, who kill'd
 King *Acron* in single Combat. §. 19. In the following Year of the *Consuls*,
M. Cornelius and *L. Papirius*, one *Sp. Mælius* a Tribune, and a Relation of the famous
 Corn-Merchant, cites *Minucius* and *Servilius Abala* to answer for what they had
 done against his Kinsman. But his Efforts are fruitless. *Rome* is this Year af-
 flicted by the Plague and an Earthquake. §. 20. In the following *Consulship* of
Julius Iulus, (a second time) and *L. Virginus*, the Plague rages with greater Fury
 than before. The *Veientes* and *Fidenates* come and encamp near *Rome*, on the Side of

70th CON-
SULSHIP.

5th DICTA-
TORSHIP.
QUINC-
TIUS CIN-
CINNATUS
a 2^d time.

2^d MILI-
TARY
TRIBUNE-
SHIP.

71st CON-
SULSHIP.

6th DICTA-
TORSHIP.
MAMER-
CUS ÆMI-
LIUS.
CORNE-
LIUS COS-
SUS.

72^d CON-
SULSHIP.

73^d CON-
SULSHIP.

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7 th DICTA- TORSHIP. QUINTUS SERVILIUS PRISCUS.	the Gate <i>Collina</i> . Upon which the Senate, being terrify'd, think it necessary to nominate a <i>Dictator</i> ; and the <i>Consuls</i> pitch upon <i>Quintus Servilius Priscus</i> , who chuses <i>Posthumius Æbutius</i> , to be his General of Horse. The next Morning, he commands all those whose Health will permit, to march out of the City. The Enemy immediately retire: But <i>Servilius</i> comes up with them near <i>Nomentum</i> , routs them, and afterwards takes the City of <i>Fidenæ</i> by Sap. However, this being look'd upon as a Civil War, because <i>Fidenæ</i> was a <i>Roman</i> Colony, the General is not granted a <i>Triumph</i> , tho' he probably took then the Name of <i>Fidenas</i> . This Success is follow'd by a <i>Census</i> of the <i>Roman</i> People, which after the Establishment of the <i>Censors</i> , never fail'd to be renew'd every five Years.	Year of ROMAN
74 th CON- SULSHIP.	§. 21. It is not agreed, whether <i>Rome</i> in the beginning of the Year 319, was govern'd by the former <i>Consuls</i> , JULIUS IULUS and L. VIRGINIUS, or by new ones, M. MANLIUS and Q. SULPICIUS, or by three <i>Military Tribunes</i> . But be that as it will, it is certain that these <i>Tribunes</i> or <i>Consuls</i> were so little concern'd in the Events of the Year, that they were soon forgotten. The <i>Romans</i> thought proper to appoint <i>Mamercus Æmilius Dictator</i> , (who chose <i>Posthumius Tubertus</i> to be his General of Horse;) being apprehensive of the Resolutions that might be taken in the Diet of <i>Voltumna</i> , whither the <i>Falisci</i> and <i>Veientes</i> had invited the Deputies of the twelve <i>Lucumonies</i> of <i>Heitruiria</i> . But these Fears are vain. <i>Heitruiria</i> refuses to declare War against the Republick. <i>Æmilius</i> therefore having no Hopes to gain Glory abroad, resolves to do something remarkable at home, and proposes to the People to shorten the Duration of the <i>Censorship</i> to eighteen Months. The Motion is receiv'd with Applause, and pass'd into a Law without delay. And the <i>Dictator</i> , to shew by his Example the Dislike he has to long Continuance in Offices, lays down his own at the same time. But the <i>Censors</i> , to be reveng'd on him, strike him out of the Roll of his <i>Tribe</i> , take away from him the Privileges of Citizenship, reduce him to the Condition of those who are subject to all publick Taxes, without enjoying the Rights of Citizens, and lastly increase his Taxes an eighth Part. However, this great Man bears all these Indignities with singular Moderation, and even uses his Interest with the People, to hinder them from shewing a severe Resentment against the <i>Censors</i> for the ill Usage he had suffer'd from them.	319.
8 th DICTA- TORSHIP. MAMER- CUS ÆMI- LIUS, a 2 ^d time.	§. 22. The <i>Tribunes of the People</i> prevail to have MILITARY TRIBUNES, appointed to govern the Republick the next Year. However, the People chuse only three <i>Patricians</i> , M. Fabius, M. Fostius, and L. Sergius. Nothing remarkable happens in their Year, but a Plague, which ceases in the following Year of L. Pinarius, L. Furius, and Sp. Posthumius. But Ambition raises some fresh Disturbances at <i>Rome</i> . The wealthy <i>Plebeians</i> complain of the inferior sort, as not well enough affected to their Interests, having never chosen any but <i>Patricians</i> to be <i>Military Tribunes</i> , notwithstanding the Law which allows three <i>Plebeians</i> to be chosen. They meet at the Houses of the <i>Tribunes of the People</i> , and there conclude that this Neglect of them is owing to the Influence the Nobility by Intreaties or Menaces have on the lower People in Elections. A Scheme therefore is proposed, to prevail on the <i>Comitia</i> to pass a Law against the <i>Patricians</i> making Interest in Elections, and to abolish the Custom of the Pretenders to the superior Offices wearing Clothes of an extraordinary Whiteness, (whence they were call'd <i>Candidates</i>) carelling the People, &c. The Law is pass'd, and is the first made at <i>Rome</i> against canvassing for Elections. But it does not continue long in force. And to avoid all Danger of having <i>Plebeian Military Tribunes</i> for the next Year, the Senate, on pretence of being threaten'd with a War by the <i>Æqui</i> and <i>Volschi</i> , decree, that <i>Consuls</i> shall be chosen in the next <i>Comitia</i> .	320.
3 ^d MILI- TARY TRIBUNES- SHIP. 4 th MILI- TARY TRIBUNES- SHIP.	§. 23. Accordingly, the <i>Centuries</i> chuse T. Quinctius Pennus Cincinnatus and C. Julius Mento. But the Report concerning the formidable Preparations of the <i>Æqui</i> and <i>Volschi</i> proving too true, the Senate think it necessary to create a <i>Dictator</i> . <i>Quinctius</i> and <i>Julius</i> however are piqued at the little Confidence the Republick seems to have in their Courage and Conduct, and refuse to nominate a supreme Magistrate: And the Senators to bring them to Reason, are forc'd to have recourse to the <i>Tribunes of the People</i> , whom they exhort to force the <i>Consuls</i> to lay down the Command of the Army, and put it into the Hands of a <i>Dictator</i> . Accordingly, the <i>Tribunes</i> , charm'd with a Motion which tended to increase the Authority of their College, threaten the <i>Consuls</i> with Imprisonment, if they don't comply with the Senate's Request. They submit at length; but justly reproach the Senators with betraying the Interests of their own Body. Another Difficulty still remains: The <i>Consuls</i> cannot agree upon a Man; so that they are forc'd to cast Lots. It falls to <i>Quinctius</i> to nominate, and he declares A. Posthumius Tubertus <i>Dictator</i> , who appoints L. Julius Vopiscus to be his General of Horse. He seems not to have forc'd the <i>Consuls</i> to abdicate entirely. <i>Julius</i> is left in <i>Rome</i> to govern it; and <i>Quinctius</i> commands one of the two Bodies into which the <i>Dictator</i> divides his Army. The <i>Æqui</i> and <i>Volschi</i> attack <i>Quinctius's</i> Camp in the Night. <i>Posthumius</i> orders a Reinforcement to his Relief, and at the same time sends a Detachment under M. Geganus, to surprize the Camp of the <i>Æqui</i> . <i>Geganus</i> succeeds, and by lighting Fires gives the Signal of his Success. The <i>Dictator</i> tells his Men, that the Enemy's Camp is taken;	321.
5 th CON- SULSHIP.	and	322.
9 th DICTA- TORSHIP. A. POST- HUMIUS TUBER- TUS.		

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- Year of and as soon as it is Day, he falls upon their Rear, while *Quinctius* sallies out of his
ROME Camp upon them; and they are surrounded. But *Vestius Messius*, a Brave Man of
the *Volsci*, puts himself at the Head of a good Number of his Countrymen, reso-
lutely breaks thro' the *Roman* Batallions, and gains the other Camp of the Confederates
which had not been taken. The *Dictator* pursues them thither, and obliges them
to surrender at Discretion; they are all, except their Senators, sold for Slaves. While
these Things are doing Abroad, *Julius* at *Rome*, by the Senate's Order, consecrates
the Temple of *Apollo*. *Posthumius* returns in Triumph to the City, the 14th of the
Calends of July, and lays down his *Dictatorship*. § 24. The next Year, in
323. which *C. Papirius* and *L. Julius Vopiscus* are *Consuls*, the *Æqui*, being humbled, de- 76th CON-
sire to enter into an Alliance with the *Romans*, on the Foot of those with the *Latins* SULSHIP.
and *Hernici*. But they only obtain an eight Years Truce. The *Volsci* quarrel among
themselves: So that the *Romans* being this Year left in Peace, there is nothing to
do at *Rome*, but the making a Law to settle the Value of the Oxen and Sheep, paid
by way of Fines for Disobedience to Magistrates; and the Fines are order'd to be
paid in Money for the future, each Ox valued at 100 *Asses* of Brass, and each Sheep
at ten. The *Tribunes* are the first Projectors of this new Regulation; but the *Con-* *Vide Æ-*
suls having Notice of it, prevent them, and make the Law themselves; by which *TERNIAN*
they gain the Favour of the People. LAW. Year 299.
324. The following *Consulship* of *L. Sergius* (chosen a second time) and *Hostus Lucretius*, 77th CON-
passes in greater Inaction than the former. The publick Tranquillity is not disturb'd, SULSHIP.
even by the *Tribunes*. § 25. The next Year, in which *T. Quinctius* (a second 78th CON-
325. time) and *Cornelius Cossus*, are raised to the *Consulate*, is remarkable for nothing but SULSHIP.
an extraordinary Drought; on which Occasion new Expiations are introduced, and
such superstitious Innovations, as bring a Reproach upon the Governours of the Re-
publick: So that the *Ædiles* are order'd to take Care that none worship any Gods
but those of the Country, nor with any other than the usual Rites, pursuant to a
Law of the twelve Tables. § 26. The *Veientes* had obtained a Truce for
eight Years, after their Defeat near *Nomentum*, in the Year 318; but before the Ex-
piation of it, had committed Ravages in the *Roman* Lands. The Senate therefore,
326. in the *Consulate* of *L. Papirius*, and *Servilius Abala*, are disposed to punish them. 79th CON-
But a Dispute arising between the Senate and the People, concerning the Right of SULSHIP.
declaring War in the present Case, the *Veientes* escape, for this Year, the Vengeance
of the *Romans*. And the Republick insist upon being governed by *Military Tribunes*
the next. § 27. Four *Patricians* are chosen, *T. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, *C. Furius*, 5th MILI-
327. *M. Posthumius*, and *A. Cornelius Cossus*. They take their Employments by Lot. TARY
Cossus stays at *Rome*; the other three march against the *Veientes*; but not acting in TRIBUNE-
Concert when they come to an Engagement with the Enemy, they are routed. And SHIP.
the People at *Rome* being in a Consternation, insist upon their being deposed, and
upon the Nomination of a *Dictator* at the same time. But a Difficulty arises about 10th DIC-
the latter; because there are no *Consuls* in being to nominate. Recourse is had to TATOR-
the Augurs; and they agree that *Cossus*, who had had no Share in the late shameful Dis- SHIP.
after, may nominate a *Dictator*; and he accordingly chuses *Mamercus Æmilius*, whom *MAMER-*
the *Censors* had degraded. *Æmilius*, in Return, makes *Cossus* his General of Horse. CUS ÆMI-
§ 28. In the mean time, the Inhabitants of *Fidene* massacre the *Roman* Colony there, LIUS, a
and revolt a seventh time to the *Veientes*, who pass the *Tyber*, and encamp near the third time.
City. The *Dictator* with his Infantry attacks them furiously; but his left Wing is
for a while amazed, and terrified by the Enemy's new manner of Fighting. The
Fidenates open one of the Gates of their City, and send out some Soldiers with
lighted Torches in their Hands, and dressed in Habits like those usually given the
Furies. These run like mad Enthusiasts thro' the *Roman* Batallions, and threaten
them with Fire and Sword at the same time. But the *Dictator* upbraids his Men
with Cowardice, *What*, says he, *are you as much afraid of Smoke as a Swarm of*
Bees? Make use of your Swords to wrest these Torches out of the Enemies Hands, and
then go and set Fire to their City with them. The *Romans* recover their Courage, and
Cossus with his Cavalry falling upon the Enemy at the same time, the latter are entirely
defeated; both *Fidene* and the Camp of the *Veientes* are taken and plundered, and
the Prisoners are partly distributed by Lot to the *Roman* Officers, and the rest sold.
This glorious Expedition being finish'd in sixteen Days, *Æmilius* leads back his
Troops to *Rome*, has the Honours of a Triumph, and then lays down his *Dictator-*
328. *ship*. § 29. Notwithstanding the ill Conduct of the last *Military Tribunes*, the 6th MILI-
Tribunes of the People have Credit enough to get the same Government continued; TARY
and *A. Sempronius*, *L. Furius*, *L. Quinctius*, and *L. Horatius*, are chosen. A Truce TRIBUNE-
of twenty Years is granted to the *Veientes*; and that with the *Æqui* prolong'd three SHIP.
Years. The *Romans* are this Year wholly taken up with Negotiations.
329. And the next is a Year of little less Tranquillity in the Republick, which is go- 7th MILI-
vern'd by *Ap. Claudius*, *Sp. Nautius*, *L. Sergius*, and *Sex. Julius*, all *Patricians*. The TARY
People are diverted with the Great Games of the *Circus*; and, by Publick Orders, all TRIBUNE-
Strangers who come to *Rome* to be Spectators are entertain'd gratis. But these Games SHIP.
are

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	<p>are no sooner over, than the <i>Tribunes of the Commons</i> renew their seditious Harangues, and remonstrate to the People their Folly and Ingratitude to them, in never promoting any <i>Plebeian</i> to the Office of <i>Military Tribune</i>. <i>It is better, say they, to abrogate the Law, which qualifies us to enjoy what you will never give us. It will be less shameful not to hope at all, than to go on hoping for what we cannot obtain.</i> But when the <i>Military Tribunes</i> find that these Discourses begin to make an Impression on the People, they send private Expresses, desiring the Senators (who were many of them in the Country) to repair to Town, where, unknown to the <i>Tribunes of the People</i>, they pass a Decree that the Republick shall the next Year be govern'd by <i>Consuls</i>: and three of the present Governours are likewise order'd to march against the <i>Volsci</i>, who had enter'd the Territory of the <i>Hernici</i>, the Allies of Rome. <i>Appius Claudius</i>, who has all the usual Steadiness of the <i>Claudian Family</i> in opposing the Pretensions of the People and their <i>Tribunes</i>, is left behind to govern the City. §. 30. In the following <i>Consulship</i> of <i>C. Sempronius</i> and <i>Q. Fabius</i>, the <i>Tribunes of the People</i> shew how much they are exasperated against the <i>Patricians</i>, by beginning a Prosecution against <i>T. Quinctius</i> and <i>M. Posthumius</i>, two of the three <i>Military Tribunes</i> (the third was dead) for the Year 327, who had lost a Battle by their mutual Jealousies and Misunderstanding. But the Affair is suspended, by the Arrival of Deputies from the <i>Hernici</i> and <i>Latins</i>, with the News that the <i>Volsci</i> threaten the Republick with a more cruel War than ever. It falls to <i>Sempronius's</i> Lot to march against the Enemy. The <i>Roman Army</i>, by his Want of Precaution, and the ill-posting of his Cavalry, wou'd have been entirely routed, if <i>Tempanius</i>, a simple Decurion, had not ventured to take upon him the Command of the Horse. <i>We are lost, says he, if the Horse don't dismount and make Head against the Enemy. Follow my Lance; That shall be your Guide.</i> His Words are approved by a Shout; they all dismount, follow him, and rush upon the Enemy; but being hurried on by their impetuous Courage, they penetrate too far into the Center of the <i>Volscian Troops</i>, and are surrounded. The <i>Consul</i> does his utmost to succour them, but in vain. However, <i>Tempanius</i> draws up his Horsemen in a Circle, upon an Eminence; and the Night coming on, puts an End to the Engagement. Both <i>Roman</i> and <i>Volscian Armies</i> decamp, and march away, uncertain which has gain'd the Victory. <i>Tempanius</i> with his Men remains alone on the Field of Battle. He takes his way to the <i>Roman Camp</i>; but finding it deserted, hastens to <i>Rome</i>, where he causes a universal Joy, a Report having been spread that <i>Sempronius</i> was routed, and the <i>Roman Cavalry</i> cut in Pieces. The Absence of <i>Sempronius</i> only gives the <i>Romans</i> Disquiet; and the <i>Tribunes</i> take Advantage of it to forward the Prosecution of <i>Quinctius</i> and <i>Posthumius</i>. If <i>Sempronius</i>, say they, <i>has betray'd the Republick, it is owing to our Dilatoriness in punishing those guilty Generals.</i> They then interrogate <i>Tempanius</i>, concerning the Conduct of <i>Sempronius</i>. <i>Tempanius</i>, with great Frankness, Modesty and Discretion, relates the Affair as it happened, and speaks handsomly of the <i>Consul</i>. News is presently after brought, that <i>Sempronius</i> with his Troops appears. Upon his Return, he endeavours to clear himself, and extols the Exploits of <i>Tempanius</i>. However, the People are so much out of Humour with their Generals, that they hasten the Condemnation of <i>Posthumius</i>, who pays a large Fine. <i>Quinctius</i> is universally acquitted by the Tribes, on account of his own signal Services, as well as those of his Father <i>Cincinnatus</i>, and his Uncle <i>Capitolinus</i>. As for <i>Tempanius</i>, he is elected <i>Tribune of the People</i>, in his Absence, and with him three other brave Horsemen, whom the Cavalry, at his Recommendation, had chosen to be their Leaders. §. 31. Under the following Administration of <i>L. Manlius</i>, <i>Q. Antonius</i>, <i>L. Papirius</i>, and <i>L. Servilius</i>, the Republick enjoys Peace Abroad. But <i>Hortensius</i>, one of the <i>Tribunes of the Commons</i>, cites the late <i>Consul Sempronius</i> before the People, to answer for his ill Conduct the last Campaign. When <i>Sempronius</i> appears upon his Trial, <i>Tempanius</i> and the other three <i>Tribunes</i>, his Friends, ask their Collegue <i>Hortensius</i>, <i>Why he prosecutes an illustrious Patrician, whom he could reproach with nothing but a little ill Fortune?</i> <i>Sempronius</i>, add they, <i>was our General and our Father; and therefore, like true Children, we will wear the Habits of Criminals as well as he; and, as we have shared his Fortune, partake of his Disgrace, if any befalls him.</i> No, replies <i>Hortensius</i>, the Republick shall never see <i>Tribunes in the Habits of Criminals; I drop the Accusation against Sempronius.</i> A General who so well understood how to gain the Affections of his Soldiers, deserves our Regard. §. 32. And now the <i>Romans</i>, having such moderate <i>Tribunes of the Commons</i>, readily return to the old Government, and chuse <i>T. Quinctius Capitolinus</i> (Son of the famous <i>Quinctius Capitolinus</i>) and <i>Numerius Fabius</i>, <i>Consuls</i>. <i>Fabius</i> marches against the <i>Æqui</i> with Success, but not considerable enough to have more than the Honour of an Ovation.</p> <p>The Peace which continues all the rest of the Year gives the <i>Tribunes</i> an Opportunity to embroil the Nobility with the <i>Plebeians</i> about the <i>Quæstorship</i>. Hitherto <i>Functions of</i> none but <i>Patricians</i> had been raised to that Employment, and their Number had been the <i>Quæstors</i> only two, who were chosen annually. Their Business was, <i>To collect the Publick Money, to make People pay the Taxes, to defray the Expences of War, to sell the Spoils taken</i></p>	
80 th CONSULSHIP.		330.
8 th MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.		331.
81 st CONSULSHIP.		332.

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- Year of taken from the Enemy, and to keep exact Accounts of their Receipts and Disbursements of the Publick Treasure, for which they were accountable. The Consuls now observe, that two *Quæstors* are no longer sufficient for this Work, and therefore propose to the Senate the Creation of two more. The Senate consent; but when the Proposal comes to be pass'd into a Law, the *Tribunes* insist that two of the four *Quæstors* be indispensably taken out of the Commons, without leaving the People at Liberty to chuse *Plebeians* or *Patricians*, as they think fit. Upon this, the *Consuls* drop the Motion. But the *Tribunes* soon revive it, and add a new one yet more seditious, relating to the Distribution of Lands among those who have none. So that the rest of the Year is spent in Disputes between the Senators and *Tribunes*. The former appoint an Assembly of the *Centuries* to chuse new *Consuls*, the latter are for *Military Tribunes*, and therefore oppose it: and the Republick falls into an *Interregnum*. When *Papirius* comes to be *Interrex*, he endeavours to reconcile the contending Parties, by this Proposal: *Let the Senate, says he, consent, that the People chuse Military Tribunes, instead of Consuls; and let the TRIBUNES OF THE COMMONS permit the Tribes to chuse the four Quæstors either out of the Patricians or Plebeians, as they think fit.*
333. §. 33. This Advice has its Effect, and an Accommodation is concluded. Four *Military Tribunes* are first chosen, *T. Quinctius*, *M. Manlius*, *L. Furius*, and *A. Sempronius*, all *Patricians*. Next comes on the Election of the *Quæstors*. *Antistius* and *Pompilius*, two of the *Tribunes of the Commons*, propose, the first his Son, the second his Brother, for the *Quæstorship*, and desire the People to chuse them. But the *Tribes* seem to be influenc'd by an innate Respect for the Nobility, and chuse all four out of the *Patricians*. *A. Sempronius* had presided at the Assembly, and the angry *Tribunes* are for accusing him before the People, of some unfair Management in taking the Votes; but the People know his Innocence. They therefore engage one of their Collegues, named *Canuleius*, to join with them, and vent their Spleen on *Caius Sempronius*, (the Cousin German of the President) who had not been acquitted on his former Tryal, tho' the Prosecution had been dropp'd. He is again cited to appear at the end of twenty seven Days. During this Interval, *Sempronius* constantly attends the Senate, and being resolved not to lose his Character there, by a timorous Behaviour, zealously opposes the Request of the *Tribunes*, concerning the Distribution of Lands; and he behaves himself with the same Steadiness on his Tryal. But notwithstanding all the Sollicitations of the Senate in his Favour, he is fined. Soon after this, a *Vestal*, who by her Levity, and too free Airs, had brought her self under a Suspicion of Incontinency, is tried before the *Pontifices*, and acquitted. But the *Pontifex*
334. *Maximus* admonishes her to be more reserv'd for the future. §. 34. In the following *Military Tribuneship* of *Agrippa Menenius*, *Sp. Nautius*, *P. Lucretius*, and *C. Servilius*, a Plot is form'd by the Slaves to set fire to the City, and seize the *Capitol*; but this Secret is reveal'd by some of the Conspirators, and the Mischief prevented. Soon after, *Labicum*, a City included in the *Latin Confederacy*, gives the
335. *Romans* some Reasons to suspect her Fidelity. §. 35. And the next Year (in which the Republick is govern'd by three *Military Tribunes* only, *M. Papirius*, *C. Servilius*, and *L. Sergius*) produces the entire Revolt of the *Labicani*, who join the *Æqui*, pillage the Territory of *Tusculum*, and encamp with their new Allies under the *Algidus*. Two of the *Military Tribunes* are order'd to take the Field, and the third to stay in *Rome* to govern the City. But a Contest arises between the three, no one of them being willing to stay at home. The Senate is offended at these Disputes; and *Q. Servilius Fidenas*, formerly *Dictator*, puts an end to them by his paternal Authority, commanding his Son *C. Servilius*, one of the three Governors, to stay in *Rome*. But the two Generals agree no better in the Field than they had done in the City; each is for fighting the Enemy his own Way. They despise one another, and the Troops are divided into two Parties. At length they are prevail'd on by the Lieutenant-Generals of the Army to agree to command the Troops alternately, each his Day. When the News of this Discord comes to *Rome*, *Q. Servilius* apprehends the Consequences of it, and advises his Son to raise more Troops, at all Events: And the Advice proves serviceable. A few Days after, *Sergius* imprudently hazards a Battle, is by a Stratagem of the Enemy intirely defeated, and with his scatter'd Troops takes Refuge in *Tusculum*. The Senate order a *Dictator* to be created; and young *Servilius* nominates his Father, who appoints his Son *General of Horse*.
- §. 36. The Father and Son leave *Rome* at the Head of a new Army, (that which had fled to *Tusculum* being recall'd) and encamp within two Miles of the Enemy. The *Dictator* being there inform'd that they are grown negligent and presumptuous, he marches with haste to attack them, routs them, invests *Labicum*, their Place of Retreat, and takes it by Storm. And all this being done in eight Days, he returns to *Rome*, and immediately lays down his Office.
336. The succeeding *Military Tribunes*, *P. Lucretius*, *L. Servilius*, *Agrippa Menenius*, and *Sp. Veturius*, gain no other Glory but that of preserving the Republick in the same Tranquillity in which they find it. §. 37. But the next Year, when *A. Sempronius*, *M. Papirius*, *Q. Fabius*, and *Sp. Nautius*, govern the Republick,

INTER-
REGNUM.

9th MILI-
TARY
TRIBUNES-
SHIP.

10th MILI-
TARY
TRIBUNES-
SHIP.

11th MILI-
TARY
TRIBUNES-
SHIP.

11th DIC-
TATOR-
SHIP.

Q. SERVI-
LIUS, a 2^d
time.

12th MILI-
TARY
TRIBUNES-
SHIP.

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13 th MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.	<i>the Tribunes of the Commons</i> revive the old Quarrel about the Distribution of Lands, which they would have equally divided between the Nobility and <i>Plebeians</i> . <i>Sp. Mæcilius</i> and <i>Sp. Metilius</i> are at the Head of the Faction; they pretend that the <i>Patricians</i> have usurp'd the Lands they enjoy, and they require a new Division of them. The Senators assemble frequently to consult Means to ward off the Blow. At length <i>Appius Claudius</i> , the youngest of them, tells the Fathers, <i>That it has been a constant Tradition in his Family, That the most effectual Way to destroy the Tribunes, is to make them the Instruments of their own Destruction</i> ; and advises the endeavouring to gain over some of them by Caresses and Promises. This Counsel is applauded; and accordingly the Senators engage six of the College to oppose <i>Mæcilius</i> and <i>Metilius</i> , who thereupon drop their Petition, but sow those Seeds of Divisions, which we shall see frequently shooting up anew in the Republick.	Year of ROME 337.
14 th MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.	§. 38. In the following <i>Military Tribuneship</i> of <i>Corn. Cossus</i> , <i>Quintius Cincinnatus</i> , <i>Valerius Volusus</i> , and <i>Fabius Vibulanus</i> , the Inhabitants of <i>Bola</i> , a City dependent on the <i>Æqui</i> , having ravaged the Territory of <i>Labicum</i> , a new Roman Colony, the Republick sends Troops to the Assistance of the <i>Labicani</i> . After a slight Engagement with the Enemy, <i>Bola</i> is taken: And this City having a large District belonging to it, a new Contention arises between the People and the Nobility, concerning the Division of the conquer'd Country. <i>Sextius</i> the <i>Tribune</i> of the Commons is very stirring, to get a Colony sent thither to take Possession of it: But the <i>Patricians</i> , who have already possess'd themselves of the Lands, find means to engage the other <i>Tribunes</i> to oppose his Design.	338.
15 th MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.	§. 39. <i>Bola</i> being retaken the next Year by the <i>Æqui</i> , it is the Lot of <i>P. Posthumius</i> , one of the <i>Military Tribunes</i> , [the other three are <i>Q. Fabius</i> , <i>Cn. Cornelius</i> , and <i>L. Valerius</i>] to march against them. He gives the Enemy no Repose, but by uninterrupted Skirmishes and Fatigues, wears them out, and sinks their Courage. He then sits down before <i>Bola</i> , and during the Siege, promises his Soldiers the Plunder of the City. But when it is taken, he puts all the Spoil into the Hands of the <i>Quæstors</i> , and thereby alienates the Hearts of the Army from him. The <i>Tribune Sextius</i> in the mean time sollicitis at <i>Rome</i> the Distribution of conquer'd Lands, in favour of the People. During the Disturbances, <i>Posthumius</i> is recall'd to the City, and leaves the Army encamped. When he comes to <i>Rome</i> , he drops many inconsiderate Expressions in the Presence of the <i>Curie</i> . One Day, when <i>Sextius</i> in a Conference tells him, that he is going to get the People to pass a Law for dividing the City and Territory of <i>Bola</i> among the Soldiers then in the Field, and who having conquer'd them, had the best Right to possess them; the imprudent <i>Posthumius</i> replies, <i>That his Troops shall fare the worse for it, if any such Step be taken in their Favour</i> . <i>Sextius</i> perceiving by this, the hasty Temper of the General, takes a pleasure in exasperating him to say things offensive to the People and the Soldiers: and when he has thus sufficiently enraged the Commons both against him and his Party, he then takes occasion to upbraid the People <i>with their Madness in chusing such Men to govern the Republick, rather than their own Tribunes, who are zealous for their Interests</i> . And this artful Discourse much lessens the Partiality of the Commons towards the Nobility, in Elections. In the mean time, News is brought from the Camp, that the Soldiers being much incens'd by the Report made to them of the imprudent Expressions of <i>Posthumius</i> , had begun to mutiny; and that <i>Sextius</i> , one of the <i>Quæstors</i> , having order'd a <i>Lictor</i> to seize a mutinous Soldier, had been stoned by them. Upon this the General leaves <i>Rome</i> , to go and appease the Sedition; but he only increases it by his Cruelty. He orders the Assassins to be thrown into a shallow Water, to be there cover'd with Hurdles, and then press'd to death, by heaping Stones on them. As this was a slow kind of Death, which made the Sufferers cry out terribly, the Soldiers flock about them, and rescue them. The General in a Rage comes down from the Tribunal to disperse the Multitude, and make his Orders be executed. But the Soldiers being now work'd up to Fury, forget all Decency and Duty, take up Stones, throw them at his Head, and kill him. This was the first Instance of the kind, from the Foundation of <i>Rome</i> .	339.

B O O K XII.

INTER-REGNUM. 82 ^d CONSULSHIP.	§. 1. THE tragical Death of <i>Posthumius</i> increases the civil Dissentions at <i>Rome</i> . The <i>Tribunes of the People</i> protect the Assassins from the Prosecution of the <i>Military Tribunes</i> , who apply to the Senate in vain, because the Fathers are taken up in contriving to restore the <i>Consular Government</i> , which they think an Affair of more Importancce. They make a Decree to that Purpose, but the <i>Tribunes of the Commons</i> oppose it, and the Government falls into an <i>Interregnum</i> . At length <i>Fabius Vibulanus</i> being <i>Interrex</i> , assembles the <i>Comitia by Centuries</i> , and two <i>Consuls</i> are chosen, <i>M. Cornelius Cossus</i> and <i>L. Furius Medullinus</i> . They are both good-natur'd, moderate Men, and are therefore unanimously nominated by the Senate, People, and Army,	340.
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- Year of ROME Army, to make enquiry into the Crime: A few only of the Guilty are punish'd, and they fall by their own Hands; the *Axes* of the *Lictors* are not stain'd with Blood. However, this Moderation does not quiet the factious Spirit of the People, who again demand that a Colony of *Plebeians* be sent to *Bola*, to share among them the Lands belonging to it. But the Senate, contrary to Reason and Prudence, are steady in refusing to comply; and this serves only to make the Commons enlarge their Pretensions afterwards, and renew them with more Fury than ever. In the mean time, the *Consul Furius* marches against the *Volsi*, who had pillaged the Territory of the *Hernici*. At his Approach the Enemy disappears, and he takes from them *Ferentinum*, which he gives to the *Hernici* to compensate their Losses. §. 2. The *Tribunes* make no Opposition to the Election of new *Consuls*: So that *Q. Fabius* and *C. Furius* are chosen: and the Republick would have enjoy'd a perfect Peace under their Administration, if *L. Icilius*, a *Tribune*, (who inherited the furious Zeal of his Ancestors, for the People) had not resum'd the Affair of the conquer'd Lands with immoderate Heat. But a Plague puts a stop for some time to his Career. The Pestilence is of course follow'd by a Scarcity of Provisions. For the Citizens being also the Husbandmen, the Lands are left untill'd, while the Distemper rages; and the Loss of one Harvest is sufficient to reduce *Rome* to great Want.
341. 83^d CONSULSHIP.
342. The Famine is sensibly felt in the succeeding *Consulship* of *M. Papirius* and *C. Nautilus*; but Care is taken to get Corn from *Hetruria* and *Sicily*; and *Rome*, by a signal Happiness, continues this Year without any Commotions at home or abroad. 84th CONSULSHIP.
343. §. 3. But the Plague and Famine are no sooner ceased, than the *Æqui* renew their Incursions into the Territories of the *Roman* Allies. *M. Æmilius* and *C. Valerius* are *Consuls*. The latter, to whose Lot it falls to take the Field, begins to levy Troops, but is opposed by the *Tribune Mænius*, upon the old Pretence. In the mean time, the *Æqui* insult the *Romans*, and take the Fort of *Carventum* almost before their Faces. This provokes the Senate; and even the other nine *Tribunes* unite to thwart the Measures of *Mænius*, and assist the *Consul* in punishing those who refuse to enlist themselves. *Valerius* retakes the Fort; but being dissatisfy'd with his Soldiers, on account of their Backwardness to serve, he sells the Spoil at the best Rate, and puts the Money into the *Quæstor's* Hands. It was the Custom in Triumphs for the victorious Soldiers to sing satyrical Verses on him who triumph'd. but in *Valerius's* Ovation, they do something particular to revenge themselves on him. They divide themselves into two Choirs, and while one makes the Air resound with Songs against the General, the other sings Verses in Praise of *Mænius*. But notwithstanding this Spirit of Sedition, the Senate prevails to have *Consuls*, and not *Military Tribunes*, elected for the next Year. 85th CONSULSHIP.
344. §. 4. The Choice falls upon *Cn. Cornelius* and *L. Furius*, (the latter a second time.) This Year the People chuse three of the *Icilian* Family to be their *Tribunes*. These three Relations govern the whole College, and have Influence enough upon the People to engage them to make use of the Liberty the Law allows them of chusing *Plebeians* into the *Quæstorship*. Accordingly, of the four *Quæstors* they elect three out of the Commons. This done, the *Icili* encourage the *Plebeians* to strike another Stroke at the Nobility, and aspire to the *Military Tribuneship*: And when the Senate are preparing to pass a Decree for the Election of *Consuls*, they oppose it, and insist on the Republick's being govern'd the next Year by *Military Tribunes*. The Disputes upon this Point grow warm, when, luckily for the *Icili*, News is brought that the *Æqui* and *Volsi* are in Motion, and have retaken *Carventum*. No Levies are made to oppose the Storm which threatens *Rome*: So that the Senate are forc'd to give way, and consent to have *Military Tribunes*; but they add this Clause, which frustrates the Expectation of the *Icili*: *That none of the present TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE shall either be chosen Military Tribunes, or continu'd in their Offices the next Year.* The Persons concern'd could not object to this, without discovering their Ambition. But now all is quiet, Troops are rais'd; and tho' *Carventum* is not recover'd, some Advantages are gain'd over the Enemy. In the mean time, the Elections come on, the *Patricians* use Artifice to ward off the Blow, and hinder the *Plebeians* from being placed in the Government. They engage some mean Citizens, who have neither Merit nor Weight, to stand Candidates for the *Military Tribuneship*, and make a strong Party for them: but the People are ashamed to put the Government into such contemptible Hands; and therefore chuse only three *Patricians*, *C. Julius Iulus*, *P. Cornelius Cossus*, and *C. Servilius* 86th CONSULSHIP.
345. §. 5. The *Volsi* renew the War, engage some of the new Allies of the Republick to join with them, and encamp near *Antium*. The Senate think the Danger so imminent, that they order a *Dictator* to be nominated: but the three *Military Tribunes* had already cast Lots for the Command of the Army, and it had fallen to *Julius* and *Cornelius*. These two Generals are therefore affronted at the Distrust the Fathers shew of their Conduct, before any Tryal is made of it, and refuse to nominate a *Dictator*. The Senate complain to *The Tribunes of the People*, and desire them to interpose their Authority: but these *Plebeians* give an insolent and scoffing Refusal. At length *C. Servilius*, the third *Military Tribune*, takes upon him to act alone, and without 16th MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.
- PLEBEIANS chosen QUÆSTORS.

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12 th DICTATORSHIP.	without Opposition nominates <i>P. Cornelius Rutilus Dictator</i> , who chuses <i>Servilius</i> to be his General of Horse. Only one Battel is fought with the <i>Volsci</i> . The <i>Dictator</i> gains the Victory, returns to <i>Rome</i> , lays down his Office; and the <i>Military Tribunes</i> resume theirs. To be reveng'd on the Senate for the unworthy Treatment they had suffer'd, they, without consulting the Fathers, order the <i>Centuries</i> to assemble for the Election of <i>Military Tribunes</i> . And now the Nobility have recourse to a new Artifice, in order to prevent the having <i>Plebeian</i> Governors. They only propose such <i>Patrician</i> Candidates as are of so distinguish'd a Merit, that the People can scarce avoid chusing them. Accordingly, <i>C. Valerius</i> , <i>L. Furius</i> , <i>Num. Fabius</i> , and <i>C. Servilius</i> , are elected.	Year 346.
17 th MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.	§. 6. The Truce of the <i>Romans</i> with the <i>Veientes</i> being at this time ended, the former send <i>Feciales</i> to the latter, to demand Satisfaction for Injuries done the Republick, before the Truce expired. The <i>Feciales</i> on the Road meet Envoys coming from <i>Veii</i> , and at their Request proceed no further. These Envoys being admitted into the Senate, represent, That their City being at present disturb'd by domestick Broils, is not in a Condition to give the <i>Romans</i> Satisfaction. But tho' these Dissentions among the <i>Veientes</i> furnish the <i>Romans</i> a favourable Opportunity to fall upon them, they have too much Magnanimity to take Advantage of the Misfortunes of their Neighbours. This Year the <i>Volsci</i> take <i>Verrugo</i> from the <i>Romans</i> , and put the Garrison to the Sword, the Senate being dilatory in sending Succours to it. However, the <i>Military Tribunes</i> revenge their Death, surprize the <i>Volsci</i> , and cut them in pieces.	346.
18 th MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.	§. 7. In the following <i>Military Tribuneship</i> of <i>Corn. Cossus</i> , <i>L. Valerius</i> , <i>Corn. Rutilus</i> , and <i>Fabius Ambustus</i> , the Senate is provok'd by some haughty Answers of the <i>Veientes</i> , to order the <i>Military Tribunes</i> to propose a War with them to the People: but the <i>Plebeians</i> are more disposed to revenge themselves on the <i>Volsci</i> , than begin a new War; and their <i>Tribunes</i> encourage them to reject the Proposal. However, the Commons consent that an Army be rais'd, to march against the <i>Volsci</i> , who disappear at the Approach of it, and leave their Country open to be pillaged. The three <i>Military Tribunes</i> who command the Army, divide it into three Bodies. <i>Fabius</i> at the Head of one of them, lays siege to <i>Anxur</i> , a wealthy City, (since call'd <i>Terracina</i>) takes it by Storm, and gives the Spoil to the three Bodies of Troops. This Piece of Generosity paves the Way for a Reconciliation between the Nobility and People, which is entirely completed by a Decree of the Senate, That the Roman Infantry shall for the future be maintain'd in the Field at the publick Expence. The Joy of the People on this Occasion is inexpressible; they press to kiss the Senators Hands, and call them <i>The true Fathers of the People</i> . But the <i>Tribunes</i> have no share in the publick Rejoicings. They do not like this Union of the two Orders of Men in the State. Their Authority flourish'd most in Divisions. They endeavour therefore to lessen the Value of the Favour, and insinuate to the People, that they will find themselves deceiv'd, when the Tax comes to be rais'd for the Maintenance of the Troops; and they promise to protect all those who refuse to pay it. However, as the Senators begin, by laying great Sums on themselves, which they pay readily, and then prevail on the rich Citizens to follow their Example; the common People submit to the Orders of the Senate, and pay their Contributions, without troubling themselves about the Protection their <i>Tribunes</i> offer'd. And now there is no longer any Difficulty in making Levies; War is declar'd against the <i>Veientes</i> , and the Commons are more attach'd to the Nobility than ever. The latter had not only freed the Poor from the Burden of serving at their own Expence; but had loaded themselves with the greatest Part of the Military Taxes; and both these of their own accord, without being forced to them by the <i>Tribunes</i> .	347.
The Roman Infantry are decreed Pay.		
19 th MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.	§. 8. It is uncertain for what Reason the Republick now chuse for the first time six <i>Military Tribunes</i> . Perhaps the People are desirous to do Honour to as many <i>Patricians</i> as they can. <i>C. Julius</i> , <i>M. Æmilius</i> , <i>T. Quintius</i> , <i>L. Furius</i> , <i>Q. Quintius</i> , and <i>A. Manlius</i> , are elected. The <i>Veientes</i> shun a Battle with the <i>Romans</i> , and shut themselves up in their City, which is strong both by Nature and Art. However, the Republick resolves to employ her Forces to besiege <i>Veii</i> , and flatters her self with the Hopes of becoming Mistress of a new City and Territory larger than her own.	348.
Siege of Veii begun.	§. 9. But the Roman Generals who had begun the Siege are soon obliged to lead back their Troops to <i>Rome</i> ; and are succeeded in the Government by six new <i>Military Tribunes</i> , <i>P. Cornelius</i> , <i>Sp. Nautius</i> , <i>Cn. Cornelius</i> , <i>C. Valerius</i> , <i>Cæso Fabius</i> , and <i>M. Sergius</i> . This continual changing of Generals, was what hindered the <i>Romans</i> from extending their Conquests. Had they been constantly governed by some one or other of those illustrious <i>Dictators</i> , who were their last Refuge in Cases of extreme Danger, they had soon been Masters of <i>Italy</i> . But such is the usual Conduct of a Republick, jealous of her Liberty. She checks the Rapidity of her Victorious Generals, lest she herself shou'd become a Part of their Conquests. The new <i>Military Tribunes</i> divide the Roman Army into two Bodies, one of which continues the Siege of <i>Veii</i> , the other marches against the <i>Volsci</i> , defeats them, takes <i>Artena</i> from them, razes it, and then joins the rest of the Troops, without Delay.	349.
20 th MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.	§. 10. The succeeding <i>Military Tribunes</i> , <i>M. Æmilius</i> , <i>M. Furius</i> , <i>Ap. Claudius</i> , <i>L. Julius</i> , <i>M. Quintilius</i> , and <i>L. Valerius</i> ,	350.
21 st MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.		

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Year of *rius*, apply their Thoughts wholly to the Siege of *Veii*. [The famous *Furius Camillus* is this Year chosen *Censor*, and it is the first time he enjoys a Publick Office.] In the mean time the *Veientes* change their Form of Government, and chuse a *King*; a Man so odious to all *Hetruria*, on account of his having once maliciously interrupted some Publick Games consecrated to the Gods, that the *Hetrurian* Diet threaten to send them no Succours, if they continue subject to him. However, no Body dares mention this at *Veii*. It was at the Siege of this Place that the *Romans* are thought to have first invented those Lines of Circumvallation and Contravallation, which have been since so much in Use; at least this is the first time they are mention'd in Roman Antiquity. The *Military Tribunes* considering that *Veii* cou'd only be taken by Length of Time, and then rather by Famine than Force, form a Design of keeping the Army in the Field all Winter, and of erecting wooden Barracks for them. The Soldiers make no Opposition to it, chusing rather to live in the Camp at the Publick Expence, than in *Rome* at their own. But the *Tribunes of the Commons* greatly dislike a Project which must lessen the Strength of their Party in the *Comitia*, where they used to carry all before them. They therefore assemble the *Tribes*, and inveigh bitterly against the *Military Tribunes*, whom they accuse of ambitious Designs, and Cruelty, in keeping the Troops all Winter in the Field. But *Appius Claudius*, one of the six Governours, being left in *Rome*, and being a Man of great Wit, and of Experience in Business and Party Broils, he makes the People a long and eloquent Speech, full of strong Reason, exposing the seditious and unreasonable Conduct of their *Tribunes*. By this he secures a Party, at least equal to that of the noisy College; and it soon becomes superior, by an Accident, which seem'd more likely to destroy it. The Besiegers had brought one of their moveable Terrasses, made of Wood and cover'd with Turf, near the invested City, and the Besieg'd had sally'd out and set Fire to it, destroying in a few Hours the Work of many Days; and not only so, but had kill'd many of the *Roman* Soldiers, who ran to put out the Fire. The News of this Misfortune throws the Senate into a Consternation, and all good Citizens are much grieved. Only the Joy of the *Tribunes* is excessive. They expect now to get the Law for the Soldiers Pay repealed. But their Hopes are vain. An unaccountable Fit of Zeal seizes those richer Citizens, who had Wealth enough to be placed in the first Class among the *Roman* Knights, but had not yet receiv'd Horses from the Republick, which was the necessary Ceremony to make a Man a Knight. They come to the Senate, and voluntarily offer to furnish themselves with Horses, march to the Camp, and assist in the Siege of *Veii*. The Fathers thankfully accept the Offer. And now the Populace follow the Example of the new Knights, and declare themselves ready to serve, tho' not obliged to it. However, the Senate orders the same Pay to these Foot-Voluntiers, as to the rest of the Infantry. Nay, the Republick begins now to give Pay to the Horse likewise, and to settle Funds for their Subsistence. It is probable, that *Furius Camillus* and *M. Posthumius*, the *Censors*, invented at this time the *Impost*, which was laid on Men advanced in Years, who had never been married, nor supplied the Republick with Subjects.

351. §. 11. The Election of new *Military Tribunes* furnishes the Army with new Generals. The six chosen are, *C. Servilius*, *Q. Sulpitius*, *Q. Servilius*, *A. Manlius*, *L. Virginus*, and *Manius Sergius*. Soon after, the *Volsci* surprize and retake *Anxur*. However, the *Romans* postpone their Revenge, to pursue the Siege of *Veii*: But the private Quarrels and Grudges between *Manius Sergius*, who commands the Attack, and *C. Virginus*, who covers the Siege, disconcert the Measures of the *Romans* for some time. The *Falisci* and *Capenates* come to the Relief of the Besieged, and jointly fall upon the Besiegers Intrenchments, while the *Veientes* sally out, and make a brisk Attack on that Side. *Sergius* is hard press'd; but is too proud to send to *Virginus* for Succour; and *Virginus*, who knows his Colleague's Danger, is obstinately resolved not to give him Assistance unless he asks it. Thus the publick Good is sacrificed to private Pique. The Enemy make a great Slaughter of the *Romans* in their Lines, some fly to the other Camp, others return to *Rome*, and *Sergius* with them, who throws all the Blame of the Defeat on his Colleague. *Virginus* is recalled. The Senate proceed to try the two Generals, whose Defences are only mutual Reproaches. However, each has his Friends and Partizans; and the Senators, to put an End to Disputes, make an Order that the People shall proceed to the Election of new *Military Tribunes* before the usual Time. The four of the present Year, who have been guilty of no Fault, make no Opposition to the Decree; but the two Offenders protest against it, and refuse to lay down their Offices before the 3d of *December*. The *Tribunes of the Commons* think this a fair Opportunity for them to begin again to talk big, and therefore with an Air of Authority they threaten the two refractory Magistrates to send them to Prison, if they don't obey the Senate. But *Servilius Ahala* gives a Check to their Impertinence, and at the same time threatens his two Collegues to name a *Dictator*, if they continue any longer obstinate. Upon this, *Sergius* and *Virginus* acquiesce, and six new *Military Tribunes* enter upon Office the first of *October*.

352. §. 12. Their Names are, *L. Valerius*, *L. Julius*, *M. Aemilius*, *Gn. Cornelius*, *Casus Fabius*, and *Furius*.

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	<p><i>rius Camillus.</i> And these new Governours have Work enough upon their Hands. They are to begin again the Siege of <i>Veii</i>, to keep the <i>Falisci</i> and <i>Capenates</i> within Bounds, and to recover <i>Anxur</i> from the <i>Volsci</i>. Besides, the <i>Tribunes of the Commons</i> kindle fresh Broils; when the Army comes to be raised, they dissuade the old Soldiers left in <i>Rome</i> to guard the City, from paying Taxes, pretending they are exempt from that Burden by being enlisted. And the Disturbances occasion'd by their seditious Harangues, by the Levies, and by collecting the Tribute, are so great, that the <i>Tribes</i> cannot agree in the Choice of more than eight new <i>Tribunes of the People</i>. Two are still wanting. The <i>Patricians</i> at first endeavour to get them supply'd out</p>	
Vide TRE- BONIAN LAW, Year 305.	<p>of their Body, but in vain. They then cabal to strike at the TREBONIAN LAW; and in the End, prevail to get two Persons added to the eight, by the Appointment of the Majority of those eight. This was in effect to abrogate the TREBONIAN LAW; and it is sufficiently revenged by one <i>C. Trebonius</i>, now <i>Tribune of the Commons</i>. He tells them that their Interests are betray'd; and he brings an Odium upon those of his Collègues who had ventur'd, of their own Authority, to appoint two <i>Tribunes</i>. The People are especially exasperated against three of the eight, <i>P. Curiatius</i>, <i>M. Metilius</i>, and <i>M. Minutius</i>. But these divert the Hatred of the Publick from themselves, by turning it against <i>Sergius</i> and <i>Virginus</i>, the two Generals of the last Year. They persuade the People to cite them before their Tribunal; and in their Accusation of the Offenders insinuate, That the Senate and the two Generals had agreed together, that the latter should suffer themselves to be beaten, in order to continue the War, and prolong the Misfortunes of the Republick. In short, the Prosecution has its Effect, the People are so intent upon it, that they forget the <i>Trebonian Law</i>, and their Quarrel with the three <i>Tribunes</i>; and <i>Sergius</i> and <i>Virginus</i> are condemn'd to pay 10000 <i>Asses</i> of Brass each. <i>Rome</i> at this time receives good News from all Parts where the War is carrying on: But this does not put a Stop to Seditions at <i>Rome</i>. The <i>Tribunes of the People</i> propose to them two Laws: The first, requiring a Distribution of Lands, as formerly. The second, excusing the People from any more Contributions towards the Soldiers Pay. And in fact, they will not suffer them to pay the Taxes; so that the <i>Legions</i>, being deprived of their Subsistence, are ripe for a Sedition. But all the Bustle ends in getting <i>Plebeians</i> into the <i>Military Tribuneship</i>.</p>	
Plebeians chosen Mi- litary Tri- bunes. 24 th MILI- TARY TRIBUNES- SHIP.	<p>§. 13. The <i>Centuries</i> chuse one <i>Plebeian</i> at least in the new Election. His Name is <i>P. Licinius Calvus</i>. The other five are <i>P. Mælius</i>, <i>P. Mænius</i>, <i>Sp. Furius</i>, <i>L. Titinius</i>, and <i>L. Publilius</i>. It is to be remark'd, that <i>Licinius</i>, tho' a <i>Plebeian</i>, was already an old Senator: But ever since the Year 263, the considerable Commoners had begun to be admitted into the Senate-house. The <i>Tribunes of the People</i> are so much rejoiced to see a <i>Plebeian</i> in the Supreme Dignity, that they drop their Opposition to the Tax. The Soldiers receive their Pay again, their Courage is reviv'd, they take <i>Anxur</i> from the <i>Volsci</i>, and carry on the Siege of <i>Veii</i> with Perseverance, though they suffer much from the severe Cold of the Winter.</p>	353.
25 th MILI- TARY TRIBUNES- SHIP.	<p>§. 14. <i>Licinius</i> having fill'd his Seat with universal Approbation, the <i>Centuries</i> now chuse five <i>Military Tribunes</i> out of the <i>Plebeians</i>, and only <i>M. Veturius</i> of the <i>Patricians</i>. The five are, <i>C. Duilius</i>, <i>L. Atinius</i>, <i>Cn. Genucius</i>, <i>M. Pomponius</i>, and <i>V. Publilius</i>. The three Armies of the last Year join together, to hasten the Reduction of <i>Veii</i>. The <i>Falisci</i> and <i>Capenates</i> come to its Relief, but are entirely defeated by the <i>Romans</i>. So complete a Victory makes the Administration of the <i>Plebeian Military Tribunes</i> glorious in the Eyes of the People; but it is not perfectly happy. The extreme Cold of the Weather changes of a sudden to excessive Heat; and this occasions a Mortality both among Men and Cattle. The <i>Sybilline Books</i> are consulted, and the <i>Duumviri</i> pretend to find there a new Sort of Expiation. Three Beds are placed in a Temple, round a plentiful Table, and cover'd with rich Carpets; and <i>Apollo</i>, <i>Latona</i>, <i>Diana</i>, <i>Hercules</i>, <i>Mercury</i> and <i>Neptune</i>, are invited to the Entertainment. It is conjectur'd, that these Deities did not come, according to Invitation. However, the <i>Duumviri</i> and <i>Pontifices</i> supplied their Places, and were feasted nobly for eight Days. These publick Ceremonies are imitated in private Houses. Every one keeps open House for Friends, Strangers, and even Enemies. All Processes, Disputes, and Animosities are suspended, and the very Prisoners released from their Chains, to partake of the publick Rejoicings. In the mean time, the <i>Patricians</i> are contriving to take Advantage of the present State of Affairs, to recover the Monopoly they had lost, of the chief Offices in the Republick. And knowing the Superstition of the People, they attack them on that Side, and insinuate, that the uncommon Severity of the Winter the last Year, and the present Year's Plague, were Punishments from the Gods, for their having confounded all Distinctions of Families, and placed <i>Plebeians</i> in the <i>Military Tribuneship</i>. By this means, and by proposing only such Candidates to the <i>Centuries</i> as are of superior Merit, they dispose them to favour the Nobility.</p>	354.
26 th MILI- TARY TRIBUNES- SHIP.	<p>§. 15. And accordingly, they chuse <i>L. Valerius</i>, <i>L. Furius</i>, <i>M. Valerius</i>, <i>Q. Servilius</i>, <i>Q. Sulpitius</i>, and the famous <i>Camillus</i>, (a second time) all <i>Patricians</i>. This Year the <i>Romans</i> are astonish'd with a Prodigy. It happens to be a dry Summer, and there is little Water in the Rivers, Fountains or Marshes: But the Lake of <i>Alba</i>, which was</p>	355.

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Year of ROME of a round Figure, and encompass'd with Rocks and little Hills, swells of a sudden, *The Lake of Alba swells* and rises to the Tops of the Hills about it. This strange Accident is much discours'd of in the Camp; and as in long Sieges the Soldiers on both Sides sometimes become acquainted, they talk of the Prodigy from their different Posts, and make merry with it. But an old Soldier of the *Veientes* taking the Matter more seriously, cries out, in a kind of Enthusiastick Fit, *Veii shall never be taken, till all the Water is run out of the Lake of Alba.* A Roman Centinel, who hears him, and has great Faith in Divination, asks who the old Man is; and understanding that he is a Diviner, he by a Stratagem makes him his Prisoner, and carries him before the Roman General, who sends him to the Senate. The old Man declares, that what he had said was agreeable to an antient Tradition written in some prophetick Books in his Country, and that if the Romans can draw the Water out of the Lake, *Veii* will be taken. But he advises them to take especial Care, that the Drains which shall be made to carry it off don't convey it to the Sea. Tho' the Senate cannot trust to the bare Word of the Diviner, yet they think proper to send a Deputation of three *Patricians* to *Delphos*, to consult the Oracle.

356. §. 16. Before the Return of the Deputies, six new *Military Tribunes* are chosen, *L. Julius, L. Furius, L. Sergius, A. Posthumius, A. Manlius,* and *P. Cornelius*, all *Patricians*. The Romans, while the Siege of *Veii* is carrying on, are not only obliged to make Head against the *Volsci*, the *Falisci*, and the *Capenates*, but are attack'd by a new Enemy, the *Tarquinius*. *A. Posthumius*, and *L. Julius*, who are left in *Rome*, demand Leave to raise Troops to disperse them; but the *Tribunes of the People* retarding the Levies, they put themselves at the Head of a small Army of Volunteers, and taking a great Compass about, surprize the *Tarquinius* as they are returning home, make a great Slaughter of them, and recover the Booty they had seiz'd. In the mean time, the three *Patricians* return from *Delphos*; and, to the Surprize of the Senate and People, the Answer of the *Pythonefs* is perfectly agreeable to the Prediction and Advice of the old Diviner, who is thereupon made the Minister to appoint proper Sacrifices to render the Gods propitious. Then the Romans send out Pioneers to make a Canal, which may carry off the Waters of the Lake, and convey them all over the Fields, by Trenches. This fine Work subsists to this Day, and the Water of the Lake *Albano*, which runs along *Castel Gandolphe*, passes thro' it. But the Oracle had likewise directed, to re-establish the neglected Ceremonies of Religion, and to begin those again which had not been regularly performed. The first is interpreted of the Neglect of the *FERIAE LATINÆ*; and they are therefore renewed. And as to the second, it is discovered, that the Election of the present *Military Tribunes* had been defective, with regard to the *Auguries*. So that the six Governours abdicate, and an *INTERREGNUM* ensues. The *Tribunes of the People* oppose the Assembly of the *Comitia* for a new Election, till they have obtain'd a Promise that three of the six Magistrates shall be Commoners. The People begin by nominating old *Licinius*, who had been the first *Plebeian* ever raised to the Supreme Dignity; but he declines the Office, on account of his Age and Infirmities, and proposes his Son to them, whom they accordingly chuse. The other five are, *L. Atinius, P. Mælius, Cn. Genucius, L. Titinius,* and *P. Mænius*, all Commoners.

357. §. 17. Their Administration is not prosperous. *Atinius* and *Genucius* march with some Troops into the Territory of the *Falisci* and *Capenates*, to oppose an Inundation of *Hetrurians*, who, not by Order, but by Permission of their Governors, are coming to attack the Roman Intrenchments before *Veii*: But the two Generals fall into an Ambush prepared by the Enemy. *Genucius* is kill'd, and *Atinius*, tho' he rallies his Men and retreats, dares not any more face the Enemy in the open Field. This News terrifies the Army before *Veii*, and it is with Difficulty hindered from dispersing. But *Rome* is yet in a greater Consternation.

§. 18. And the Republick, as usual in such Cases, nominates a Dictator. *FURIUS CAMILLUS* is appointed; and he names *Cornelius Scipio* to be his General of Horse. Every thing seems now ready for the Completion of what the Oracle had foretold. The Games and Sacrifices of the *FERIAE LATINÆ* have been renewed; and the Waters of the Lake of *Alba* are drawn off. The Dictator orders new Levies to be raised, is join'd by a Reinforcement of *Latins* and *Hernici*, and, having finish'd his Preparations for War, makes a Vow to the Gods, that if he returns Conqueror of *Veii*, he will celebrate the Great Games, and rebuild the Temple of the Goddess *Matuta*. After this, he marches, and comes to a Battle with the *Falisci, Capenates,* and *Hetrurian* Volunteers. History has not told the Particulars of it; but only that he obtain'd a complete Victory.

§. 19. He then returns to *Veii*, and observing that it would be impossible to carry the Place by Assault, or scale the Walls of it, he undertakes to open a Mine, and carry it on into the very Heart of the Upper Town. The Pioneers, who are divided into six Companies, relieve one another; and the Work, continually advancing without Interruption, is soon finish'd. The Dictator then, thinking himself sure of Conquest, sends to the *Conscript Fathers* to know how they wou'd have the Spoils of the City disposed of. The Question is debated in the Senate. *Appius Claudius* is for having the rich Plunder of *Veii* made a Fund for the Payment of the Troops:

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Troops: But old *Licinius* thinks that this wou'd be a Foundation of endless Mur- Year of
murs and Seditions, and proposes that the Spoils should be divided between the Ar- ROME
my and those of the Citizens who shall be in the Camp when the Town is taken.
This Advice prevails; and a Decree is made, giving Leave to as many as please to
go to the Camp, and take their Share of the Booty. Accordingly, vast Numbers
flock thither well armed, and join the *Dictator's* Troops in the Attack. But before
Camillus begins the Assault, he makes the following Prayer. O Pythian Apollo, ac-
complish thy Prediction, since it is by thy Inspiration, and under thy Guidance, that I am
going to destroy the City of *Veii*! I solemnly vow to give thee the tenth Part of the Spoil
which shall be taken in it. And do Thou, O Juno, Queen of the Gods, who residest in
Veii, follow us to Rome, and come and dwell in a City which shall be devoted to thee.
Thou shalt there be placed in a Temple worthy of thy Majesty! The Town being taken,
the *Dictator* is said to have cried out in a Surprise, at the Value and Quantity of the
Plunder, O Great Gods, if you in Heaven feel any Envy at my Fortune, and that of the
Roman People, let all the Effects of it fall upon my Head, and let Rome feel but the
least Part of them! This said, he turns about to the right, according to Custom,
and falls to the Ground. The Company present are affrighted at the Accident: But
Camillus rising immediately, says, My Prayer has been heard; I have escaped, after
this great Prosperity, with a very slight Misfortune. The next Day, the Prisoners of
free Condition are sold to the best Bidder; and all the Money arising from thence is
put into the Publick Treasury. But tho' this is only the Part of the Spoil from which
the Publick has any Benefit, the People murmur at it, and inveigh both against the
Senate and the *Dictator*. His next Care is to transport the Image of *Juno* to Rome.
It was placed on the Hill *Aventinus*, in a Temple dedicated by *Camillus* himself.
Thus perish'd the famous City of *Veii*, after a ten Years Siege; being at once de-
spoiled of its Riches, its Inhabitants, and its Gods. §. 20. The Joy of the People
at Rome was in Proportion to the Difficulty of the Conquest. The Ladies (ever for-
ward in Acts of Piety) crowd to the Temples, without waiting for the Senate's Procla-
mation for a Thanksgiving, which is order'd to be continued four Days; a Stretch of
Devotion never known in the Republick before. But *Camillus*, in his triumphant
Entry, seems intoxicated with Prosperity and Pride. He is drawn by white Horses;
which had never been allow'd before, but to *Jupiter* and the *Sun*; and he paints his
Face with Vermillion, like the Statues of the Gods. The People think this profane;
and tho' pleas'd with the Show, yet blame the indecent Pomp of the triumphant Victor.
§. 21. *Camillus* having resign'd his *Dictatorship*, the People's Hatred to him soon ap-
pears. He had forgot, or neglected, to set apart the Tenth of the Spoil, for a Pre-
sent to *Apollo*, according to the Vow he made, before he began the Assault. The
Pontifices declare, That the People are obliged to return a Tenth of the Booty into
the publick Treasury; and the Senate make a Decree to that Purpose. This causes
a great deal of Vexation to the People; and the Odium of all falls upon *Camillus*.
In the mean time, it is propos'd to buy such a Vase of Gold with the Produce of
what is brought to the *Quæstors*, as may shew Greece the Magnificence of the Ro-
man Republick. But unfortunately there is little Gold to be found in the City, ex-
cept in the Toys of the Ladies. These therefore unanimously contribute their Jewels,
and a Vase with two Handles is made, weighing eight Talents. Three Senators are
sent to *Delphos* with it, who in their Voyage are taken by a Vessel of *Lipara*, and
carried before *Timasitheus*, Lord of the Island. He respects the Character of the
Ambassadors, and the Present they are carrying to *Apollo*; and therefore sends a Guard
with them, to conduct them safe to *Delphos*. There they make their Offering, and
then come back to Rome. In return for the Ladies Generosity, the Republick grant
them two Favours, 1. That Funeral Orations shall be made for Illustrious Women,
as for great Men; and 2. That they have leave to ride in Chariots at the publick Games.
§. 22. And now the Centuries chuse six new Military Tribunes, all Patricians, P. Cor-
nelius Cossus, P. Cornelius Scipio, M. Valerius, Cæso Fabius, L. Furius, and Q. Ser-
vilius. The *Æqui* and *Volsci* sue for Peace, and it is granted. Nevertheless, the
Senate think proper to plant a Colony of 3000 Romans in their Country, and every
one is to have three Acres and a half of Land. But when the time comes for those
to inlist their Names who are to form the Colony, the Romans shew a Repugnance
to quit their native City, and murmur that they have not some of the Lands of *Veii*
given them. And these Murmurings are afterwards improved to a serious Delibera-
tion, whether one half, both of Senate and People, shall not be transplanted to *Veii*,
that so the Republick may have two Capitals. *Sicinnius* the Tribune proposes a Law
for this Purpose, but it is oppos'd by the Nobility, (and especially by *Camillus*) who
gain some of the Tribunes of the Commons over to them. In the mean time, the
Capenates submit, and the Republick has no War remaining but with the *Falisci*.
§. 23. Notwithstanding the Opposition made by *Camillus* to the Transmigration to
Veii, he is chosen (a third time) Military Tribune. His Collegues are L. Furius,
P. Cornelius Scipio, C. Æmilius, Sp. Posthumius, and L. Valerius. *Camillus* is com-
mission'd to go with a numerous Army to subdue the *Falisci*. He forms a Design
of

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TARY
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Year of of besieging *Falerii*, the Capital of their Country, and of protracting the Siege to a great length, in order to keep a mutinous Populace at a distance from *Rome*. He defeats the Enemy, and takes their Camp, but puts the Spoils into the *Quæstor's* Hands; and the Soldiers murmur in vain. Since the Troops receive Pay, he resolves to teach them to conquer upon nobler Motives than the Hopes of Plunder.

§. 24. After this Victory, *Camillus* invests *Falerii*, and surrounds it with Lines, but at so great a distance from the Walls, that there is more than sufficient Room for the Besieged to take the Air without Danger. The *Falisci* had brought from *Greece* the Custom of committing all their Children to the Care of one Man, who was to instruct them in all sorts of polite Learning, to take them out a walking with him, and see them perform the Exercises proper for their Age. The Children used often to walk with their Master without the Walls of the City, before the Siege; and their Fears of an Enemy, who kept quiet, and at such a distance, were not great enough to make them discontinue the Practice. But the present Schoolmaster proves a Traitor. At first he leads the Youth only along the Walls, then a little farther, and at length takes his Opportunity, and brings them, through the *Roman* Camp, quite to the General's Tent. *Camillus* is struck with Horror at the Treachery, orders his *Lictors* to strip the Villain, tie his Hands behind him, and then furnish the Youth with Rods, to whip him back again into the City. A little before, the *Falisci* had protested they would rather undergo the Fate of the *Veii*, than imitate the Cowardice of the *Capenates*. But now they ardently desire Peace with *Rome*: So great an Impression does the Probity of *Camillus* make upon them. The General sends the *Falerian* Deputies to *Rome*; where they address the Senate in the following manner. *Rome has just now gain'd a Victory over us, which cannot be shameful to us in the Sight either of Gods or Men. We submit to you out of a Persuasion, that we cannot live more happy, than under the Laws of a Republick, in which Justice and Probity reign. The Romans and Falisci are this Day giving two great Examples to Posterity: You, in preferring Justice to Victory: We, in rather yielding to the Charms of Virtue, than the Force of Arms, &c.* But the *Conscript Fathers* leave to *Camillus* the Terms of the Peace; which is to be made with the *Falisci*, not as with a conquer'd People, but as with a Nation that voluntarily submits to the Dominion of the Republick. He demands nothing of them, but the Expences of the present Campaign, and then leads back his Army to *Rome*, where his Soldiers increase the Number of his Enemies; for they had pleas'd themselves with the Hopes of plundering *Falerii*.

§. 25. While *Camillus* was thus employ'd, *Æmilius* and *Posthumius*, two of his Collegues, had united their Forces, and defeated the faithless *Æqui* in a pitch'd Battel. After the Victory, *Posthumius* makes Incurfions into the Enemy's Country, while *Æmilius* continues at *Verrugo*. But as the former is returning from his Expedition, and his Troops marching without Precaution, they are suddenly attack'd by the *Æqui*, and routed. *Posthumius* rallies them upon an Eminence, and there upbraids them with Cowardice; upon which they cry out, *Lead us to the Enemy; we will oblige ourselves under the severest Penalties to cut them in pieces before Night.* The *Æqui* were still in the Plain below the Eminence on which the *Romans* were posted. The latter begin the Attack by Moon-light, but have little Success till Day appears. Then the General puts his Men in mind of their Promise; and nothing can stand before them. In the mean time, the Shouts of the Combatants are heard at *Verrugo*, where the Troops of *Æmilius* believing *Posthumius's* Camp to be besieg'd, take a Fright, disperse, and fly for Refuge to *Tusculum*. Thence a Report is carried to *Rome*, that *Posthumius* is kill'd, and his Army defeated. But the People are deceiv'd by a Letter, crown'd with Laurel, from the General to the Senate, with an Account of his Victory.

§. 26. Thus the Arms of the Republick prosper abroad; but new Disturbances are rais'd at home. When the Time comes for electing *Tribunes of the People*, the Commons are for continuing those old ones who had propos'd the Law for going to *Veii*; and the *Patricians* are for having those re-elected who had oppos'd it. The former prevail in the *Comitia by Tribes*. The Promoters of the Law are re-chosen, and the Opposers are excluded: Upon which the *Patricians* in revenge resolve, if possible, to restore the *Consular* Government; and accordingly, in the *Co-* 87th *Comitia by Centuries*, where they have most Sway, *L. Lucretius Flavius*, and *Severus Sulpitius Camerinus* are chosen *Consuls*.

Under the new Administration, *Sicinnius* the *Tribune* renews his Intrigues with more Zeal than ever, to get the Law pass'd for removing the half of the People and of the Senate to *Veii*. *A. Virginius* and *Q. Pomponius*, the two *Tribunes of the People* for the last Year, who had distinguish'd themselves by their Opposition to the Law, are cited to appear before the *Tribes*; and notwithstanding all that the Senate can do to protect them, they are fin'd 10000 *Asses* of *Brass*. The whole Senate are offended at this Sentence, and especially *Camillus*, who never ceases declaiming against *Sicinnius's* Law. He advises the *Conscript Fathers* to appear in the *Comitium*, (when the *Tribes* assemble to determine the Affair) as Men prepar'd to defend their Temples, their Altars, their Household-Gods, and their Country. *Were I at liberty*, adds he,

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INTER-
REGNUM.

to consult my own Glory, at the Expence of my Country's Honour, what could flatter my Ambition more, than to see a City which I have conquer'd, inhabited by illustrious Romans? But it would be fatal to you, to re-people a City whose Gods have deserted it, and shameful to prefer a conquer'd Territory to your own victorious Country. Accordingly the Patricians, by Tears, Intreaties, and Reasonings, prevail to have the Law rejected; but by a Majority of only one Tribe. And now the Nobility are so well pleas'd with the People, that the Senate, at the Request of the Consuls, make a Decree the next Morning, whereby they assign seven Acres of the Lands of *Veii*, not only to every Father of a Family, but to every single Person of free Condition. §. 27. On the other hand, the People are so delighted with their Liberality, that they make no Opposition to the Election of Consuls. *L. Valerius Potitus*, and *M. Manlius Capitolinus*, are the Persons chosen; and they begin their Year, by performing the Vow made by *Camillus*, when Dictator, to celebrate *The Great Games*. (Of these there were two sorts, the one celebrated every Year in the Month of September, in Honour to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*; the other were call'd *Votive* or *Extraordinary*, had no fixed Day appointed for them, and were celebrated in Honour of *Jupiter* only.)

As fast as the Republick enlarges her Dominions, she draws upon her self new Enemies unknown before. The *Volsinii*, one of the twelve *Ettrurian* Nations, alarm'd at the Fate of *Veii* and *Falerii*, declare against *Rome*; and being join'd by the *Salpinates*, commit Hostilities. But a contagious Distemper makes the Romans suspend their Revenge. The two Consuls being seiz'd by it, so as to be incapable of exercising their Offices, and the People imagining from the Accident, that they had been inauspiciously chosen, the Senate order them to resign. Upon this an INTER-REGNUM ensues, during which the Republick is govern'd by three Presidents, *Camillus*, *Cornelius Scipio*, and *Valerius Potitus*, (not the Consul) who succeed each other for some Days. The last renews the *Auguries*, for the Election of six *Military Tribunes*; which sort of Government is now re-establish'd, that in case the Contagion should last, and some of the supreme Magistrates be infected by it, there may yet be others in a Condition to take care of the Publick Welfare.

By a *Census* taken this Year, the Number of Citizens, able to bear Arms, appears to be 152583. The Troops, since their receiving Pay, are more obedient to their Commanders, who keep them in the Field Summer and Winter. They had never had a General more capable of undertaking and executing great Designs, than *Camillus*; and the Reduction of *Veii* had given them a Taste for Conquests. The *Roman* Frontiers are now extended above fifty Miles beyond the *Tyber*; and the People seem to be in a settled Tranquillity, and perfectly reconcil'd to the Senate. This unusual Prosperity is interrupted by the *Gauls*, a memorable Event! which is next to be related.



ERRATA.

IN the Author's Preface, Page xii. Line 15. their Writers do not, read them. Contents. Book 2. §. 15. l. 3. her, r. their. B. 4. §. 15. in the Margin 215. r. 204. §. 24. l. 36. Spurts upon, r. Spurts up upon. §. 26. in the Margin 122. r. 222. B. 5. §. 24. in the Margin on one Side, add 248. on the other 5th CONSULSHIP. B. 6. §. 13. in the Margin, Ma ister, r. Magister. B. 9. over against the Year 291, add 48th CONSULSHIP. History. P. 23. Note 83. Firmianus, r. Firmanus. p. 54. l. 42. who had, r. and had. p. 57. N. 8. Quiris, r. Quirinus. p. 65. N. 51. Equi or Eques, r. Aeqsicoli or Aequi. p. 113. l. 2. dele only. p. 116. l. 15. underwent, r. undergone. p. 125. l. 13. 1800, r. 600. p. 126. l. 27. six Years, r. six Months. p. 136. Note 4. l. 12. Cornucopias, r. Cornucopia. p. 137. l. 21. their, r. your. p. 147. l. 27. Locksmiths, r. Blacksmiths. ibid. l. 36. add They were divided into 20 Centuries. p. 151. l. 7. dele often. p. 154. l. 33. was failed, r. had failed. p. 157. l. 12. five Classes, r. first five Classes. p. 182. l. ult. Egerius's Grandson, and, r. Grandson to Egerius. p. 184. l. 52. Spurious, r. Specious. p. 196. l. 47. Sign, r. Signing. p. 210. l. 44. Arrows, r. Darts. --- Shot, r. thrown. p. 285. l. 17. it, r. them. p. 303. l. 22. had been already, r. ought to be. p. 307. Note 81. l. 11. dele had before. p. 309 l. 36. eleven, r. twelve. p. 314. l. 27. and that, r. by. ibid. l. 28. shou'd not, r. and that such shou'd not. p. 327. l. 5. of Courage, r. of no Courage. p. 369. l. 45. destroying, r. deserting. p. 381. l. 32. rather, r. even more. ibid. l. 33. Policy, r. Policy. p. 383. l. 18. dared, r. durst. p. 389. l. 14. crave, r. crawl. p. 392. l. 7. the one, r. some --- the other, r. others. ibid. l. 23. five Men, r. ten Men. p. 399. l. 44. revolted, r. incensed. p. 405. l. 20. twenty four, r. fourscore. p. 409. l. 43. Capitol, r. Capital. ibid. l. 44. to the Plunder of, r. to be plunder'd by. p. 410. l. 20. to the Plunder of, r. as free booty to. p. 411. l. 6. nine Collegues, r. four Collegues. p. 426. l. 25. grave, r. brave. p. 462. l. 26. of Genius, r. of no Genius. p. 470. l. 7. these, r. those. ibid. l. 22. Capitol, r. Capital. p. 476. l. 34. twenty six, r. sixscore. p. 498. l. 2. 300, r. 299. p. 500. l. 45. 10, r. on. p. 501. l. 36. some of the Plebeians, r. popular Men. p. 518. l. 52. 10, r. in. p. 524. Note 47. carrying back, r. carrying forward. p. 538. l. 29. of, r. on. p. 546. in the Margin, r. C. Servilius. p. 547. ibid. ibid. p. 553. l. 13. and in the Margin, r. C. Furius. p. 567. l. 34. assumed Tribunes, r. Tribunes assumed. p. 569. l. 3. and in the Margin, M. Servilius, r. Manius Sergius. p. 586, &c. 587. in the Margin, Camillus, Dictator, r. Licinius, &c. military Tribunes.





T H E Roman History.



B O O K I.



THE Empire of which I write the History, extended it self far in the three Parts of the World then known, and had scarce any other Bounds than those of our Hemisphere. On the East, it took in the greater Part of the Conquests made by those mighty Monarchies which had flourish'd before it; and both in Power and Extent surpass'd the *Assyrian*, *Babylonian*, *Persian* and *Grecian* Empires, when in their greatest Glory. On the West, it gave Law every where, as far as to the Ocean; and its Dominion towards the North reached almost to

those Countries which Frosts and Snow render'd scarce habitable. On the South, a great Part of *Africa*, in which the Conquerors of *Asia* had made but little Progress, submitted to the *Roman* Yoke. In a Word, this formidable Eagle stretch'd her Wings over the most beautiful Regions of the known World.

It is hard to determine whether the Bravery, Policy, or Civil Virtues of the *Romans* contributed most to the enlarging of their Empire. The frequent Alterations made in its Government proved no Obstacle to its Progress; and *Rome*, whether under *Kings* or *Consuls*, whether governed by *Tribunes*, *Decemvirs*, or *Dictators*, or finally enthrall'd to Generals, who were stiled *Emperors*, was always victorious. Its first Form of Government was Monarchy, and after having tried all other kinds, it was at last obliged to adhere to the Dominion of a single Person. The successive Changes in its Administration, may be said to furnish Lessons of Wisdom and Conduct to every State in the Universe. Monarchs may find Examples worthy of Imitation in its Kings and Emperors; and

Commonwealths, whether such as have lodged the supreme Power in a Senate, or such as have admitted the People to a Share in the Management of publick Affairs, may learn from these different Situations of the *Romans*, what Limits to prescribe to the Nobility, when establish'd in Authority, and how to curb the Insolence of the People, ever too fond of a dangerous Liberty.

ROME, in her very Infancy, became an Object of Jealousy to her Neighbours; but their Attacks served only to invigorate the Resolution of the *Romans*; and the Necessity of a lawful Defence, giving daily Exercise to their Courage, they subdued the Nations which insulted them, and made themselves Masters of all *Italy*. When the *Roman* State had attained to a riper Age, *Carthage* became its Competitor. The two Republicks vied for Glory. The *Carthaginians*, who were very near Conquerors, being at length subdued, taught the *Romans* to carry their Ambition beyond *Africa*. In short, the Conquest of *Macedon*, the hereditary Dominion of *Alexander*, made them sensible, that they might tread in his Steps, and establish themselves an Empire, in *Asia*; which proved less extensive indeed, but more lasting than his had been.

FROM low Beginnings, *Rome* in time rose to be the Capital of the World. It grew larger by every new Conquest, and the Circuit of its Walls was widened in proportion to its Empire. Its Citizens became Masters of the Fate of Kingdoms; and Cities which once gave Law to others, courted the Honour of being stiled *Roman*, and of enjoying *Roman* Privileges. Kings strove to merit their Alliance and Protection; and in short, there was not a crown'd Head but readily submitted to the Decrees of their Senate. In Process of Time, the Eastern and Western States, being reduced to Provinces, either brought their Tributes to *Rome*, or receiving Governors from thence, enriched with their Spoils those illustrious Citizens, who from the *Capitol* sent forth Laws to the Ends of the Earth.

OPULENCE, 'tis true, proved an Enemy to the *Roman* Virtue, and Prosperity changed the Modesty and Frugality of the first inhabitants of *Rome* into Pride and Luxury. The Empire, however, was then able to support it self; and if the People had fewer moral Virtues, yet they fell not far short of their Predecessors in Bravery and Prudence. The lasting Prosperity they enjoyed was without doubt indulged to them by divine Providence (which governs all States with Wisdom and Justice) either to recompence in the Children the Virtues of their Fore-fathers, or to make the *Mistress of Nations* one day the Capital of the Christian World; or to prepare the Way for the entire Establishment of the true Religion, by the Conversion of one of the Lords of the Universe to the Faith of Christ.

§. II. It is very common to give a splendid Origin to great Empires, and to establish them upon illustrious Foundations. After having attained to a prodigious Pitch of Grandeur, it is mortifying to look back to an obscure Beginning; and Endeavours are therefore used in such Cases to supply the Defect of History by the help of Fable. My Design is not to insinuate, that the *Romans* have falsely carried up their Origin as far as *Aeneas*. I shall not deprive them of the Glory of issuing from *Trojan* Blood. Whatever may be objected to it, both

Greek

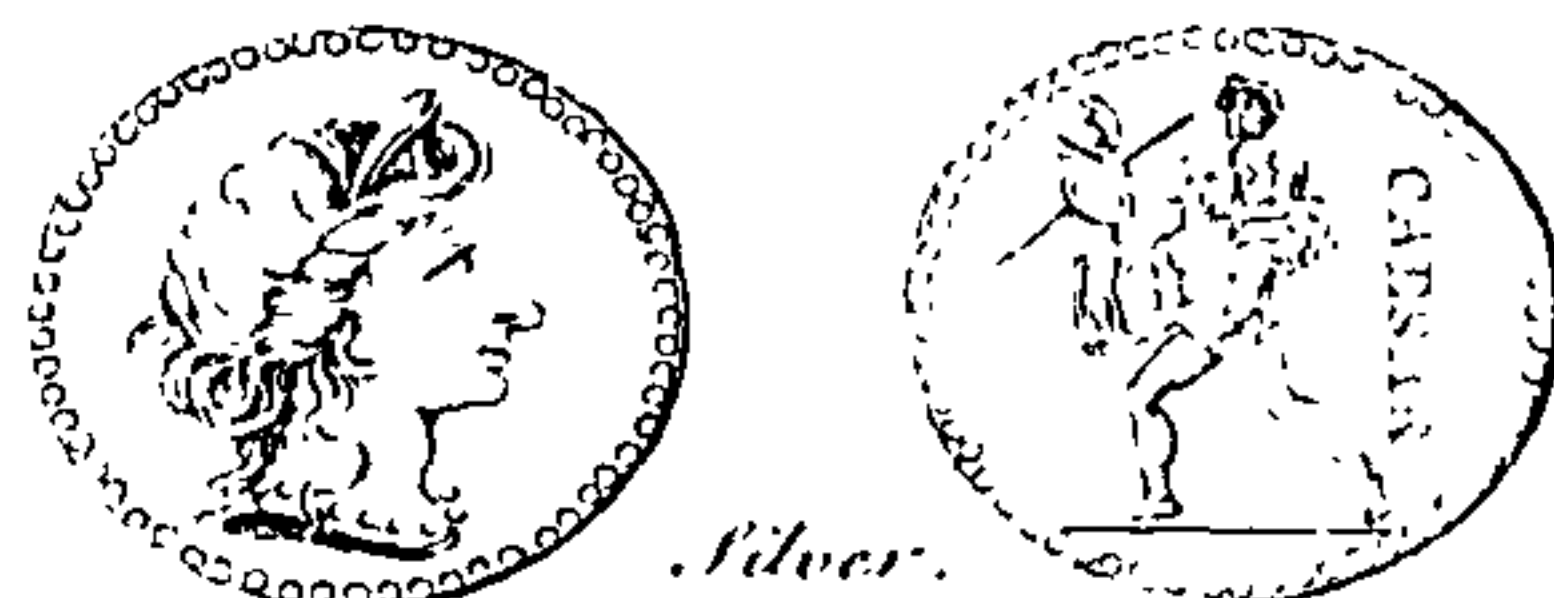
* It has been long disputed whether the *Romans* can justly claim the Honour of being descended from *Aeneas*, and of having the *Trojans* for their Ancestors; if we decide the Question by the Testimony of *Latin* Writers, it must be in Favour of the *Romans*. All the Historians of that Nation either actually mention the Arrival of *Aeneas* in *Italy*, or suppose it: neither are there Medals wanting to evince it. It is well known that *Julius Caesar* boasted of *Aeneas* as his Ancestor, and carried the Original of the *Julian* Family as far back as *Iulus*. In full Persuasion of this, he caused the Medal to be struck of which we here give the Impression. On one Side is represented *Venus*, Mother of *Aeneas*; on the other, the *Trojan* Prince, holding the *Palladium* in his Hand,

and carrying his Father *Anchises* on his Shoulders.

And tho' some may object, that the *Latins* ought not to be admitted as Judges in their own Cause; it must nevertheless be allowed that the universal Testimony of a Nation which was not without very able Criticks, and the Footsteps that were every where to be met with of *Aeneas's* Arrival in *Italy*, are no small Confirmations of the Validity of their Pretensions. Nay even the *Greek* Historians have not all refused to acknowledge the Truth of so plain a Matter of Fact, notwithstanding the Enmity they bore both to the *Trojans* and *Romans*. Nor is it surprizing that a great many of them have been ignorant of *Aeneas's* Retreat into *Italy*, and that being deceived by certain Monuments which they mistook for his Tomb, some have related

Greek and *Latin* Historians concur in deriving the *Romans* from the Remains of ruined *Troy*.

THE Substance of what the most antient Traditions afford us on this Subject, is as follows. I am neither so credulous as to warrant, nor so rash as to reject them all.



WHEN the Sons of *Antenor* had treacherously delivered up *Troy* to the *Greeks*, *Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 36.* wearied out with a long Siege, we are told that *Aeneas*, who resolutely defended the upper Town, being at length obliged to yield to Necessity², left the City in Flames, and carried with him his Gods, his Father, Wife, and Children in Waggon, which he had prepared for that Purpose; and followed by a numerous Troop of Fugitives, came to the Straights of Mount *Ida*. Here, his first Care was to fortify himself against the Attacks of the Enemy: And this Asylum, which he opened to his Countrymen in the Mountain, served for a Place of Retreat to the Inhabitants of the other Towns of *Troas*. For, when they at a Distance beheld their Capital in Flames, they feared the rest of their Cities would undergo the same Fate. They flocked therefore from all Parts, and increased that new Army, which *Aeneas* was beginning to raise. The Hope of being one day re-established in their native Towns, and of repairing the Ruins of them, made the *Trojans*, when thus advantageously posted, quietly wait for the Departure of the *Greeks*. But, contrary to their Expectations, the Conquerors, after they had enriched themselves with the Spoils of *Troy*, and of the neighbouring Towns, turned their Arms against the Fugitives. The Victors were preparing to force the vanquished in their last Intrenchments, when *Aeneas* apprehending the Danger of a second War, proposed a Treaty. The following Conditions were agreed upon: *Aeneas* obliged himself, with his Followers, to quit the *Trojan* Territories; and the *Greeks*, on their Side, engaged not to molest them in their Departure; but to spare these Remains of their vanquished Enemies both by Sea and Land, throughout all their Dominions.

UPON these Assurances *Aeneas* quitted his native Country; but at his Departure he left it a very dear Pledge of his Affection. He entrusted the *Dascylites*³, a People of *Troas*, with his eldest Son *Ascanius*, who governed them, *Dion. Hal. B. 1.*

lated that he died in *Thrace*, others in *Achaia*, and others in *Arcadia*.

The Difference we find in the Accounts they give of *Aeneas's* Death, is Proof enough that they were ignorant of the Place of it, and that he must have died in a Place at that time very little known to the *Greeks*. But the Testimonies of other antient *Greek* Writers are, as has been said, very positive in Favour of the Pretensions of the *Romans*. *Alexander of Ephesus*, in his first Book of the *Wars of the Maris*, relates, that *Aeneas* being met by the Conquerors of *Troy*, with his Father on his Shoulders, they were so touched with this extraordinary Instance of filial Piety, that they gave him Liberty to go wherever he pleased; and that, directed by the Answers of an Oracle, he came into *Italy*. This Writer is quoted by *Strabo*, and by *Aurelius Victor*, if he is the Author of the Book concerning the Origin of the *Romans*. *Agathyllus*, an old Poet, some of whose Verses are preserved by *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, in the first Book of his *Roman Antiquities*, says expressly, that *Aeneas* came into *Italy*: Αὐτὸς δ' ἰταλὸν ἦεν ἄνδρα χεῖρον. *Strabo* himself, l. 5. tells us the same thing. It is reported, says he,

that *Aeneas*, with his Father *Anchises*, and his Son *Ascanius*, came to *Laurentum*, on the Coast near *Ostia*, at the Mouth of the *Tyber*. It is amazing therefore, that the Authority of *Strabo* should be made use of, as if he absolutely denied the Arrival of *Aeneas* in *Italy*. We have answered the Objections proposed by the learned *Bochart* against it, in a Dissertation at the End of the seventh Book of the *Aeneid*.

² Historians are not all of the same Opinion about the Conduct of *Aeneas*, with respect to his Country. *Menecrates* asserts, that he delivered up *Troy* to the *Greeks*, to be revenged on *Paris*, who had opposed his having a certain sacerdotal Dignity, to which he aspired.

³ These People inhabited a Country of *Bithynia*, which from the City *Daschyleum*, now *Diasquilo*, was called *Daschylia*.

⁴ *Dion. Hal.* is not the only Historian, who says *Aeneas* had two Sons. *Lucatius*, quoted by *Aurelius Victor*, in his Book of the Origin of the *Romans*, tells us, that the same thing was asserted by many Historians.

Strabo, B. 2. and had the Title of King. Whether this was he from whom the ⁵ *Ascanian* Lake took its Name, is indeed ⁶ uncertain; but he undoubtedly reigned in his new Kingdom, till the *Greeks*, being pacified at length, permitted the *Dascylites* to rebuild and re-people *Troy*. Thus the fortunate Posterity of *Æneas* reap'd Advantage from the Calamities of his Country: for they filled two Thrones, one in *Phrygia*, raised on the Ruins of the Family of *Priam*; and the other in *Italy*, by means of a Marriage, which put them in Possession of the Scepter of *Latinus*. But to return.

§. III. *ÆNEAS* equips a Fleet, crosses the *Hellepont*, arrives in *Thrace*⁷, builds there a City⁸, which afterwards bore his Name, and in it leaves a Part of that numerous Multitude which had attended him in his Flight, and followed his Fortunes. From thence he sails to *Delos*⁹, and there leaves Monuments, which were yet remaining in the Time of *Dionysius Halicarnassens*. He arrives at *Cythera*¹⁰; he stays some time in the Island of *Zacynthus*¹¹, and there institutes a Festival to the Honour of *Venus*, which was called the *Races of Æneas*, because in the Celebration of it Prizes were allotted to the swiftest Runners. The Statue of the Goddess, and that of the Prince, which were found there, were farther Proofs of his having sailed thro' the Islands of the *Archipelago*. *Leucas*¹², where the *Trojans* landed, retained also some Traces of their Passage. For in the Middle of this Island was to be seen a Temple erected to *Venus*, the Mother of *Æneas*. Nor did *Actium*¹³ and *Ambracia*¹⁴, where the *Trojans* cast Anchor, want some Testimonies of the Truth of their Arrival. But above all, at *Dodona*¹⁵ were shewn antient Vessels of Brass,

⁵ This Lake was situated in *Bithynia*, according to *Ptolomy*; perhaps it was the same which *Strabo* calls the Lake *Daphnitis* and *Daschylia*, upon which the City *Daschyleum* was built.

⁶ It is very probable that the Lake *Ascanius*, and Province *Ascania*, went by those Names before the *Trojan* War. *Strabo* seems to be convinc'd of this, for he quotes some Verses from *Homer*, which say, that one *Ascanius* came from *Ascania* to that War. Nevertheless, as *Homer* wrote above an hundred Years after the Siege of *Troy*, he may very well have called both the Province and Lake, as they were usually call'd in his Time, after *Ascanius* the Son of *Æneas* had given them his Name, and not by those Names which they had before the Siege. It is thus that he makes the *Æneates* come from *Thrace* to the *Trojan* War, though the *Æneates* received their Name from *Æneas*, after the Destruction of his Country.

⁷ The *Thrace*, where *Dion. Hal.* makes *Æneas* land, was, according to the same Author, a Peninsula joining to *Europia*, a Canton of *Macedonia*, so called from the City *Europus*; he calls that Peninsula *Pallene*, which must not be confounded with the *Chersonesus* of *Thrace*, called by the same Name. *Stephanus*, in speaking of the City *Pallene*, situated in *Macedonia*, calls it a City of *Thrace*, because it was formerly inhabited by *Thracians*; for the same Reason the Ancients gave the Name of *Thracia* to all the Cantons of *Macedonia*, of *Thessaly*, and of *Attica*, which had been formerly under the Dominion of the *Thracian Eumolpus*. And that *Æneas* arrived in *Macedonia*, *Livy* assures us: *Æneam domo profugum in Macedoniam venisse*, l. 1.

⁸ This City was called *Æneia*, from the Name of its Founder. *Livy*, l. 44. places it fifteen Miles from *Thessalonica*, upon the *Thermaican* or *Macedonian* Gulph. If that was its true Situation, *Dion. Halic.* was mistaken in placing it in the Peninsula *Pallene*; unless under the Name of *Pallene*, he comprehended all that Country which lies between the Peninsula and *Thessalonica*. *Æneia*, according to the Greek Historian, subsisted till the Reign of the Successors of *Alexander*, but was destroyed during the Reign of *Cassander*, at the Time of the building of *Thessalonica*, whither

the *Æneates* were transplanted. Those who make *Æneas* pass into the *Chersonesus* of *Thrace*, say, that he built there a City, which, from his own Name, he called *Ænos*, situated at the Mouth of the *Heber*. *Mela*, l. 2. and *Pliny*, l. 4. make mention of this last City.

⁹ *Delos* is one of the *Cyclades* or Isles of the *Archipelago*. It is near the Isle of *Rhene*; the Inhabitants give to both of them the common Name of *Dili* or *Idilles*. According to the Account of our Travellers, and the Plans which they have made, *Rhene* is bigger than the ancient *Delos*: nevertheless, *Cellarius*, upon the Testimony of *Strabo* and of *Stephen of Byzantium*, makes it less.

¹⁰ *Cythera*, now *Cerigo*, to the East of the *Morca* or *Peloponnesus*.

¹¹ The Inhabitants of this Island gave *Æneas* a very honourable Reception, out of regard to the antient Union which had been between them and the *Trojans*, ever since *Zacynthus*, the Son of *Dardanus*, settled in this Island, and gave it his own Name. It must not, however, be confounded with the *Zacynthus* in the *Archipelago*, or *Ægean* Sea, called now *Paros*, or *Paro*, which was the ancient *Paros*. This we are now treating of is an Isle in the *Ionian* Sea, on which stood the City *Zanthos*, and a Citadel called *Psophis*. *Pausanias Arcad.* asserts, that the Son of *Dardanus* settled in this last Isle, which is to the South of *Cephalonia*, over against *Elis*.

¹² *Leucas* is at present known under the Name of the Isle of *S. Maure*; 'twas anciently a Peninsula joined to the main Land of *Acarmania*; and we learn from *Pliny*, that it was called at first *Neritis*, but it became an Island, after the *Corinthians* had cut the *Isthmus*, and built a City upon the Canal, to which they gave the Name of *Leucas*, at present *Santa Maura*, *Strabo*, l. 10.

¹³ *Actium*, a City and Promontory of *Epirus*, now *Capo Figalo*.

¹⁴ *Ambracia* was formerly a City of *Epirus*, but is now only a Village about a Mile from the Sea; it still bears the Name of *Ambrakia*; and the Gulph of *Ambracia* is called by modern Geographers, *Golfe de Larta*.

¹⁵ There are no Traces remaining of that City, which was situated in the Country of the *Molossi*.

upon

upon which the Name of the *Trojan* Hero, who made an Offering of them to *Jupiter*, was engraven in old Characters. Not far from *Buthrotos*¹⁶, in *Epirus*, a *Trojan* Camp, which had escaped the Injuries of Time, retain'd still the Name of *Troia*. All these Antiquities, which were yet remaining in the Reign of *Augustus*, were incontestable Proofs of the Voyage of *Aeneas* into *Italy*; which is likewise attested by the most antient Writers, both *Greek* and *Roman*. So that there is doubtless more Reason to give into this Opinion, than into the Fable invented by a few *Greek* Historians, concerning the Death of *Aeneas* in *Arcadia*.

It is plain then, the fugitive *Trojans* came into *Italy*; but they did not all land at the same Place. Some, crossing the *Adriatick* Sea, disembarked at *Salentum*¹⁷ in *Iapigia*, and others at Cape¹⁸ *Minerva*, where *Aeneas*, at his first Arrival on the Coast, had gone ashore. In the mean while, he with his Squadron held on his Way, and coasting along *Italy*, arrived in *Sicily*, at the Port of *Drepanum*¹⁹. And there the *Trojan* Hero discharged an useless Number of those who had followed him, being constrained to it by the Difficulty of transporting them. He wanted Ships; for some Women, weary of the Sea, had set Fire to the Vessels in which they came: And *Sicily* afforded a favourable Retreat to the weak and the discontented. *Egestus* and *Elymus*, both *Phrygians* by Descent, had, not long before, settled there a *Trojan* Colony, which was now augmented by a great Number of the Followers of *Aeneas*. So that the *Sicilian* Antiquities will also give an eternal Testimony to the noble Origin of the *Romans*.

ÆNEAS immediately cross'd the *Tyrrhenian*²⁰ Sea. He named Cape *Palinurus*²¹, and the Port of *Misenum*, after two of his *Trojans* who died in those Places: And the Island of *Prochyta*²², and the Promontory of *Cajeta*, received also their Appellations, from being the Burial Places, one of a Kinswoman, and the other of the Nurse, of *Aeneas*. After which, the *Trojan* Prince and his chosen Band, at length finished their tedious and painful Voyages on the Coast of the *Laurentes*²³. There, far removed from the *Greeks*, their Enemies and Destroyers, they undertook to raise another *Troy*²⁴. They fortified a Camp in an adjacent Place, gave it the Name of *Troy*, and flattered themselves with the Hopes of a happy Settlement, which would put an End to all their Adventures.

¹⁶ *Buthrotos*, now *Butrinto* or *Butrinto*.

¹⁷ The Promontory of *Salentum*, at present *Capo di Santa Maria di Leuca*, is situated in that Southern Part of *Italy* called *Terra d'Otranto*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*. This Country was formerly called *Iapigia*.

¹⁸ Eight Miles from Cape *Salentum* stands the Town of *Castro*, or the ancient Cape *Minerva*, so called from a magnificent Temple built in the same Place to the honour of that Goddess, *Strabo*, B. 6. *Virgil* speaks of it, B. 3. of the *Æneid*,

—*Templumque apparet in arce Minervæ.*

¹⁹ At the Foot of Mount *Erix*, or Mount *St. Julian*, is the Port of *Drepanum*, now *Capo di Sant' Alessio*. *Hamilcar*, in the first Year of the first *Punic* War, fortified *Drepanum*, and built a City there of the same Name, after having razed the ancient City *Erix*. The Natives of the Country call it *Trapani*. *Mela*, B. 2. pretends that *Aeneas* built a Temple upon the Mountain in Honour of *Venus*. But *Dion. Hal.* B. 1. p. 42. speaks only of an Altar which the *Trojan* Prince erected to *Venus* his Mother: *Virgil* mentions either the one or the other in these Terms,

*Tum vicina astris Erycino in vertice sedes,
Idaliæ Veneris fundatur*— *Æneid*, B. 5.

²⁰ The *Tyrrhenian* Sea is a Part of the *Mediterranean*. It washes the Shores of *Tuscany*, the Pope's Territories, and the Kingdom of *Naples*. It is called by the Antients, *Mare inferum*, or the

Southern, to distinguish it from the *Adriatick*, which they named *Mare superum*, or the *Northern*, Sea.

²¹ Cape *Palinurus*, call'd *Capo di Palinuro*, and the Port of *Misenum*, call'd *Capo di Miseno*, belong to the Kingdom of *Naples*.

²² The Isle of *Prochyta*, at present *Profita*, or *Profida*, and the Promontory of *Cajeta*, or *Gaëta*, are in the Province call'd *Terra di Lavoro*, belonging to the Kingdom of *Naples*. *Strabo*, B. 5. says, that this Island took its name from its having been separated from the Island *Pythecusa*, on the Coast of *Campania*, ἀπὸ τοῦ προχύναι. *Pliny* confirms this opinion, when he says, *Prochita non ab Æneæ nutrice, sed quia profusa ab Ænaria erat*. The Island *Pythecusa* was called *Ænaria*, from the Time of the Arrival of *Aeneas's* Fleet there. It is the same City which *Homer* calls *Inarime*, *Iliad*, B. 2.

²³ It is difficult to fix the Situation of the ancient City of *Laurentum*, of which there is not the least Trace remaining. According to the Conjecture of *Cluverius* it was situated in the same Place which is now called *Paterno*. The Resemblance of Names made *Holstenius* and *Kircher* believe, that it was placed in that Territory where there is a Tower which commands the Sea, and is called *Torre di Santo Lorenzo*; between *Ostia* and *Antium*, in the Neighbourhood of that City, there was a great Number of *Lawrel Trees*, from which it received the Name of *Laurentum*.

²⁴ This new *Troy* was near the Mouth of the *Tyber*, to the East of that River.

§.IV. *ITALY*, when the *Trojans* arriv'd there, was, in some measure, come off from the Barbarity and savage Fierceness of its first Inhabitants. They were called *Aborigines*²⁵, because, as 'tis said, they had from all Antiquity peopled this Country, and seem'd to have been form'd there with the World it self. The great Length of Time since the Flood, and the dispersing of the Children of *Noah* into the several Climates of the Earth, had worn out the Remembrance of the Country from whence they came.

Portius Cato
& C. Sempron.
apud Dion.
Hal. B. 1. p. 9.

SOME learned Writers indeed among the *Latins* have believ'd, upon mere Conjectures, that the *Aborigines* came from *Achaia*, and peopled *Italy* many Years before the Siege of *Troy*. But, however that be, it seems more credible that the Colony of the *Aborigines*, which *Oenotrus*²⁶ brought hither, was of *Arcadia*. This Country was from him call'd *Oenotria*, before it took the Name of *Italy*. And according to this Opinion, the *Oenotrians* must have been the same with the *Aborigines*, and the first People who landed in *Italy*. Nevertheless, others affirm that *Oenotrus*, at his Arrival there, found it already inhabited by the *Siculi* and *Ausonii*; and that *Italy*, from the latter, was called *Ausonia*.

Dion. Hal. B.
1. p. 13, 14.

BUT from whatever Country these *Aborigines* came, they were oblig'd to maintain long Wars against the *Siculi*; till at length having receiv'd a considerable Reinforcement, by the Arrival of a new Colony of *Pelasgi* from *Theffaly*, they drove out the *Siculi*, seiz'd upon their Towns, granted a large Extent of Land to the *Pelasgi*, and borrow'd from them many of the Customs of *Greece*, together with some Ceremonies of their Religion.

As for the *Siculi*, they being driven out of all the Countries of *Italy*, took Refuge in *Sicily*, which was at that time possess'd by the *Sicani*²⁹, a People originally of *Spain*. And at length the *Pelasgi* themselves, not being able to bear up against the Infection of the Air, and divers other Calamities with which they were afflicted, return'd for the most Part to *Greece*, and retain'd there the Name of *Tyrrheni*, which they had gain'd from their living in the Neighbourhood of that Nation during their Stay in *Italy*.

Herod. B. 1.
c. 94. Dion.
Hal. B. 1. p. 21.

THE *Tyrrheni* in *Italy* reap'd Advantage from the Departure of the *Pelasgi*. Some Writers have been of Opinion, that one *Tyrrhenus* had brought them from *Lydia* to the Western Coast of *Italy*. But others affirm, that neither the Language, Laws, nor Religion of the *Tyrrheni*, discover any Marks of a Nation originally *Lydian*. And it seems therefore more probable that both they and the *Aborigines*, were some of those antient Nations of *Italy*, whose Leaders, and first Settlement there, are equally unknown. These *Tyrrheni* extended their Conquests so far in this Country, that the Sea which runs all along the Southern Coast of *Italy*, from the *Alps* to *Sicily*, was, from them, called the *Tyrrhenian* Sea.

ABOUT sixty Years after the War of *Troy*, another Colony, which came from *Peloponnesus*, under the Conduct of *Evander* the *Arcadian*, landed in the Ports of *Italy*. *Faunus*³⁰ then reign'd over the *Aborigines*, in that little Territory of *Italy*,

²⁵ Some antient Authors affirm, that the *Aborigines* were a Company of Vagabonds, who gathering together from different Countries, establish'd themselves in *Italy*, and there lived by Rapine; for which very Reason the same Writers have call'd them *Aberrigenes*; that is to say, a wandering People. So that these People must have been very like those whom the Antients call'd *Leleges*; that is to say, Vagabonds, and lawless.

²⁶ *Oenotrus* the Son of *Lycaon* King of *Arcadia*, having pass'd the Gulph of *Ionis*, with a Troop of *Arcadians*, settled in the South Part of *Italy*, and gave his Name to all that Country, which was call'd *Oenotria*. But *Varro* calls it so from another *Oenotrus* King of the *Sabines*. And some Authors pretend that these *Arcadians* were the same with the *Aborigines*, and that they were call'd so from the Mountains of *Arcadia*, which they formerly inhabited, ἀπ' ὀρέων γένεσις.

²⁷ The Antients are so divided in their Opinions about the first Inhabitants of *Italy*, and the Original of the different Settlements made there, that one cannot possibly form any reasonable Conjecture about it. What Authors tell us of those dis-

tant Ages is likewise drowned in such a Heap of Contradiction and Fables, as to leave us no Way of coming at the Truth.

²⁸ The *Siculi* inhabited the antient *Latinum*: *Sophocles* gives them one *Siculus* for their King. The *Ausonii*, according to *Pliny*, B. 3. possess'd that Part which reaches from *Monte Circello*, to the Streight which separates *Sicily* from *Italy*; and from the Name of these People the *Greeks* call'd *Italy*, *Ausonia*.

²⁹ Authors differ about the Origin of the *Sicani*. *Thucydides*, *Dion. Hal.* *Philistus* a *Sicilian* Author, and the Poet *Silins*, bring them from a Country in *Spain*, water'd by the River *Sicannus*, which *Servius*, upon very weak Conjectures, says is the same with the *Segro*. But others derive the Name of that People from their first Leader *Sicannus*. *Diodorus* says, that the *Sicani* were supposed to have inhabited *Sicily* from the first Ages of the World.

³⁰ We find two *Faunus's* mention'd by the Antients; the first lived two hundred Years before him we are speaking of; he is said to have been the first Person who civilized the Inhabitants of *Italy*, and introduced a Sort of Religion amongst them; and

Italy, called *Latium*, and was a Prince of Humanity and Prudence. He consider'd, that nothing was to be fear'd from a small Number of unhappy Men, brought thither in two Vessels; and that his People, who were yet rude and unpolish'd, might by an Intercourse with them take some Tincture of the *Greek* Politeness. He therefore gave *Evander* Leave to settle on a small uncultivated Hill near the *Tyber*; where the *Arcadian* built a small Town, and call'd it by the Name of *Pallantium*, the Capital of his Dominions in *Arcadia*, which a popular Commotion had constrain'd him to leave. The Hill it self was call'd the Hill *Palatinus*, which in the Time of *Augustus* was in the Center of *Rome*. In this manner were the first Foundations of the Capital of the World laid, in a Place before uninhabited: And thus did a Prince, who fled from his own Country, prepare the Way for the erecting of an Empire which afterwards ow'd its Origin to another Nation, which was also both vanquish'd and fugitive.

EVANDER's first Business in this new Abode, was to establish there the Worship of the Gods of his native Country. ³¹ Every one knows that *Pan* was the tutelar Deity of the *Arcadians*. They invoc'd him particularly to keep away the Wolves which were so dreadful to their Flocks. And as the Temple which had been rais'd to him in *Greece*, was call'd ³² *Lycæum*, so that which *Evander* built to him in *Italy* was nam'd ³³ *Lupercal*. Thus the *Greek* Name of his Temple was chang'd into a *Latin* one, but the *Arcadian* Ceremonies were retain'd in his Worship.

Nor did *Evander* stop here. He likewise built Altars to ³⁴ *Victory* and *Ceres*, *Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 26.* in *Pallantium*: And the Festival of the *Equestrian Neptune* was especially instituted there. This God, according to the *Greek* Fable, rais'd the first ³⁵ Horse out of the Earth, with a Stroke of his Trident. And in regard to this generous Beast, produced by *Neptune*, a Cessation from Labour was granted to all Animals, and they were crown'd with Flowers, during the Time of the Celebration of this Festival. This same *Neptune*, under the Name of ³⁶ *Consus*, was also

and he was therefore honour'd as a God in his Country. In the *Roman* Calendar, we find two Festivals appointed for him, tho' it is not certain, but that one may have been for the old, the other for the new *Faunus*. The *Italians* thought that the Forests were peopled with *Fauni*, and went thither to consult them. The Gloominess of these Forests gave oftentimes a good Opportunity of juggling, and thereby encreasing the Superstition of the People. Men that were conceal'd utter'd Words like Oracles, which the People believed to be spoken by the *Fauni*.

³¹ It does not appear that the first *Latins* had any other Superstition before *Evander*'s Arrival in *Italy*, than the Worship of *Faunus*, one of their first Kings, whose Oracle they consulted in their Forests. It is true that they acknowledged *Janus* for the most antient of their Kings, and for the first Man that came to settle in *Italy*; but it is uncertain whether they gave him, from the Beginning, the Honour of a religious Worship. Some have taken this *Janus* for *Japhet* the Son of *Noah*. When *Evander* came into *Italy* he brought with him many of the Gods and Superstitions of *Greece*. Amongst others he built a Temple to *Pan*, or rather cut one out of a Rock, which they called *Lycæum*. From that time *Evander*'s God *Pan*, and the *Faunus* of the antient *Latins* were confounded together, and taken for one and the same God. The *Latins* called him likewise *Inuus*.

³² The building of the Temple of *Pan* under the Name of *Lycæum* and *Lupercal*, answered to the Idea which the *Pagans* had formed to themselves of *Pan*, whom they looked upon as the tutelar God of their Flocks against the *Wolves*. And indeed, if we look back into the earliest Ages, it appears very plainly that this God was the *Jupiter* of the *Greeks*; that is, the Master of Nature, or the universal Spirit. *Dion. Hal.* says, that of all the Gods, the *Arcadians* gave *Pan* the greatest Honours, and worship'd him with most Devotion. It is for this

Reason that these People, according to *Macrobius*, called him τῶν τῆς ὕλης κῆρυξ, i. e. the Lord of all material Substances. The very Name of *Pan* expresses in one Word the Sum of all the Parts of the Universe.

³³ The *Lupercal* was a Cavern dug in a Rock in a Corner of Mount *Palatine*. Some Authors, and amongst them *Ovid*, pretend that *Romulus* and *Remus* consecrated this Cave, because it had been the Retreat of the Wolf which suckled them.

Illa loco nomen fecit locus ipse Lupercal. Fast. B. 2.

In Commemoration of this, the *Romans* placed there a brazen Statue, representing a Wolf suckling the Twins. *Fulvius Ursinus* thinks 'tis the same which may be seen at present on the *Capitol*, at the Palace of the Conservators.

³⁴ It seems that the *Latins*, after the Arrival of *Evander*, adored *Victory* and *Ceres*, before the other Gods, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, &c. They represented *Victory* under the Form of a young Girl with Wings, painted white. *Ceres* was represented like the Mother of a Family, with a long training Robe; and held in her Hand an handful of Ears of Corn, or Poppies. Even from that time *Evander* established a Priestess at *Pallantium* to attend the Worship of *Ceres*.

³⁵ Antiquity is not agreed about the pretended Horse which *Neptune* rais'd out of the Earth. Some say it was a Fountain he caused to flow from a Rock. But *Evander* followed the Fable most generally received in his Country, and worshipped the *Equestrian Neptune*. The *Romans* placed his Festival on the tenth Day before the Calends of *August*.

³⁶ It is generally thought that *Consus* and the *Equestrian Neptune* were, since the Time of *Romulus*, the same God. Before *Romulus*, only the subterraneous Cavern made by Order of *Evander* was dedicated to the *Equestrian Neptune*; but *Romulus*, when he designed to carry off the *Sabine Women*,

also consulted upon all Occasions which requir'd Deliberation and *Counsel*. Thus the *Greek* Superstitions were introduced by Degrees into *Italy*; and *Rome*, which was built in the same Place where *Evander* dwelt, retain'd the Religion which he brought thither from *Arcadia*.

THIS Mixture of the *Arcadians* with the *Aborigines*, did not a little contribute to polish and civilize the *Italians*. The Art of expressing their Thoughts by Characters was unknown to them: But *Evander*³⁷ taught them the Use of the *Greek* Letters, habituated their Ears to the Sounds of those musical Instruments he had brought from his own Country, and chang'd their oaten Pipes into harmonious Flutes, and stringed Instruments. The *Aborigines* lived after a savage rustick Manner, and were under no Regulation of Laws: But by the Example of the *Arcadians*, they reform'd their Customs, and softned their Manners. Both³⁸ *Evander*, and his Mother *Carmenta* therefore receiv'd divine Honours in *Italy* after their Deaths; and *Rome* continued to offer Sacrifices to them, when in her greatest Splendor.

*Æschylus in
Tragedia de
Prometheo.*

IN the mean time, one of these Adventurers, called by the Antients *Hercules*³⁹, endeavour'd to subdue *Italy*, after having subjected *Spain*. But in his Passage over the *Alps* he met with more Resistance than he expected. The Opposition of the *Ligures* held his Conquests a long time in Suspence; and his Power was not establish'd in *Italy*, till after the Defeat of *Cacus*. This was a fierce and cruel King, who govern'd one of the *Ligurian* Nations, and harraisd his Neighbours by his Robberies and Depredations.

THE Progress of *Hercules* therefore rouz'd the Pride of *Cacus*. He took the Field with a Troop of his Subjects, travers'd the Conqueror's March, and by intercepting some of his Convoys weakned his Army. But as *Cacus* was ignorant of the Art of War, he suffer'd himself to be invested in his chief Town by the Troops of *Hercules*, who were more experienced Soldiers than his own: *Cacus* was slain in an Engagement, and by his Death left all *Italy* a Prey to the Conqueror. Then *Evander* and *Faunus*, who ruled over small Territories of *Italy*, pacified the Wrath of *Hercules*, and gained his Favour. *Evander*, by a *Grecian* Piece of Flattery, recogniz'd him for a God, and rais'd Altars to him even in his Life-time. There was one remaining at *Rome* in the Time of *Augustus*, call'd⁴⁰ *Ara Maxima*, which had been dedicated to *Hercules*, Time out of Mind. His Divinity was call'd to witness in all mutual Compacts, and he was made the Voucher of the Faith and Sincerity of the Parties in Treaty, by this Form of an Oath,⁴¹ *Me Dius Fidius*. As for *Faunus*, he married one of the Mistresses of

men, took Occasion from this Altar, which he found under Ground, to celebrate the Games at which he executed his Design. And as this Project was carried on with a profound Dissimulation, and was the Effect of a long Deliberation, he therefore called the Divinity, by whom he had Opportunity of doing this, *Consus*; that is, the God of *Counsel*. These Games, consecrated to the *Equestrian Neptune*, or otherwise to *Consus*, were celebrated ever after at *Rome*, and called, by way of Eminency, the *Roman* or *Great Games*. They consisted chiefly in Chariot and Horse Races; and at first they held only one Day, but they were afterwards prolonged to two, then to three, and at length even to nine. They were celebrated in the great *Circus*, and called also, *Ludi Circences*, or, the Games of the *Circus*.

³⁷ The *Greek* Characters were the first the *Latins* made use of; and there were some visible Proofs of this remaining in the Time of *Augustus*. The Treaty which *Tarquin the Proud* made with the *Gabini*, was written in *Greek* Letters, tho' in *Latin* Words, on the Base of a Pillar in the Temple of *Jupiter*; as we are told by *Dion. Hal. B. 4.*

³⁸ The *Romans* consecrated an Altar to *Evander*, and honour'd him as a Demi-God. This Altar was placed either upon or near the Hill *Aventinus*. It was in Consideration of the Service done by him to the *Latins*, in polishing their Manners. As to his Mother *Carmenta*, it seems that she received that

Name in *Italy*. It was either given her from the Word *Carmen*, because she affect'd to be thought a Prophetess, and deliver'd her Oracles in *Verse*; or else from *Carens Monte*, because these She-diviners affect'd an Enthusiasm which transported them beyond themselves. She was called in her own Country *Nicostrata*, and since, *Themis*, being confounded with the Goddess of Justice. She had an Altar in *Rome* at the Foot of the *Capitol*; and one of the City Gates, where there had been another Altar erected to her, was called after her Name.

³⁹ The Antients mention more than one *Hercules*. *Cicero* speaks of six, in his third Book *De Natura Deorum*; and *Varro* reckons no less than forty. If one may give Credit to the antient Author of *The Origin of the Romans*, this whom we are speaking of was called *Recaranus*. *Dion. Hal.* makes the History of his Quarrels with *Cacus* probable, which had been much alter'd by the Mixture of Fable.

⁴⁰ This Altar was dedicated to *Hercules* by *Evander*, and remained in the Ox-Market without having ever been removed since the Reign of this antient King. But notwithstanding its fine Name, and that it was respected as the Guarantee of verbal Bargains, it was very much neglected, and very poorly adorn'd.

⁴¹ The *Hercules* of the *Greeks* is said to have been the *Sancus* or *Sangus* of the *Sabines*. He was worship'd by the *Latins*, under the Name of *Dius*.

of *Hercules*; and it was thought that *Latinus*, who was born after this Marriage, was rather *Hercules's* Son than his. The Conqueror, to reward the two petty Kings for their Attachment to him, augmented their Dominions considerably, by giving them a Part of his Conquests. Nay, the Number of their Subjects too was encreas'd, by the Addition of some of *Hercules's* Soldiers. For he left in *Italy* a Part of his Army, which consisted partly of *Greeks*, and partly of *Trojans*, whom he had constrain'd to follow him, after having pillaged *Troy* in the Reign of *Laomedon*. So that the Companions of *Aeneas* were not the first *Phrygians* who settled in *Italy*.

BEFORE the Arrival of *Hercules*, another Conqueror, nam'd *Italus*, had establish'd himself a vast Dominion there: He had gain'd the Hearts of the People by his Virtues, and especially by his Humanity, and had extended his Empire more by Insinuation than Violence. It is indeed uncertain whether he preserv'd it long; but at least the Name of *Italy*, which he gave to that beautiful Region of *Europe*, will make him immortal. This Country was before called *Saturnia*, because, as 'tis said, the pretended God *Saturn* took Refuge there. It afterwards got the Name of *Oenotria*⁴², from *Oenotrus*, who brought thither a Colony. But at length *Italus*, one of the Descendants of *Oenotrus*⁴³, gave it the new Name of *Italy*, which has been perpetuated thro' all successive Ages, to our Days.

SUCH was the State of the Country where *Aeneas* landed, and where he took up his Rest, after long wandering; seventy two Years, according to some, or, according to others, seventy seven Years, after the Arrival of *Evander*; that is to say, seven Years, according to the latter, and according to the former, two Years, after the taking of *Troy*: Or, lastly, fifty five Years after the Return of *Hercules* into his own Country.

§. V. *LATINUS* then reign'd in *Latium*, and fill'd the Place of *Faunus*, whose Son he was reputed. This Prince was in War with the *Rutuli*⁴⁴, his Neighbours, but Fortune did not favour his Arms. And to add to his Perplexity, he was informed that a foreign Army had made a Descent upon his Coasts, was pillaging the maritime Part of his Dominions, and fortifying themselves in a Camp some Furlongs from the Sea. Upon this he hastens immediately to drive away these supposed Pyrates: But by their Dress he takes them to be *Greeks*, and judges by their Looks that they had been inur'd to War. *Italy* had but too well experienc'd the Valour of the People of the East; and these Strangers, newly landed, appear'd formidable to a Prince already overburthen'd with an unsuccessful War. Instead therefore of giving Battle, as he had resolv'd, he comes to a Parly. In which *Aeneas*, by the Mention of ruin'd *Troy*, the Place of his Nativity, and by the Relation of his Battles against the united Power of *Greece*, fill'd *Latinus* at once with Terror and Compassion.

Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 47. & Liv. B. 1. c. 1.

NECESSITY, added the *Trojan*, is not subject to Law. We have only sought wherewith to supply our pressing Occasions; and a Pillage, which is authorized by Misery and Want, ought not to be mistaken for an Act of Hostility. Allies and a Retreat are what we seek here. Shall we be so happy as to find them in you, and upon your Territories? Our Arms have been exercised in more than one Battle, and our Courage has signaliz'd it self by a long

Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 47.

or *Divus Fidius*; that is, the Guarantee or Protector of Faith promised or sworn. They had a Custom of calling to witness that pretended Deity, by a Sort of Oath conceived in these Terms, *Me Divus Fidius*, which comprehended all the Energy of this, *ita me Divus Fidius adjuvet*. According to several Commentators, these Monosyllables, *me* and *ē*, had the same Force amongst the *Latins* as the Preposition *per*; so *me Divus Fidius*, and *per Divum Fidium*, *ē Castor*, and *per Castorem*, signified the same Thing. This Form of Speech answered to these Particles, *μᾶ*, *ἢ*, which the *Greeks* made use of before their Oaths. There is remaining an ancient Monument, shap'd like a square Altar, with this Inscription, SEMONI SANCO DEO FIDIO SACRUM. *Dion. Hal. B. 9.* reports, that in the Year of *Rome* CCLXXVII, the Consul *Sp.*

Posthumus consecrated to *Divus Fidius* a Chapel which had been erected by the last *Tarquin*. The Festival of that God was celebrated on the Nones of *June*, upon Mount *Quirinal*.

⁴² If *Tertullian* is to be credited concerning the *Roman* Antiquities, *Italy* had the Name of *Oenotria*, before that of *Saturnia*; for he tells us in the tenth Chapter of his Apology, *Tota denique Italia post Oenotriam Saturnia cognominabatur*. But it seems more likely that it was called *Saturnia* first.

⁴³ Others say, that the *Greek* Colonies, which passed into *Italy*, gave it that Name from the *Greek* Word *ἰταλος* *Vitulus*, because of the Richness of the Pasture, which fed a great Number of Cattle.

⁴⁴ The *Rutuli* inhabited the Sea Coast of the *Campagna di Roma*, between *Patrica* and *Nettuno*.

Resistance. You have it in your Choice, either to employ it for your Service, or to make Trial of it in a War which may prove fatal to you.

LATINUS remembred some former Examples of Kings of the *Aborigines*, who had reaped Advantage from the Settlement of Strangers in *Italy*: And he considered that this Succour which the Gods had directed to him in the urgent Necessity of his Affairs, might be usefully employ'd against the *Rutuli*; Hostages were therefore given on both Sides, a Treaty enter'd into, and upon the Faith of it *Latinus* assign'd *Aeneas* a Tract of Land for a Settlement⁴⁵.

THE *Trojans*, in their Turn, employ'd their Arms, Valour and Experience, in the Defence of *Latinus*. But all did not end here. The King of the *Aborigines* put so great a Confidence in the Fidelity of *Aeneas*, that he gave him *Lavinia*, his Daughter and only Child, in Marriage, and secur'd to him the Succession to the Throne of the antient Kings of his Country.

LAVINIA therefore cou'd not but be dear to *Aeneas*, who in Proof of it gave her Name to the Camp which he had pitch'd; and instead of *Troy*, call'd it *Lavinium*⁴⁶. And as all the *Trojans* followed the Example of their Leader, and by Marriages made Alliances with *Latin* Families; the *Trojan* Blood was in a little time so mingled with the *Latin*, that they were no longer distinguishable. The *Trojans* all spoke the Language of the Country into which *Aeneas* was transplanted, and they and the *Latins* became one People.

§. VI. THE Prosperity of *Aeneas* turned to the Disadvantage of *Turnus*, a young Prince of the *Aborigines*, who being brought up in the Palace, and under the Eye of *Latinus*, as a Relation of Queen *Amata's*, had conceiv'd Hopes of marrying *Lavinia*, and of succeeding to the Throne. The Disappointment of these Hopes incens'd him against his own Family, made him disloyal to his King, and hurried him on to his Ruin. He went over to the *Rutuli*, and joining his Rage with the Queen's Resentments, brought on a Battle between the *Rutuli* and the *Latins*, wherein *Latinus* and *Turnus* both perished. Thus *Aeneas*, by the Death of his Father-in-law, and by that of a turbulent Rival, came into quiet Possession of the Kingdom of the *Latins*, which he govern'd wisely, and transmitted to his Posterity; and which gave Beginning to the most flourishing Empire the World ever saw. I know not by what Turn of Fancy it is, that some People are inclined to look upon the very Names of *Aeneas*, *Latinus*, *Lavinia*, and *Turnus*, as fabulous, because a Poet⁴⁷ has made use of them in a Work full of Fiction: As if the Hands of a Poet were always contagious, and made every thing they touch degenerate into Fable! We have drawn from the same Source of historical Traditions with him, only taking care to reject all fabulous Circumstances.

§. VII. *ÆNEAS* reign'd three Years, and applied himself all that Time as much to the regulating of Religion, as to the necessary Measures for his Defence and Security. Before his Time, *Picus* and *Faunus* were in Possession of Divine Honours: And these, with some other Deities brought by *Evander* from *Arcadia*⁴⁸, were the only, or at least the principal Gods, of *Latium*. But he established there the Worship of those of his Country; and to the Religion of

⁴⁵ *Marcus Octavius*, quoted by *Aurelius Victor*, determines the Extent of that District which *Aeneas* had from *Latinus*; he says it was five hundred Acres. But, according to *Appian*, he had four hundred Furlongs.

⁴⁶ The same *Octavius*, quoted by the Author of *The Origin of the Romans*, gives another Etymology to the Word *Lavinium*; he pretends, that *Aeneas*, upon his landing in *Italy*, encamped between two Lakes, in which he bathed himself; and that he gave his Camp the Name of *Lavinium*, from the Word *lavare*, to wash. But this Etymology has no Appearance of Truth in it, and is besides contradictory to all Antiquity.

⁴⁷ This Poet is *Virgil*, who has undoubtedly in his *Aeneid* made use of those Liberties which are allowed of in Poetry. He has mingled Fable with Truth; yet the Ground-work of his Poem is drawn from History. *Turnus*, *Latinus*, *Amata*,

Lavinia, *Mezentius*, &c. were real Persons, who acted different Parts at the Arrival of *Aeneas* in *Italy*. It is an unjust Prejudice to maintain, that the Transactions of those first Times must be all Invention; tho' at the same time it is not safe to warrant them all, or lay that Stress on them as on those which followed, especially under the latter Kings of *Rome*, and during the Time of the Republick.

⁴⁸ *Picus* is esteem'd to have been one of the first Kings of *Italy*, and excellent in the Science of Augury: But *Vossius*, B. 1. *de Orig. Idol.* believes there was no King of that Name: That common Notion, says he, had its Rise from a fabulous Tradition collected by *Dion. Hal.* (to wit) that in a certain Province of *Latium* the God *Mars* had deliver'd his Oracles by a mysterious Bird, called in the Language of the Country *Picus*, i. e. *Wood-pecker*.

the *Latins* added that of *Troy*. The two *Palladiums*⁴⁹, which had been the Protectors of his native Country before it was ruin'd, became the tutelar Deities of *Lavinium*⁵⁰, and in Process of Time, of the whole *Roman* Empire. These were two Iron Statues, whercof one was the Original, and the other the Copy. So that, properly speaking, there was but one true *Palladium*. Such were the Deities emphatically stiled the *Penates* (or the tutelary Gods) of the Empire, upon whom its Fate depended.

THE Worship⁵¹ of *Vesta*, that is to say, of *Cybele*, so much honoured by the *Phrygians*, was likewise introduc'd by *Aeneas* into *Italy*: and Virgins⁵² who were call'd *Vestals*, began from that Time to keep a Fire continually burning, in Honour of this Goddess. The Tomb⁵³ of *Anchises*, who died in *Latium* a Year before his Son, was also soon consecrated by the Concourse and Vows of the *Latins*. Nay, it is not improbable, that *Jupiter*, *Venus*, and many other Gods who had been revered in *Troy*, became known to the *Latins* by the means of *Aeneas*. And it was this, perhaps, which gave Occasion to the Poets to represent him under the Character of a pious Hero.

§. VIII. THE Care which *Aeneas* took of Religion, did not, however, make him neglect that of his military Affairs. The *Rutuli*, antient Enemies of the *Latin* Name, enter'd into a League with the *Hetrurians*⁵⁴, against a Stranger, whose good Fortune they envied. Especially *Mezentius*⁵⁵, King of the *Tyrreni*, was alarm'd at the too frequent Arrival in *Italy* of Colonies from the Eastern Nations, their numerous Settlements, and the Encroachments they were beginning to make upon the Lands of the first Inhabitants. Fear and Jealousy therefore made him take the Field.

WHILE the confederate Armies are advancing towards *Lavinium*, either to besiege it, or to draw the *Trojan* to an Engagement, *Aeneas* marches out, and offers the Enemy Battle. Equal Bravery was shewn on both Sides, and the

⁴⁹ The Dissertations we have already made on *Virgil*, will be sufficient to give a perfect Idea of the two *Palladiums* which *Aeneas* brought with him from *Troy*. They were those tutelary Gods under whose Protection that Nation which should possess them might be assur'd of an happy Fate. They were shut up at *Rome* in the Temple of *Vesta*, and to the *Vestals* only was permitted the Sight of them.

⁵⁰ It is believed that *Lavinium* was built upon that Hill which is now called *Monte di Lavano*, where the Chapel of *St. Petronilla* stands, and which is three Miles distant from the Sea.

⁵¹ By the Name of *Vesta*, the antient Philosophers have chiefly understood the Globe of the Earth, with the Fire shut up in its Bowels. Thus the Goddess *Vesta* represented at the same time both Earth and Fire. Her Temple was of an orbicular Figure, to signify that she was Goddess of the Earth; and to shew that she was the Goddess of Fire, there was kept a perpetual Fire in her Temple, either upon the Altar, as may be observed on the Medals, or by the Means of an earthen Lamp, which was ever burning. *Vesta* was not represented by this sacred Fire only, she had also her Statue. *Virgil* distinguishes them by this Verse,

*Vestamque potentem
Æternumque adytis effert penetralibus Ignem.*

Besides, the Medals represent her generally sitting, to express the Stability of the Earth. *Ovid* then is mistaken, in saying that there was no Image which represented *Vesta*,

Esse diu stultus Veste simulacra putavi.

And thus in another Verse,

Ælgiem nullam Vesta nec Ignis habet.

This Deity was brought by *Aeneas* into *Italy*, and was first deposited at *Lavinium*, then at *Alba*, and all of all at *Rome*; and this *St. Augustin*, in his

City of God, B. 3. assures us of in these Words, *Sacra illa fatalia, Veste, quæ jam tres, in quibus fuerunt, prefferunt civitates.* And indeed, neither *Lavinium*, *Alba* nor *Rome*, was preserved by this sacred Fire.

⁵² We shall speak in another Place of the Establishment of the *Vestals* at *Rome*; here we will only consider why none but Virgins were admitted to attend her Worship. *Ovid* gives two Reasons for it: The first is, That *Juno*, *Ceres* and *Vesta* were three Sisters, the two first of whom married, and had Children, but the third continued a Maid.

*Utraque nupserunt, ambæ peperisse feruntur;
Restitit impatiens de tribus una viri.*

The second Reason was, because *Vesta* represented Fire, and of Fire nothing is produced.

Nataque de flammâ corpora nulla vides.

But *Cicero* gives us a third Reason; he says, that it was of great Importance to keep in the sacred Fire; and therefore Virgins, who had no Cares upon 'em, were most capable of such a Charge. *Vestæ colendæ Virgines præsumt, ut advigiletur facilius ad custodiam Ignis.*

⁵³ *Dion. Hal.* is not the only Historian who makes *Anchises* come with *Aeneas* into *Italy*. *Cato*, quoted by *Aurelius Victor*, says, that *Anchises* was present at the Treaty between *Latinus* and *Aeneas*.

⁵⁴ We understand here the People of that Part of antient *Hetruria*, which comprehended what is now called *St. Peter's Patrimony*, the Dutchy of *Castro*, and the Territories of *Orvieto* and *Perusia*.

⁵⁵ *Mezentius* had under his Dominion that Territory which depended on the antient City *Agylla*, now *Cerveteri*, in the Ecclesiastical State. This City was built by the *Pelasgi*, and afterwards conquered and called *Cære*, by *Tyrrhenus*, who came at the Head of a Colony out of *Lydia*; and gave his Name to this Country.

Night alone put a Stop to their obstinate Fury. *Aeneas* being push'd to the Banks of the *Numicius*⁵⁶, was drown'd in that River; but it is probable that the *Trojans* conceal'd his Body, with a View to make him pass for a Deity in the Minds of his credulous Subjects. They pretended that he had vanish'd away on a sudden; and a Temple was erected to him, with an Inscription⁵⁷ upon it, which witnessed to Posterity that he was acknowledged at least for a Demi-God. This was the End of a Prince, celebrated by the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets, and who, because born of an unlawful Marriage, and of a Mother remarkable for her Beauty, was called the Son of *Venus*, agreeable to the Manner of speaking in those Times. We may judge of his superior Merit by the Panegyrics of the Poets, who have only embellish'd a Subject, which the Prejudices of the Publick in his Favour made capable of Embellishment.

§. IX. THE Death of *Aeneas* caus'd no Disorder in the Affairs of the *Latins*. His Colony and Throne subsisted under the Administration of his Son *Euryleon*⁵⁸, who succeeded him. This Prince was born at *Troy*, of *Creüsa*, and had followed his Father's Fortune in *Italy*. He had changed his Name, and at this time bore that of *Ascanius*, which his elder Brother, who had staid in *Troas*, retain'd likewise. The young King did not think it adviseable to engage immediately in a pitch'd Battle with a formidable Enemy, whose Pride was elevated by the Death of *Aeneas*. He had the Prudence to restrain his Courage, to confine it within the Walls of *Lavinium*, and to try what could be done by a Treaty, before he employ'd his Arms. The haughty *Mezentius* prescribed to the *Latins* the severest Conditions; and demanded of them, that they should pay him yearly, by way of Tribute, all the Wine produced in the Territory of *Latium*. *Ascanius* preferred an honourable War to a shameful Dependence; and to put an End to a Treaty so injurious to his People, he caus'd all the Vines throughout his Dominions to be consecrated to *Jupiter*; and by thus transferring the Demefn to the Gods, he made the Estate unalienable. After this, relying wholly on the Courage of his *Trojans*, and *Latin* Subjects, he harangu'd his Troops, animated them with Motives of Religion and Policy, and, full of Confidence, sallied forth from his Ramparts.

THE Enemy had already fortify'd themselves in the Neighbourhood of *Lavinium*; and the Flower of their Youth, under the Command of *Lausus*, were intrench'd close to the Gates of the City. But this brave Son of *Mezentius* had more Courage than Precaution. The *Trojans*, who had been accustomed, during a ten-Year's Siege, to make brisk and vigorous Sallies, chose the Night-time to fall upon the Post where *Lausus* was lodged. Nevertheless, *Ascanius* undertook nothing without having first consulted the Gods; and therefore, if we may give any Heed to an antient Fable, he first pray'd to *Jupiter* to favour his Enterprize, and to give him a Sign of his Protection; whereupon a Flash of Lightning immediately gleam'd from the left⁵⁹ to the right. Till this Time, those Presages only were accounted favourable, where the Lightning was seen to pass from the right to the left: But the happy Event which follow'd chang'd the Nature of Omens in *Italy*; so little were they to be rely'd upon. The *Latins*, then, confiding in that which *Ascanius* had pronounced auspicious, march'd towards the Enemy, forc'd their Intrenchments; and the rest of the *Hetrurian* Troops, who were encamped in the Plain, being put into Disorder, by the unexpected Overthrow

Dion. Hal.
B. 1. p. 52.

⁵⁶ The *Numicius*, now *Rio de Nimi*, according to Geographers, was formerly a small River. It is now scarcely more than a Rivulet. It ran close by *Lavinium*.

⁵⁷ This Inscription, according to *Aurelius Victor*, was in these Words: *Patri Deo Indigeti*. The Word *Indiges*, with the *Latins* signified one of those Gods who had been of the Race of Men, and at length were deify'd. The same *Aeneas*, according to *Livy*, had divine Honours paid him, under the Name of *Jupiter Indiges*. The Temple or Tomb of *Aeneas*, in the Time of *Dion. Hal.* was nothing but a rising Spot of Ground, set round with Trees. Perhaps, says that Author, it was the Tomb of *Anchises*, who died but a Year before his Son.

⁵⁸ From thence it is evident that the Son of *Aeneas*, who followed his Father into *Italy*, had three Names. He was called *Euryleon*, *Iulus*, and *Ascanius*. This Name of *Euryleon* is found in *Dion. Hal.* and *Aurel. Vict.*

⁵⁹ The Lightning which shot from the East was esteemed a lucky Omen, with the *Greeks* as well as the *Romans*, with this only Difference, that the *Greeks* turned their Faces to the North, during their Observations, and then the East was on their right Hand: The *Romans* turned to the South, and consequently the East was upon their left. From thence arise the seeming Contradictions in the *Greek* and *Latin* Authors; and they may be easily reconciled by the Help of this Explanation.

of the Vanguard, fled to the Mountains. So that this Defeat was followed by that of the whole Army: And the *Latins* reaping all the Advantage offered them by so general a Disorder, pursued the Enemy over the Rocks. The Obscurity of the Night proved as fatal to the *Hetrurians* in their Flight, as the Swords of the *Latins*. For in the dark they turn'd their Weapons against their own Battalions, and it is probable that *Lausus* then receiv'd his Death from some unknown Hand. The Conquerors pass'd the Night upon the Field of Battle: And as soon as it was Day, invested *Mezentius*, who had retired to the Top of a little Hill. Shame, Despair, and Grief for the Loss of his Son, chang'd his confident Pride into unavoidable Submission; and he sent to *Lavinium* to sue for Peace. The young Conqueror had Command enough over himself, not to abuse a first Victory; choosing rather to make a Friend of *Mezentius*, than to irritate his Neighbours by pushing Revenge to an excess. It was agreed, that for the future the *Tyber* should be the Limits both of the *Latins* and the *Hetrurians*. Thus we may already perceive the Marks of the Roman Policy and Moderation, in these first Founders of *Rome*. Liv. B. 1. c. 3.

S. X. But *Aeneas* having at his Death left *Lavinia* with Child, the young Queen entertain'd a strong Jealousy of the Ambition of her Son-in-law, whom Victory made absolute in his new Dominions, and she feared to expose the Child she was going to be deliver'd of to the Danger of his Politicks. She chose therefore a Retreat in the Forests, trusted herself to the Care of one *Tyrrhenus*, chief of her Father *Latinus's* Shepherds, and in that *Asylum* was peaceably deliver'd of a Son. The young Prince was brought up in the midst of Woods, and took thence, with the Name of *Aeneas*, the Sur-name of *Sylvius*, which was afterwards born by all the Kings of *Alba* his Descendants. Nevertheless, as the Queen's Flight, who had disappeared on a sudden, occasion'd Suspicions at *Lavinium*, prejudicial to the Reputation of *Ascanius*; he us'd all possible means to remove them, and to regain the good Opinion of the *Latins*, who were fond of the Blood of their antient Kings. He caus'd diligent Search to be made after *Lavinia*, calm'd her Fears, and engag'd her to return to the Town with the young Prince her Son, whom he always treated as a Brother. Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 56.

In the mean while *Lavinium* grew every Day more and more populous. And as it was in reality the Patrimony of *Lavinia*, and the proper Inheritance of *Sylvius* her Son; *Ascanius* resolv'd to yield this Demesn to the right Heirs, and to found another Town elsewhere. In order whereto he drew out a mix'd Colony of *Trojans* and *Latins*: and the Place he made choice of was agreeable, fruitful, and easy to be fortify'd. On the one Side it was cover'd by a Mountain which render'd it inaccessible; and on the other, a deep Lake form'd a natural Ditch, which could not be pass'd without Difficulty. The Mountain was very soon turn'd into a Vineyard, which yielded the best Wine of *Italy*, next to the *Falernian*; and the Lake serv'd to fertilize the Plain, by means of Canals cut on purpose to water it. The Town was built in the middle of an Ascent, at an equal Distance from the Lake and the Mountain, and was call'd *Alba Longa*. It took the Name of *Alba*⁶⁰ perhaps from the white Sow, which, according to the Historians, was found in this very Place: And it was call'd *Longa*, both to distinguish it from another Town nam'd *Alba*, and because, without having much Breadth, it extended itself the whole Length of the Lake, near which it was built. Liv. B. 1. c. 3.

It was thirty Years after the building of *Lavinium*, that *Ascanius* fix'd his Abode in *Alba*: And he made it the principal Seat of his new Kingdom. Both *Lavinia* and he remained for the future in the quiet Possession of their Rights. The Government of a Woman was respect'd, and she was suffer'd to educate her Pupil in Peace: Whilst the vanquish'd *Hetrurians* stood in Awe both of the Widow and Children of *Aeneas*. In short, *Ascanius* having quietly enjoy'd Liv. B. 1. c. 3.

⁶⁰ The Account which *Dion. Hal.* has so exactly wrote of the founding of *Alba*, gives room to conjecture, that it was not situated in that Country which is now call'd *Albano Nuovo*, but between the *Monte Cavo* and the Lake of *Castello*

Gandolpho. The Inhabitants of this City were call'd *Albani*, to distinguish them from the Inhabitants of another City nam'd *Alba*, in the Country of the *Marfi*, who were call'd *Albenses*, *Varr. B. 7. de Ling. Lat.*

his new Settlement, died in *Alba*, after a Reign of about thirty four Years, eight of which he had resided there, and twenty six at *Lavinium*. He left, by a Wife whose Name History has not transmitted to Posterity, at least one Son, who was born in *Alba*, and call'd *Iulus*; so there remain'd of the Posterity of *Aeneas* a Son and a Grandson, the one *Aeneas Sylvius*, the other this *Iulus*. And between them lay the Right of Succession to the *Latin* Throne. This little State seems to have had no greater Extent, than from *Alba* to the Mouth of the *Tyber*, nor any other Towns than *Lavinium*, *Alba Longa*, and perhaps *Laurentum*, where *Latinus* kept his Court at the Time of *Aeneas*'s Arrival; if, after all, *Lavinium* and *Laurentum* were not the same Town.

§. XI. It was not for the publick Interest of the *Latins* to divide themselves, and to establish two Sovereignties, one in *Alba*, and the other at *Lavinium*. Nevertheless, the Ambition of the two Princes, who were descended of *Aeneas*, raised some Obstacle to the uniting the two Inheritances under one Monarch. *Aeneas Sylvius* and *Iulus* had each his Pretension to the Crown, which the *Latins* were unwilling to divide. The latter, being the Son of the Founder of *Alba*, seemed to have a Right to inherit his Sceptre: Tho' after all, he was but the Son of a Stranger. Whereas *Sylvius*, on the other hand, being born of *Lavinia*, the true Heiress to the Throne, had thereby an undoubted Title to the Kingdom of *Latinus*. Accordingly, the People, who were Judges of the Contest, decided it in favour of *Aeneas Sylvius*; but, to prevent Divisions, found an Expedient to soften the Harshness of their Sentence. They dismembered the royal Authority of the sovereign Power in Affairs of Religion: This was entrusted in the Hands of *Iulus*, and continued in the *Iulian* Family, which had its Name and Origin from that Prince. And it was, perhaps, from thence that the *Julii* preserved always the Priesthood in their Family, the *Cæsars* always assumed the Quality of High-priests, and that they look'd upon it as a Prerogative inseparable from the Succession of *Iulus*.

§. XII. The Kingdom of *Alba* enjoy'd all the Sweets of an uninterrupted Tranquillity under *Aeneas Sylvius* and his Successors, without being either considerably diminished or increased. It subsisted four hundred and thirty Years, according to the Computation of *Dionysius Halicarnassens*, from *Aeneas*'s Arrival in *Italy* to the Foundation of *Rome*. Nevertheless, as a State which continued so long in Peace afforded little Matter for History, we have scarce any thing left us besides the Names of its Kings, and the Number of Years which each of them reign'd. *Aeneas Sylvius* died after a Reign of twenty nine Years. His Son, called also *Aeneas*, governed *Latium* thirty one Years. *Latinus*, who succeeded him, held the Sceptre for the Space of fifty one Years. King *Alba* reign'd thirty nine Years, * *Capetus* twenty six, *Capis* twenty eight, and *Calpetus* thirteen. *Tiberinus*, who succeeded these, being less peaceably inclin'd, undertook a War which proved fatal to him. In an Engagement upon the Banks of the *Tyber*, which till then was called *Albula*, he was forc'd into the River, and being carried away by the Current, was drown'd. This Accident of *Tiberinus*, who reign'd but eight Years, caused the River's Name to be changed, and ever since it has born no other but that of *Tyber*.

* *475*, according to *Livy*.

AGRIPPA, Successor to *Tiberinus*, after a Reign of forty one Years, left the Throne to ⁶¹ *Alladius*. This latter distinguish'd himself only by his Impiety. He caused some Noises like Thunder to be heard, and a kind of Lightning to flash, from his Palace, which was situated on the Banks of the Lake, near which the Town of *Alba* stood. He sought by these Signs to rob the Gods of their Worship, to procure to himself divine Honours, and by this Imitation of Thunder and Lightning to strike Terror into his Subjects. But an extraordinary Inundation from the Lake, during a violent Tempest, overflowing his Palace, he perish'd in it; and the People did not fail to ascribe this Punishment of the impi-

⁶¹ This *Alladius* has divers Names in different Authors. *Livy* calls him *Romulus Sylvius*. *Ovid* gives him the Name of *Acrota*, and *Eusebius* that of *Romulus Sylvius*. The same *Eusebius* adds, that *Alladius* had a Son named *Julius*, who was Great-grand-father of *Julius Proculus*, whom *Ro-*

mulus carried with him to *Rome*, and who was the Source of the *Julian* Family from which *Julius Cæsar* descended. *Livy* makes *Alladius* to have been destroyed by a Thunder-bolt from Heaven; and *Dion. Hal.* by the overflowing of the Lake near the City of *Alba*.

ous *Alladius* to the Vengeance of the Gods, whose Rival he had declared himself. He reign'd nineteen Years.

AFTER the untimely Death of this Prince, *Aventinus* succeeded to the Throne. The Hill *Aventinus*, where he was interred, and which for that Reason bore his Name, has made him known to Posterity more than his Valour or Exploits. He reign'd thirty seven Years.

*PROCAS*⁶², who succeeded him, held the Sceptre twenty three Years. He was the Father of *Numitor* and *Amulius*: and at his Death he bequeath'd the Throne to his elder Son *Numitor*. Here the Times and Transactions of the History I am writing begin to clear up, and, as they draw nearer to the Foundation of *Rome*, grow more circumstantial, tho' still mixed with some Fables, which are easily distinguished.

AMULIUS, who doubtless surpassed his Brother in Understanding and Courage, had no respect, either to Priority of Birth, or to the last Appointment of his Father. The bold Usurper not only snatch'd the Sceptre from *Numitor*, and made him obscurely pass his Days in Retirement; but used all the Precautions of a Tyrant to extinguish the Posterity of his Brother, and did not hesitate even at Murder. He caused *Egestus*, the only male Child of *Numitor*, to be slain at a Hunting. Nevertheless, *Rhea Sylvia*, called also *Ilia*, the only Daughter of the dethron'd King, so far found Favour in the Tyrant's Eyes, that he contented himself with taking Measures to prevent her having Children, the Consequences of which he dreaded; and therefore dedicated her from her Infancy to the Worship of *Vesta*. The Vow of Virginitv, which he obliged her to make before the Altars, removed his Apprehensions, and by this means he thought to secure the Kingdom to his Children, without making himself odious by a new Crime. It was a Custom which had long prevailed in *Alba*, to dedicate Virgins of the noblest Birth to the Service of *Vesta*. And this gave *Amulius* an Opportunity of covering his true Motive under the Mask of Religion. He wou'd have had it thought that his View was to do Honour both to the Goddess and the Princess. But notwithstanding all his Care, the *Vestal*, either by a shameful Weakness, or by Violence done to her, became the Mother of Twins, which confounded the Tyrant's Policy. The Story is related after the following manner.

Liv. B. 1. c. 3.

Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 62.

§. XIII. *RHEA SYLVIA* was called to the Performance of some religious Service in a Temple of *Mars* near the Town. A Spring of Water glided thro' the sacred Wood, with which the Temple was enclosed; and the Priestess, in order to discharge one of her sacerdotal Functions, went thither to take the necessary Water for the Sacrifice. Then and there a Man⁶⁴ disguised in a military Habit, like that in which *Mars* was commonly represented, surprized and forced the *Vestal*. *Amulius* was in such ill Reputation, that he was suspected of having done this Violence to his Niece himself; not so much to gratify a Passion, as to have a Pretence for condemning her to that Punishment which the Law had assign'd for *Vestals* who prov'd unchaste. Others assert, that the Princess had made an Appointment to meet there a young Nobleman whom she loved. However, *Rhea Sylvia* from that time abstain'd from her Functions, and from entering the Temple, under Pretence of an Indisposition. Usurpers are ever suspicious. *Amulius* soon conjectured what kind of Disorder it was that afflicted the Princess, and therefore caused her to be watched. Nay, he scrupled not to tax the Father and Mother of the *Vestal* as the Contrivers of an Intrigue, which might procure them Grandchildren. When *Rhea* cou'd no longer conceal her Shame, she charged the God *Mars* with being the Cause of it. The Circumstances of the Temple, the sacred Wood, and the pretended

⁶² If we believe *Ensebius*, this *Procas* was the eldest Son of *Aventinus*. *Ovid* gives him the Name of *Palatinus*.

⁶³ This Retirement, according to *Ensebius*, was in the Country; *Amulius* being most powerful in *Alba* forced him to withdraw thither. *Amulius* being the younger Brother, says *Plutarch*, he had the Gold and Silver for his Portion, and *Numitor* his Father's Crown. *Amulius* made use of his Riches to dethrone his Brother.

⁶⁴ The less judicious Historians of *Rome* admit the antient Fable, that *Mars* was truly the Father of *Remus* and *Romulus*. But *Livy* seems to doubt it; he says that the *Vestal* might perhaps have found her Account in making her Sons pass for the Children of *Mars*. *Plutarch* makes *Amulius* their Father. *Dion. Hal.* says it was either *Amulius*, or else some Lover of the *Vestal*, with whom she had made an Assignment.

Presence of that God, who was believ'd to make his Abode in a Sanctuary consecrated to him, gave a less odious Colour to the Guilt or the Misfortune of *Rhea Sylvia*. But these Pretexts made no Impression on the Mind of *Amulius*. Some trusty Women, by his Order, kept the Princess always in their Sight, till her Delivery : And she was deliver'd of two Sons, whom *Numitor* always affirmed to be the Offspring of a God. Nevertheless the Tyrant, like an able Politician, knew how to take Advantage of an Accident, which cover'd with Confusion the Family of a dethron'd Brother. He laid open the *Vestal's* Shame in an Assembly of the People, exaggerated her Crime, and urged both Religion and the Laws against her. In short, the guilty *Rhea* was condemned by a publick Sentence to be first whip'd, and then put to Death ; and the incestuous Fruits of her criminal Amour were adjudg'd, according to Law, to be thrown into the *Tyber*. But if we will believe what is commonly reported by the Historians, *Amulius* did not carry his Fury so far, as to take away his Niece's Life. He suffered himself to be softned by the Tears of his only Daughter, the generous Friend of *Rhea Sylvia*, and at her Request ⁶⁵ chang'd the Sentence of Death into that of a perpetual Imprisonment. And indeed the Princess was not released from her Confinement till the dethroning of *Amulius*. As to the Twins, the Sentence against them was executed in its full Rigour : and if they did not perish in the *Tyber* into which they were thrown ; it is to be ascribed to a particular Protection of Heaven, which preserved them for the Punishment of the Tyrant, and for the Foundation of a City, upon which it had singular Designs.

Fabius Pictor,
Portius Cato,
Calpurnius
Piso, apud Di-
on. Hal. B. 1.

A little wooden Box was prepared ; The two Infants were laid in it : They were carried to the Bottom of Mount *Palatine*, and turn'd a-drift in a shallow Bay, form'd by the *Tyber*, which at that time wash'd the Foot of the Mountain. The Place where the Twins were expos'd was about an hundred and twenty Furlongs from *Alba*. The River overflow'd its Banks, and covered the Country ; and the little Skiff floated a while without any Accident ; till at length, being carried by the Current to the Extremity of the Flood, a Stone overset it, and turned the two Brothers out upon the Strand. But it is not without some Scruple that we add here, what all Antiquity has believed, what publick Monuments testify, and what most of the Historians relate : A She-Wolf ⁶⁶, say they, hearing the Cries of the Infants, ran to them, offer'd them the Teat to suckle them, and



Silver.



seemed to have more Humanity for them than the Tyrant, who had condemned them to be destroyed. 'Tis more probable, that by this She-Wolf we are to understand a disorderly Woman, who happened to be in this Desert, and who was perhaps privately employ'd by *Numitor*, as a Nurse to the two Brothers. Nay, History has even transmitted to us her Name ; which was *Acca Laurentia* ⁶⁷ ; and she was

⁶⁵ *Ensebius* makes *Rhea Sylvia* perish by the Decree of *Amulius*. He even pretends that the *Vestal* was condemn'd to be bury'd alive, and that the Sentence was executed ; tho' it is very uncertain, whether that Punishment was really in use even in the Reign of *Numa*, who first established the *Vestals* at *Rome* : and it is generally agreed, that she was only imprisoned. The Daughter of *Amulius*, who interceded for her Pardon, was called *Antio*, according to *Diocles Pepharetianus*, quoted by *Plutarch*.

⁶⁶ Antient Monuments and Medals have transmitted to us this fabulous Story. In the Medal above, may be seen on one Side the Head of *Sextus Pompeius* surnamed *Faustulus*, probably because he reckon'd the Shepherd *Faustulus* in the Number of

his Ancestors. The little Vase, or *Urcus Pontificalis*, just by it, denotes his Priesthood or Augurship. And on the Reverse you see *Rome* represented by the Wolf suckling *Remus* and *Romulus*. The Shepherd *Faustulus*, the *Ficus Ruminalis*, and the *Picus Martius* are there figured agreeable to the Fable which was current among the *Romans*, and of which *Ovid* has given us the Substance.

Martia Picus avis gemino pro stipite pugnans
Et Lupa
Lacte quis infantes nescit crevisse sereno,
Et Picum expositis scep tulisse cibum.

Falt. B. 3.

⁶⁷ There were two Women who bore the Name of *Acca Laurentia*, and were honoured after their Deaths :

was the Wife of *Faustulus*, the chief of the Shepherds belonging to the Court. In Process of Time, the Memory of *Acca Laurentia* was consecrated at *Rome*, and a Festival with Sacrifices, which were annually renew'd in the Month of *April*, or rather *December*, were instituted to her Honour.

It is probable indeed that *Faustulus* was not ignorant of the Birth of the two Princes; but he knew how to conceal it. He had likewise been Witness of the Sentence pass'd at *Alba* by the People against the Twins: yet his Respect for the Blood of his Kings made him careful of their Education. He allow'd them to exercise themselves in Hunting and Running, to inure them to Fatigues; and he did not neglect the cultivating of their Minds. He sent them to ⁶⁸ *Gabii*, where they learn'd the *Greek* Literature: So that their Minds as well as Bodies became form'd, as they advanc'd in Years. Their Air and Mein betoken'd their Birth, and their Manner had something in it lofty and independent. The Ascendant they assum'd over the other Shepherds made them dreaded in their Forests, where they exercis'd a sort of Empire: And an Accident, which had like to have prov'd fatal to them, turn'd to their Advantage, and was the Means of discovering to them their high Birth.

Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 66.

Plutarch. Life of Romul.

THE Shepherds of *Amulius*, and those of *Numitor*, were not upon much better Terms than their Masters: and their Disputes grew warm on account of some Cattle carried off by one Party from the other. *Amulius's* Shepherds had, in the Opinion of the two Brothers, more Justice on their Side, than those of *Numitor*. They therefore join'd themselves to the former, fought against the Interests of their Grandfather, whom they did not know, and in the Encounter some Blood was shed. The Party injur'd resolv'd to be reveng'd on the two Brothers, and to surprize *Romulus* and *Remus* (for these were the Names by which from that Time they were known) in an Ambush. The Festival of the ⁶⁹ *Lupercalia*, which *Evander* had brought from *Arcadia*, and which was constantly observ'd in *Rome*, till the entire Establishment of Christianity, seem'd to *Numitor's* Shepherds a favourable Opportunity to put their Revenge in Execution. While therefore the two young Shepherds scour the Plain, with their Whips in their Hands, and cloath'd with the Skins of the Victims which had been slain, *Remus* is surrounded with his Followers, is led away to *Numitor*, and is accused of exercising a kind of Tyranny in the Forests. This depos'd King for the most part led a private Life in the Country, in the utmost Subjection to the Usurper's Will. He durst not proceed against the Person accus'd, without the Consent of *Amulius*. But as soon as the King had deliver'd over *Remus* to the Severity of *Numitor*, he was condemn'd to Death; and the Grandfather was just upon the

Plutarch.

Aelius Tubero & Liv. B. 1. Ch. 5.

Deaths: and this Similitude of Names has been the Cause of much Obscurity in History. Many have confounded them with one another. The one was the Nurse of *Remus* and *Romulus*; who had her Festival in the Month of *December*, and not in the Month of *April*, as *Dion. Hal.* assures us, who confounds her with the other *Acca Laurentia*, called likewise *Tarentia* or *Tarutia*. This last was a famous Courtisan, who was honoured at *Rome* under the Name of *Flora*. Her Festival was celebrated in *April*. *Lactantius* reports, that this Woman left by Will a prodigious Wealth, which she had acquir'd by her Debauchery, to the People of *Rome*, on Condition, that a Festival and Games should be celebrated every Year in Honour of her. But the *Romans* were ashamed to grant divine Honours to so infamous a Name; and therefore they decreed her a Festival under the Name of the Goddess of Flowers. These Games and this Festival were in the Month of *April*, and were called *Floralia*.

⁶⁸ *Gabii* was a City of *Latium*, and according to *Dion. Hal.* originally a Colony from *Alba Longa*. According to the Testimony of the same Author, and also of *Appian* and *Strabo*, it was situated between *Rome* and *Preneſte*, Eastward at an equal distance from those two Cities. The Ruins which have been dug up near to *Campo Gabio*, make it probable the Situation was of that Side. *Hollstenius* thinks, that it was not far from that Place which is

called *Hoſteria del Pantano*, near the River *Oſa*. *Cluverius* and *Kirker* place it where now the *Hoſteria del Finocchio* stands. It was much deserted in *Horace's* Time. *Scis Lebedus quam ſit Gabiis deſertior.* L. 1. Ep. 2.

⁶⁹ *Valerius Maximus* pretends, that the Festival of the *Lupercalia* was not older than the Foundation of *Rome*. He is contradicted by *Livy*, *Dion. Hal.* and *Plutarch*, who are positive that this Festival was brought by *Evander* out of *Greece*. The Ceremonies which were observed in it were these. First, two Goats and a Dog were killed; then the Foreheads of two young Men of Quality were touch'd with the bloody Knife, and they were to laugh when they were thus touched. When this was done, the Skins of the Victims were cut into Thongs and Whips made of them for the young Men; who, arm'd in this Manner, and cover'd only with a Pair of Drawers, ran about the City, and the Fields, striking all they met. The young marry'd Women suffered themselves to be struck by them, and believ'd those Strokes were a Help to Fruitfulness. This Festival was celebrated the 15th of *February*. The Priests who presided at these Sacrifices were at first divided into two Colleges, one whereof was for *Remus*, the other for *Romulus*; but afterwards there was a third added in Honour to *Julius Caesar*. This Festival was chiefly celebrated in the Villages.

point of polluting his eyes with seeing the Blood of his Grandson spilt; when either out of Instinct, Compassion, or Esteem for a young Shepherd, whose Person and Courage spoke something superior to his Condition, he found himself strongly inclined to save him. He therefore deferred the Execution, and resolved to have a Moment's Conference with the Criminal. He asked him in what Part of *Latium* he was born, and who his Parents were. *Remus* reply'd, that both his Family and the Place of his Nativity were equally unknown to him. All I could learn, said he, of the Matter from the Shepherd who brought up my Brother *Romulus* and me, is, that we are Twins, and that we were found expos'd upon the Bank of the River. An Answer which immediately struck *Numitor* with a lively Remembrance of his two Grandsons; and he thought he had again found his Daughter's Children in the Prisoner and his Brother. Their Age, which was somewhat more than eighteen Years, agreed exactly with the Time when the two Princes were expos'd upon the *Tyber*; and there needed no more to change his Anger, and Menaces, into Tendernefs.

§.XIV. *Romulus* on the other hand was very impatient at the taking and detaining of his Brother; and was eager to pursue and attack the Ravishers, upon the first arresting of *Remus* by *Numitor's* Shepherds. But *Faustulus* both dissuaded him from it, and repos'd so great a Confidence in the Discretion of his Pupil, that he discover'd to him what he had hitherto conceal'd. *You are*, said he to him, *of the Blood of our Kings, and, if we may credit publick Reports, the Offspring of a God. Nevertheless, your Mother Rhea Sylvia, for no other Crime but that of bringing you into the World, languishes in an obscure Prison; and Numitor, your Grandfather by your Mother's Side, is excluded from the Throne, and suffers the Contempt and Tyranny of an Usurper.*

Dion. Hal. B.
1. p. 67.

A Discourse of this Nature both surpriz'd *Romulus*, and awaken'd in his Breast Sentiments worthy of his Extraction. He resolv'd to hazard every thing to deliver at once his Mother, Grandfather, and Brother from Oppression: and in order to it, assembled the Country-People, over whom he had assum'd an Authority, and engag'd them to come to the City on a certain Day provided with Arms, which they were to conceal, and enter it by different Gates.

While *Romulus* was disposing every thing for the Execution of his Project, *Remus* entirely gain'd the good Graces of *Numitor*. This oppress'd King built mighty Hopes on the two Children, which Heaven had restor'd him. He conferr'd with his Daughter, whom he sometimes visited in her Prison, and, in concert with her, form'd the Resolution to employ the Valour of his Grandsons for his Restoration. He took therefore *Remus* aside, and after abundance of Caresses, spoke to him the following Words, according to *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*. *You are not ignorant of the Power Amulius has given me to put an end to your Days by an open Punishment: And what Obligation then will you think yourself under to me if I preserve your Life? Can your future Services ever sufficiently requite my present Goodness to you? May I depend upon your Gratitude?* The young Prince reply'd in such a manner, as the Love of Life would have prompted any other to do; and made reiterated Protestations of the most entire Devotion to his Service. *Numitor* believ'd them sincere, put a confidence in them, and open'd his Heart to the young Prince, by thus pursuing his Discourse: *Indeed stronger Bonds than those of Gratitude ought to bind you to me. It is Nature which pleads with me in your Behalf. My Daughter brought you and your Brother into the World; but the inhuman Amulius respected not, in your Persons, either the Blood of the God from whom you spring, nor that of his Sovereign and his Relations. He caus'd you to be thrown into the Tyber, where you would have perish'd, if the same God who gave you Being had not preserv'd you. Nor has the Tyrant forbore to exercise his Fury upon my other Children. He caus'd Egestus to be slain at a Hunting, and he detains your Mother Rhea Sylvia in Prison. As for me, depriv'd of the Sceptre which he ravish'd from me, I have been constrain'd to submit to his Violence, and to live under him in Servitude. I seek an Avenger of so many Crimes: Shall I not find one in you? It is your own Right you are to recover; it is the Shame of your own Family which is to be wash'd away in the Blood of the Usurper; and it is your own Grandfather who is to be restor'd to his Throne.*

RE MUS

REMUS at this Discourse was no longer Master of himself; but was ready for any Enterprize: And the Grandfather was obliged to moderate the Transports of his Grandson. He was only order'd to acquaint *Romulus* with his good Fortune, and to send him to *Numitor's* Palace. *Romulus* soon came, and was receiv'd with the same Caresses as his Brother. It was no difficult Matter to persuade him of the Truth of his illustrious Birth. It flatter'd his Ambition, and he had already been inform'd of it by *Faustulus*, who made haste to follow his Pupil to the City, and to carry thither the indisputable Token for evincing who the two Brothers were. He took with him the Box in which the Twins were found on the Bank of the River, in order to shew it to *Numitor*. It was easy to be known by the Brass Hoops with which it was bound, and by the Inscription which had been written on it, and was still legible. But *Faustulus* endeavour'd in vain to conceal the little Chest. The Guards who watch'd at the Gates of the City, judg'd by his Haste, and the Confusion of his Looks, that he was loaded with something of Consequence: and they carried him therefore with his Burden before *Amulius*. Yet neither did the Surprise, nor Fear, deprive *Faustulus* of his Presence of Mind. He own'd that the two Princes were living, but pretended that they were then feeding Flocks in a remote Desert. This was gaining Time; and Time was precious with regard to the Revolution which *Romulus* had projected.

Plutarch. Life of Rom.

IN the mean while, Suspicion, and the Cares which attend it, disturb'd the Tyrant's Breast. He privately employ'd one of his Courtiers to learn from *Numitor*, whether he were inform'd of the Fate of the two Princes who had been thought to be drown'd. This Person was in his Heart a Friend to *Numitor*; tho' he disssembled it at the Court of *Amulius*. He found the two Grandsons in the Arms of their Grandfather, and was so mov'd with the Sight of their tender Embraces, that he was entirely brought over to the oppress'd Party. He immediately assisted them with his Counsel, and promis'd them the Assistance of his Sword: and from that Moment the Usurper's Death was decreed. *Remus* undertook to raise the City, and *Romulus* to invest the King's Palace. The Country-People came on the Day appointed, and form'd themselves into Companies of an hundred each. Their Ensigns were 70 Bundles of Hay, hanging upon long Poles, which the *Latins* at that Time call'd *Manipuli*; and from thence came the Name of *Manipulares*, which was originally given to Troops rais'd in the Country.

Plutarch. ib.

ROMULUS invested the Avenues of the Palace with this tumultuous Army of intrepid People; immediately forc'd the Guard; and the Tyrant being deserted by his own Party, and destitute of all Succour from abroad, lost both a Crown which he had unjustly worn for the space of forty Years, and his Life. A dreadful Example to the lawless Possessors of usurp'd Thrones, the Foundations of which are cemented only by the Blood of their true Masters.

THE Death of *Amulius* reinstated *Numitor* in his Rights; but he would not ascend the Throne till he had the Consent of his Subjects. The finding again of the two Princes, was a Mystery with which the Publick was not yet acquainted: and the new King therefore judg'd it necessary to assemble the People, and give them an Account of his Proceedings. He laid before them at large the Enormities of his Brother; his Application to destroy his whole Race; the Murder of *Egestus* in a Forest; the Consecration of his Daughter to *Vesta* against her Will; the throwing the Sons of the *Vestal* by a God, into the *Tyber*, and their Preservation by Miracle; the Education of the young Princes among Shepherds, and the Manner by which Heaven had made them known. After which, the two Brothers, follow'd by their Troop, first presented themselves before the Assembly: then turn'd about towards *Numitor*, and saluted him King; and their Acclamations were

70 The Romans in their Beginning had no other signs.

*Non illi Cælo labentia signa tenebat,
Sed sua quæ magnum perdere crimen erat;
Illa quidem sæno, sed erat reverentia sæno,
Quantum nunc Aquilas cernis habere tuas:
Pertica suspensus portabat longa maniplos,
Unde Manipularis nomina miles habet.*

Such was the Beginning of that sort of Battalion

called *Manipulus*, which *Romulus* compos'd of one hundred Soldiers, calling them *Manipulares*. Afterwards the *Manipulus* was increas'd to two hundred Men. According to the Times, their Number receiv'd an Alteration. Thus in the Decline of the Empire, the *Manipulus* consisted of less than one hundred, as we may infer from a Passage in *Ammian*, B. 17. We shall have Occasion more than once to speak of the *Manipulus*, when we come to treat at large of the Armies of the antient Romans.

follow'd by those of all the People. Such was the Adventure (if History may be believ'd) by which *Romulus* and *Remus* came to be discover'd. But tho' the Story, thus told, be faithfully extracted from the *Greek* and *Latin* Historians, yet who can say that the Antients have not given it some Embellishments in Favour to the first Founders of *Rome*?

§. XV. *NUMITOR* beheld with Pleasure the Branches of his Family thus flourishing round him. *Rhea Sylvia* his Daughter, was releas'd from her Confinement, and enjoy'd in Tranquillity the Sweets of her Tendernefs for two Sons, her Deliverers, whom she had thought lost. Whilst the King was wholly taken up in beautifying *Alba*, and restoring Peace to it, he consider'd, that it still harbour'd many Persons ill affected to his Government, and that he had every thing to fear from the Remains of a Faction always attach'd to *Amulius*. He consider'd likewise, that his Capital, too much peopled before with restless Spirits, had got a new Increase of Inhabitants since the Inundation of those rustick Troops which *Romulus* had brought thither, and that it would be proper to multiply the Towns of his petty State, in proportion to the Increase of his People. He propos'd therefore to his Grandsons, that they should make a Settlement elsewhere. To this ⁷¹ *Remus* and *Romulus* very readily consented, and the King gave them for their new Settlement that Country lying near the *Tyber*, upon which they had been cast by the Waves, and where they had been brought up. *Numitor* supply'd these two Founders likewise with all manner of Instruments for breaking up Ground, and with Slaves, and Beasts of Burden, and granted to his Subjects full Liberty to join the two Princes. Upon which, some of the most illustrious Families, and amongst the rest several who were descended from the *Trojans*, chose to follow the Fortune of *Remus* and *Romulus*; so that even in *Augustus's* Time there were fifty great Families sprung from *Troy*, which had subsisted in *Rome* ever since its Foundation.

NEVERTHELESS, as this Handful of People, who came from *Alba*, were of themselves in no Condition to found a Colony any thing considerable, the two Brothers gathered together all the Inhabitants of *Pallantium* and *Saturnia*, two small Towns: (the first of which was built by *Evander*, the other by the antient *Aborigines*) and thought it proper to divide those who were to be employ'd about the new City into two Companies, one under the Command of *Romulus*, the other of *Remus*. But this Division, which was resolv'd upon entirely out of Love for the publick Welfare, ended in nothing but Disputes, and produc'd an open Rupture. At first an Emulation arose between the two Parties, which should outdo the other in advancing the Works. This Emulation soon turn'd to Jealousy; and from the People, this Jealousy affected the two Brothers themselves. It broke out chiefly when they came to fix upon a Place for planting their Colony. *Romulus* declar'd himself for Mount ⁷² *Palatine*, because at the Foot of that Hill, the *Tyber*, which there forms an Elbow, had thrown the Twins upon the Bank. Whereas *Remus*, whether to thwart his Brother, or because of the Goodness of the Air, and Agreeableness of the Situation, was for Mount *Aventine* ⁷³. The Ambition of reigning was also a Family Vice, which the two Brothers had taken no Care to guard against: Inso-much that this Obstinacy terminated in an open Breach. And then there was

⁷¹ *Plutarch* frankly acknowledges it to be very possible that *Remus* and *Romulus* resolv'd to seek another Habitation, rather thro' Necessity than Choice, being probably discountenanc'd by the People of *Alba*, who had Reason to fear every thing from such a Troop of fugitive Slaves and Outlaws as attended the two Brothers.

⁷² Mount *Palatine* was so called, either from the City *Pallante*, where *Evander* the *Arcadian* was born; or from a Colony which came from *Pallantium*, an old City in the Territory of *Reate*, and settled themselves upon that Hill; or from the *Latin* Words *Palando* and *Balatu*, because the Shepherds drove their Flocks thither to feed; or from a Wife of *Latinus*, as some say, called *Palatia*; or from *Pallanto*, the Mother of that Prince; or lastly, from *Pallas*, the Son of *Evander*. But be it as it will, for these Etymologies are not to be warrant'd, this

at least is sure, that Custom has introduced the Word *Palatia* or *Palace*, for the Houses of Princes ever since *Romulus*, *Tullus Hostilius*, and after them *Augustus*, and the greatest Number of the *Cæsars* fix'd their Residence on Mount *Palatine*.

⁷³ Some Etymologists borrow the Name *Aventinus* either from the Birds which from the Neighbourhood of the *Tyber* frequented that Hill, *ab avis*, or *ab adventu*, because on the *Tyber* Side the Way was so marshy, that oftentimes it was unpassable but with Boats. But *Varro* says, that the *Sabines*, the Allies of *Romulus*, being settled on that Hill, called it *Aventinus* from *Avens*, a little River in *Sabinia*. It is more likely that it received that Name from King *Aventinus*, as has been observed before in the Body of this History. This Mount will often furnish Matter both for critical and historical Observations.

no Law whereby they could decide their Differences; nor could either of them pretend a Superiority of Years or Merit. The Matter was therefore referred to the Grandfather of the two Princes. *Numitor* was very much prepossessed in favour of *Augury*, with which the *Hetrurians* had infected *Italy*, and therefore was of Opinion that they ought to have Recourse to the Gods, in order to terminate a Dispute which no Man had a Right authoritatively to decide. Accordingly, the Flight of Birds⁶⁴ was pitch'd on to determine the Place where the City was to stand, the Name by which it was to be call'd, and the Person who should be the first King of it. A Day was set for the Ceremony; some Persons were deputed from both Sides to be Witnesses of the Truth of the Auguries, and the two Brothers posted themselves each upon his Mountain. *Remus* chose Mount *Aventine*, and *Romulus* Mount *Palatine*, for their Observatories. *Vulturs* were the Birds they had agreed upon beforehand; and whoever should see them first, or the greatest Number of them, was to gain his Cause; for, said they, this is a very scarce Bird, sent every Year by the Gods, from foreign Countries, to foretel future Events. Besides, they remember'd that *Hercules* us'd to judge of the Success of his Undertakings from the Sight of *Vulturs*. When the Day appointed was come, the two Rivals posted themselves each upon his Mountain, and gazed round the Horizon, watching the Appearance of a favourable Augury: And *Romulus*, we are told, made use of an Artifice, either to disturb the Auguries of his Brother, or to make sure of the publick Voice by a Fraud. He sent to tell *Remus* that he had seen *Vulturs*: And whilst his Messengers were yet on their Way, *Remus* actually perceived six. Upon this he ran instantly to Mount *Palatine* to examine the Truth of his Brother's Auspices; and he had no sooner got thither, than by an unexpected good Fortune twelve *Vulturs* appear'd to *Romulus*. These he presently shew'd to his Brother, and in a Transport of Joy, cried out, Be Judge, be Judge your self, of the Truth of what my Messengers have told you. But notwithstanding this, *Remus* soon found out the Deceit; he was told that *Romulus* did not see the twelve *Vulturs*, till after he had seen six: And then, one insisted on the Number of Birds, the other on the Time he had seen them. The People were divided, each Man taking the Part of his Leader; and the Dispute growing warm, from Words they at length came to Blows.

Plutarch's Life of Rem.

THE Skirmish is said to have begun contrary to the Inclinations of the two Brothers; but be that as it will, an unlucky Blow laid the Shepherd *Faustulus* (so dear to the two Princes) dead upon the Ground. He had brought them up from their Infancy; and being griev'd to see their Differences, without being able to make them up, he had thrown himself unarm'd amidst the Crowd; where, instead of being a Mediator between the two Parties, as he desir'd, he became a Victim to them; and his Death, which he receiv'd from an unknown Hand, prevented him from taking any further Measures for reconciling his two Foster Children. ⁷⁵ Some Historians have been of Opinion that *Remus* lost his Life in the same Skirmish; but the greatest Number place his Death later, and give us the Account of it, which we shall presently relate.

§. XVI. *ROMULUS* being now Head of the Colony, by the Advantage of more favourable Auguries than those of his Brother, and by having got the better in the late Engagement, apply'd his Thoughts wholly to the building the City, which he purpos'd to call after his own Name. Mount *Palatine* was the Place chosen for its Situation: And the Founder perform'd all those Ceremonies

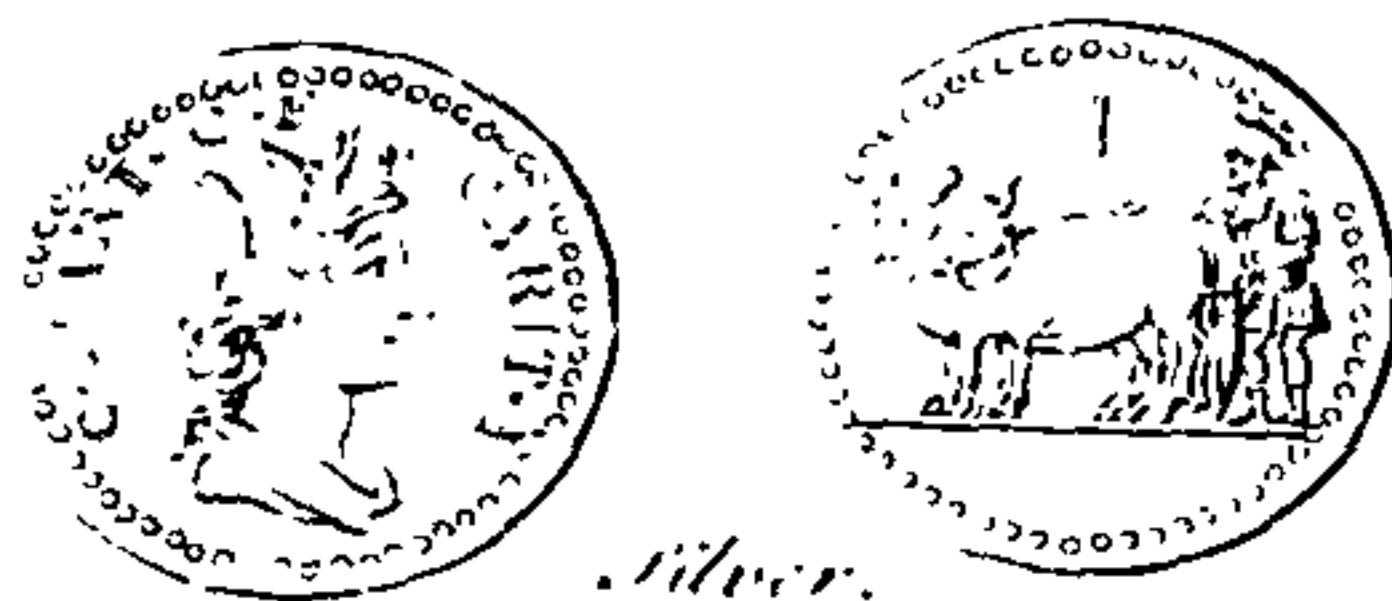
⁷⁴ *Augury*, or the Art of Divination, and foretelling future Events by the Flight, Cries, or Motions of Birds, came from the *Chaldeans* to the *Greeks*, from thence it was transmitt'd to the *Hetrurians*, and from them to the *Latins* and the *Romans*. *Id. Cicero. de Divin. and Orig. l. 4. contra Celsum.*

⁷⁵ Of this Number was *Dion. Hal.* He adds, that *Remus* was buried in a Place call'd after his own Name *Remuria*, about thirty Furlongs from *Rome*. This Situation, continues the Historian, had seem'd to him the most commodious for building a City. And if we believe some Writers, *Remus* went up to *Remuria*, and not to Mount *Aven-*

tine, to observe the Flight of the Birds. But *Festus* seems to decide the Matter. He says that the Summit of Mount *Aventine* was call'd *Remuria* from that Time, when *Remus* resolv'd to build the City there, which was the Subject of the Dispute; and yet from the Account given by *Dion. Hal.* it looks as if Mount *Aventine* and *Remuria* were two different Places. *Stephanus*, in speaking of *Remuria*, says, it was a City in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*. As to the *Greek* Historians Opinion about the Time and Circumstances of *Remus's* Death, we shall reject it, and follow that wherein the Majority of Writers agree.

Dion. Hal. B. 1.
p. 75.

there which the Superstition of the *Hetrurians* ⁷⁶ had introduc'd, for the building of Towns. He offer'd Sacrifices to the Gods, and order'd all the People to do the same, every Man according to his Abilities: And from that time decreed that Eagles should be the Auspices of his new Colony. After this great Fires were kindled before the Tents in which they were encamp'd, and the People all leap'd thro' the ⁷⁷ Flames to purify themselves. Then *Romulus* yok'd a Cow and a ⁷⁸ Bull to a Plough, the Coulter whereof was Brass; with that mark'd out the whole Compass within which *Rome* was to be built, with



The Latin
Word *Porta*, a
Gate, deriv'd
from the Word
portare, to carry.

a deep Furrow ⁷⁹: And these two Animals (the Symbols of Marriage by which Cities are peopled) were afterwards slain upon the Altars. All the People follow'd the Plough, throwing inwards the ⁸⁰ Clods of Earth which the Ploughshare sometimes turned outwards: And when they came to those Places where they intended to make the Gates, they took up the Plough and *carried* it. Thus, as Mount *Palatine* stood by itself, the whole was inclos'd within the Circuit, which was mark'd ⁸¹ out, and which form'd almost the Figure of a Square.

⁷⁶ *Festus* remarks that the *Hetrurians* had a sort of Ritual, wherein were contain'd the Ceremonies that were observ'd at the Building of Cities, Altars, Temples, Walls and Gates. *Fabius Pictor* tells us, that *Romulus* caus'd a Priest or an Augur to come from *Hetruria* to preside at the Building of the new City: And *Plutarch* says, that Men from *Hetruria* taught the Founder exactly every Rite he should observe.

⁷⁷ According to *Dion. Hal.* those who were then employ'd in any Function, leaped thro' the Flames, being persuaded that in so religious a Ceremony they could not have too much Purity and Reverence.

⁷⁸ The Bull and the Heifer were both white.

Alba jugum niveo cum Bove Vacca tulit.

Ovid, Fast. 4.

This Whiteness was the Symbol of that Purity of Manners and Innocence which should be the Character of every Citizen. *Isidorus* 15. 2. says, that those two Beasts (yok'd together) represented the Foundation of Cities, and the Settlement of Colonies; and indeed it is under this Figure that the Monuments of Antiquity represent both the one and the other. The Medal which we choose to shew in this Place, deserves the Attention of the Critics. On one Side you observe the Head of *Ceres*, with this Inscription, CAIUS MARIUS. C. F. CARIT. I. But most Antiquaries being persuaded that it should be read CAPIT, they put in P in the Place of the Letter R, tho' that Letter is plain to be seen on the Round of the Medal. And from this slender Foundation they think this CAIUS MARIUS had the Surname of CAPITO. Whereas we did not think ourselves at Liberty to alter the Inscription, and therefore leave it to the Examination of our Readers. Might not the Word CARIT signify that the Colony (in question) was sent into that Part of *Germany* which is water'd by the *Neckar*, and which was inhabited by a People whom *Ptolomy* calls CARITNI; or might not this Colony have been led into the Isle of *Cos*, to which *Stephanus* gives the Name of CARIS? It is agreed, that together with all *Greece*, that Island was subjected to the Roman Yoke. The

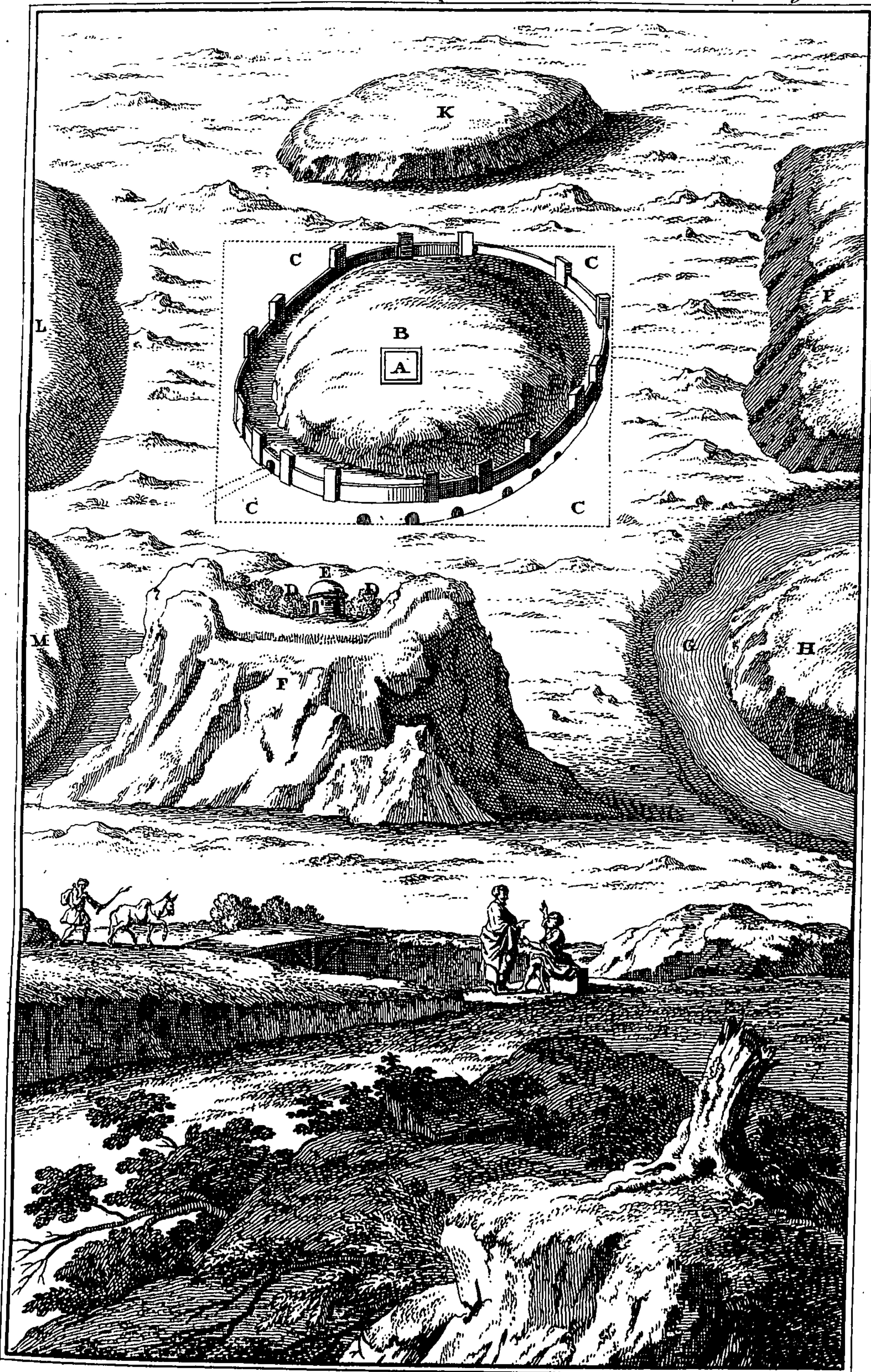
I which ends the Inscription gives us room to think that this Colony was the first that was sent into that Country by *Augustus*, in whose Reign this Medal was struck, as may be prov'd by another Medal, which has on one Side the Name of C. MARIUS, C. F. and on the other Side that of CÆSAR AUGUSTUS. It is very probable, that this C. MARIUS was Grandson, or Great Grandson to the Great *Marius*.

⁷⁹ According to *Plutarch*, the Compass of the City was first described by a Line mark'd out with the Point of a Goad, and then the Founder himself directed the Ploughshare, following the Line before mark'd out. The Antients oftentimes describ'd the Compass of their Cities by a Train of white Earth. We read in *Strabo*, that for want of this Earth *Alexander* mark'd out *Alexandria* with Meal.

⁸⁰ The Care which the People took to throw the Clods of Earth back towards the City, contain'd a Mystery. The Citizens were to be hereby instructed, that Plenty in Cities is owing to the fruitful Product of the Lands about them; and withal, how careful they ought to be to bring every thing from Abroad, which might contribute to the Welfare of the Inhabitants. The whole Length of Ground where the Plough had pass'd, was by the Antients look'd upon as sacred and inviolable. For this Reason it was that they thought themselves oblig'd to spend the last Drop of their Blood in defending their Walls; and to break thro' them was a Crime of the highest Nature. But the Gates were not sacred; otherwise, as *Plutarch* observes, the City could not have been supply'd with the Necessaries of Life, without a Breach of the Law, nor could the Filth, dead Bodies, and other things which they reckon'd unclean, have been carried away.

⁸¹ *Plutarch* seems to make a Distinction between *Roma Quadrata*, and the City of *Rome*, when he says that *Romulus* had built the former, before he mark'd out the Plan of the City; so that this Author's *Roma Quadrata* can have been nothing but a simple Redoubt, or small Fort built upon the Hill *Palatin*. *Donatus* has given in to the same Opinion; but the Authorities of *Fabius*, *Cato*, and

The first Plan of Rome, as it was in the beginning of Romulus's reign.



A. Rome Quadrata, or Rome as built in a square form, according to some. B. The Hill Palatinus. C. The first Enclosure of Rome. D. The Atrium. E. The Temple of Asylvan God. F. The Hill Capitulinus. G. The Tyber. H. The Hill Janiculus. I. The Hill Aventinus. K. The Hill Coelius. L. The Hill Esquilinus. M. The Hill Quirinalis.

Square at the Foot of the Mountain. The People also dug there a deep round ⁸² Pit, into which the new Inhabitants threw a little of the Earth of the different Countries where they were born: And this Hole remained afterwards like a large Well in the publick *Forum* where the *Comitia* were held.

⁸³ As to the exact Year of the Foundation of *Rome*, the Historians differ about it. But I have chosen to follow the Opinion of *Varro*, who has plac'd it in the third Year of the sixth Olympiad; that is, three thousand, three hundred and one Years from the Creation of the World; four hundred and thirty one after the taking of *Troy*, and seven hundred and fifty three Years, before the Beginning of the Christian *Æra*. This Epoch, not only seems to me to be the best warranted, but will likewise serve to direct us in the Computation of the *Roman* Years which follow. For it is certain the *Romans* began to build on the twenty first of *April*. That Day was then consecrated to *Pales*, Goddess of the Shepherds: and the Festival of *Pales*, and that of the Foundation of the City, were afterwards jointly celebrated at *Rome* on the same Day ⁸⁴. It likewise appears, that the greatest Part of the *Roman* Month of *April* answer'd at first to our *September*, and that *Rome* was built in *Autumn* ⁸⁵. But by the Addition of some Months, and other Changes which *Numa Pompilius* afterwards made in the Calendar, *April* was set back; and instead of a Month in *Autumn*, as it was in *Romulus's* Time, it became a Month in the Spring; and by this means the Festival of *Pales*, and that of the Foundation of *Rome*, chang'd their Season, without changing their Place in the Order of the Festivals.

and *Dionysius Halicarnassens* seem to be of Weight enough to determine the contrary. The last of these Authors says expressly, that the whole City was contain'd in a Square, the Bounds of which *Romulus* caus'd to be mark'd out with a Bull and an Heifer.

⁸² This Pit was by the *Greeks* term'd *ἄλυστρον*, from its being round. The People of the Colony threw into it the First-fruits of all that they were allow'd to make Use of for Food, and also an Handful of Earth, which every Man brought either from his own or some neighbouring Country.

Fossa fit ad solidum, fruges jaciuntur in Imam, Et de vicino terra petita solo. Fast. 4.

The Design of this Ceremony was to let the Heads of the Colony see that it ought to be their principal Study to procure for their fellow Citizens all the Conveniencies of Life, to maintain Peace and Union amongst a People come together from different Parts of the World, and by this Means to form themselves into one Body never to be dissolved.

⁸³ Authors are not agreed about the exact Year of the Foundation of *Rome*. *Timæus* of *Sicily*, by a very palpable Mistake, places it much about the Time in which *Carthage* was built by the *Tyrrians*; that is, thirty eight Years after the first Olympiad. *L. Cincius* fixes it in the fourth Year of the twelfth Olympiad; *Fabius Pictor* in the first Year of the eighth. *Polybius* and *Diodorus Siculus* say, that *Rome* was founded in the second Year of the seventh Olympiad; *Porcius Cato* and others, in the first Year of the same Olympiad: And according to *Marcus Verrinus Flaccus*, Author of the *Capitoline* Tables, and *Livy*, it happen'd in the fourth Year of the sixth Olympiad. But the Majority of the best *Roman* Writers follow *Varro's* Calculation, according to which the Foundation of *Rome* is plac'd near the End of the third Year of the sixth Olympiad. *Plutarch*, from the Testimony of some Authors, tells us, that an Eclipse of the Sun happen'd the first Day that *Rome* was founded, which was seen by *Antimachus* of *Tros*, Contemporary with *Plato*. *Tarrutius Firmianus*, a famous Astronomer, and who follow'd the *Egyptian* Calendar, at the Persuasion of *Terentius Varro*, had endeavour'd to determine the Day of *Ro-*

mulus's Birth by an astronomical Computation; the Result of which was, that this first King of *Rome* had been conceiv'd in the first Year of the second Olympiad, on the twenty third Day of that *Egyptian* Month, which answer'd to *April* in the *Roman* Calendar; and he adds, that on this Day there had been an Eclipse of the Sun. The Birth of this Prince he plac'd in the Month of *January*, and made the first Year of *Rome* to be the third of the sixth Olympiad. *Dionysius Halicarnassens* mentions another Eclipse which happen'd the same Day that *Romulus* died, and from this several Astronomers have attempted, by the Help of the Tables of Eclipses, to ascertain the true *Æra* of the Foundation of *Rome*. Yet the Fruit of all their Labours has been nothing but endless Disputes, in which every Person is at Liberty to choose what Side he pleases. The Opinion of *Varro* has appear'd to us to be most probable, because, as *Petavius* has demonstrated, it is most agreeable to the Rules of Chronology, *Lib. 1. de doct. temp.*

⁸⁴ These two Festivals were join'd together, and so the *Romans* celebrated at the same time the Birth-day of their Country, and a pastoral Festival call'd *Palilia*, or *Parilia*, in Honour of the Goddess *Pales*, whom they invoc'd for the Preservation and Fruitfulness of their Flocks. There was no Victim slain on that Occasion, because they judg'd the shedding of Blood unsuitable to so extraordinary a Festival, and which was design'd only for publick Rejoicing.

⁸⁵ It is easy to reconcile the Opinion of the Poet *Manilius* with that which we have chosen to follow. This great Astronomer says that *Rome* was built in *Autumn*, under the Sign of *Libra*,

*Hesperiam sua Libra tenet quâ condita Roma
Et propriis retinet pendentem nutibus urbem,
Orbis & Imperium retinet*—

And yet the Festival of its Foundation fell afterwards on the twenty first of *April*. But this Irregularity in the Months and Seasons, proceeded from the Faultiness of the ancient Calendar; for as neither the *Greek* nor *Roman* Years agreed with the astronomical Revolution of the Sun, this, in great Length of Time, had occasion'd very considerable Errors.

Disn. Hal.
B. 1. p. 74.
Plutarch.

§. XVII. THUS was the Colony employ'd in marking out the Circuit of *Rome*, whilst *Remus* could not see the Works advance in the Name, under the Command, and according to the Directions of his Brother, without great Uneasiness. After the late bloody Engagement, *Romulus* had not above three thousand three hundred Men left to carry on so laborious an Undertaking: And accordingly neither was the Ditch they made broad enough, nor their Walls of an Height sufficient to hold out for any Space of Time against such Enemies as Jealousy might create them. And as *Remus* therefore study'd nothing but how to turn both the Project and the Execution of it into Ridicule, he in Derision of his Brother, leap'd over both Ditch and Wall at once. This Action provok'd a Man named *Fabius*, who was at Work upon that very Place which *Remus* had distinguish'd by this insulting Piece of Mockery: And as he was a rough passionate Man, he struck the Prince on the Head with a Marrock which he had in his Hand, and the Wound prov'd mortal. Thus was *Romulus* deliver'd from a jealous seditious Brother, whose Pride might have made his Reign very uneasy. As for the Murderer, he had the Name of *Celer* given him, which signify'd *a Man too hasty and passionate*: And according to some Authors, he did Justice upon himself by a voluntary Banishment into *Hetruria*; but others say, that he remain'd at *Rome*. Some Historians tell us that *Romulus* had forbid any Person to leap over the Wall; and that as he had likewise consecrated it to the Gods, what *Remus* did was an Act of Impiety, as well as an Insult. But these Circumstances seem to have been devis'd afterwards, to render the Murder of the Prince less odious. *Livy* is more sincere, and makes *Remus* die by *Romulus's* own Hand.

Year of
R O M E
I.

Val. Max. B. 4.

§. XVIII. *ROME* had now receiv'd very near the utmost Perfection in its building, which Men rude and indigent were able to give it: It consisted only of about a thousand Houses, or rather Huts, all Ground Floors, without upper Stories, or any kind of Ornament. It was, properly speaking, a Village, where of even the principal Inhabitants follow'd their own Ploughs, and were oblig'd with their own Hands to cultivate the ungrateful Soil of a barren Country which they had shar'd amongst themselves. Even *Romulus's* own Palace was built with ⁸⁶ Rushes, and cover'd with Thatch. Every Man had chosen his Ground to build his own Cottage as he pleas'd, without any Regard to the Regularity or Beauty of the whole, and therefore the Streets were both crooked and narrow. And in a word, until the Time that *Rome* was taken by the *Gauls*, it was rather a disorderly Heap of Huts, than a City built with any kind of Regularity or Order. Such were the Beginnings of this Capital of the World, which never was more worthy of universal Empire, than when Poverty preserv'd in it the Love of civil and military Virtues.

Disn. Hal.
B. 2. p. 78.

§. XIX. As *Romulus* had not taken upon him the chief Command of the Colony for any longer Time than while the City was building; he as soon as the Work was finish'd, submitted it to the Determination of the People, what kind of Government should be establish'd. He call'd the new Citizens together, and harangu'd them in these Words: *If all the Strength of Cities lay in the Height of their Ramparts, or Depth of their Ditches, we should have great Reason to be in Fear for that which we have built. The Walls of it are its weakest Defence. Are there in Reality any Walls too high to be scal'd by the Valour of a Conqueror? And of what Use are Ramparts in intestine Divisions? It is by Courage and Prudence chiefly that the Invasions of foreign Enemies are repell'd, and by Unanimity and Moderation in Desires that domestick Revolts are prevented. Cities fortify'd by the strongest Bulwarks have been often seen to yield to Force from without, or to Tumults from within. It is Virtue alone in which consists both the Ornament and Happiness of States. An exact military Discipline, and a steady Observance of Order in Civil Government, are the*

⁸⁶ According to *Vitruvius*, *Macrobius*, and *Seneca*, this Hut of *Romulus* was preserv'd a long time upon the *Capitol*, as a venerable Monument. Nevertheless, it is certain that *Romulus* dwelt upon Mount *Palatin*, as is even own'd by *Dionysius Halicarnassens*. But still, this Cottage is believ'd

to have been the Founder's Palace: And it was a Point of Religion with the *Romans*, never to make use of any thing but Rushes and Straw to repair it; till at length it was destroy'd by Fire under the Reign of *Augustus*.

strongest Barriers against foreign and domestick Enemies: and it is doubtless the Part of those who govern, to provide well for the publick Safety, both in Peace and War. But there are various Kinds of Government, one of which we must chuse; and when we have chosen it, we ought to maintain it in its Vigour. I have learnt, that amongst the Greeks there are divers Methods of governing States; and I freely own that no one of them is without its Inconveniences. Chuse you then what Form of Administration you think may most contribute to the publick Happiness. Speak your Minds freely. Shall Rome be govern'd by one Man? Shall it be subject to a select Number of the wisest amongst us, or shall the People have a Share in the Legislature? As for my own Part, I shall submit to your Determination, whatever it be, and reckon myself sufficiently happy in a private Life, after having been once the Leader of the Colony, and given my Name to this infant City.

Year of
R O M E
I.

THUS spake Romulus by the Advice of Numitor his Grandfather, as was then believ'd: And the People gave the Preference to Monarchy without Hesitation; nor were they long in the Choice of a Monarch. They reason'd thus among themselves: *Why should we cease to live under the Government of a King? Have we not experienc'd the Advantages of Monarchy in Alba? Our Fathers submitted to it, and maintain'd it; we have been accustomed to it, and receiv'd the greatest Advantages from it. And as we have here a Person not only descended from our antient Kings, but who has likewise given us the most convincing Proofs of his Wisdom and Valour: We will bestow on him the Honour of governing the Colony, of which he has been the Leader.* They proclaimed the King of Alba's Grandson King of Rome, without delay: And by this first Step the Romans vested in themselves the Right of chusing their own Masters ever after, and render'd the Crown elective ⁸⁷.

BUT Romulus, who had not all along discover'd any very earnest Desires of ascending the Throne, did not take Possession of it, till Religion had declar'd in his Favour ⁸⁸. He first beg'd leave to consult the Will of the Gods by *Auguries*; and, as some say, when he had offered Sacrifices in an open Place, Lightning was seen to flash on his Left Hand. But be that as it will, thus much at least is certain, that from the Time of Romulus, it became a settled Custom at Rome, not to enter upon any of the principal Employments in the State, without first having recourse to *Auguries*. In Process of Time indeed this came to be only a Matter of pure Ceremony; but the Example of the Founder had introduced the Custom, and it subsisted for above seven hundred Years.

ROMULUS.

§.XX. AFTER these religious Ceremonies, the whole Care of the new King was taken up in establishing Order in his City, and a due Subordination among his Subjects. He thought it a Debt due to his Dignity to take an Habit of Distinction, and Guards, for the Security of his Person and to command Respect. He chose twelve under the Name of *Lictors*; either because he had seen twelve Vultures, a Number which had given him the Superiority over his Brother; or because the little Sovereigns of *Hetruria* ⁸⁹ were each attended with that Number of Guards. He divided the three thousand three hundred Men, of which his Colony consisted, into three Orders. Several Persons of a distinguished Birth, having follow'd him to Rome, and chosen rather to reside at the new City, than at *Alba* ⁹⁰; these he chose

⁸⁷ The Government of the Romans and Albans differ'd in this, that amongst the latter the Crown was hereditary, but elective amongst the former. The fifteen Kings of Alba succeeded one another from Father to Son, as we are assur'd by *Eusebius* in his *Chronology*. He excepts only one King, *Sylvius Aeneas*, who was not the Son of his Predecessor. He tells us, he was Son to *Lavinia* by *Menapius* her second Husband, and was Brother to *Posthumus* by the Mother's Side. And in this last Particular *Eusebius* is mistaken, neither is follow'd by any body.

⁸⁸ This Custom remain'd at Rome from Romulus's Time to the end of the Republick, and even under the Emperors; tho' it came at length to be more than a Farce. Those who stood for Employments, and who were term'd Candidates, went

out, in the Morning of the Day on which the *Comitia* or Assemblies for their Election were to be held, from under a Tent erected for that Purpose; made a publick Prayer; interrogated the Augurs whom they had paid for their Pains; and from their Answers, which were commonly favourable enough, they gave out that the Gods were not against their having the Office which they solicited. Upon which they obtain'd and bore it *auspicato*.

⁸⁹ *Hetruria* was then divided into twelve Cantons, which had each its petty King. They were called *Lucumones*, and their Cantons *Lucumonias*. Because they were twelve in number, each *Lucumo* had taken twelve *Lictors* for his Guard: and in this therefore Romulus imitated his Neighbours the *Hetrurians*.

⁹⁰ This Choice was not made by the King himself.

Year of
R O M E

I.
ROMULUS.

D. Hal. B. 2.
p. 83.

chose to be the Heads of the Colony, under the Title of *Senators*. And he called them *Fathers*, either because they were the only Persons in this confused Multitude of Slaves and Vagabonds, that could shew their Fathers, and prove an honest Descent; or because they surpassed the rest in Age and Wisdom; or because their Dignity made them Fathers and Protectors of the People. The Children of these first *Fathers* were called *Patricians*, and it was always thought an Honour at *Rome* to be descended from them.

Plut. & Dion.
H. B. 2. p. 83,
84.

THE Senate of the rising Colony consisted at first of but an hundred Persons. Their Office was to administer Justice, to take upon them the Care of Religion, and to assist the King with their Counsels, upon Occasion. And being thus entirely devoted to civil Affairs, it is probable they were exempted from the Labours of the military. The rest of the Colony consisted of the common People, who all bore the Name of *Plebeians*; and these were again divided into two Orders. The richest and noblest of the Citizens took the Name of *Patrons*⁹¹; whereby they kept as it were a middle⁹² Rank, between the Dignity of the Senator, and the Meanness of the Populace. Each of these took upon him to support and protect a certain Number of Families of the lowest sort; to assist them with their Interest and Substance; and to free them from the Oppressions of the Great. It was the Business of the *Patron* to draw up the Contracts of his *Clients*; to extricate them out of their Difficulties and Perplexities, and to guard their Ignorance against the artful Devices of the Crafty. On the other hand, the *Clients* were obliged to unite in contributing towards the Payment of the Portions of their *Patrons* Daughters; towards paying their Ransom, if they, or their Children were taken in War; and to discharge their publick Debts *gratis*, when they themselves were not able to do it. Both *Client* and *Patron* were also mutually disabled, either from accusing, or bearing Witness against each other. And if either was convicted of having violated these mutual Obligations, the Guilt was no less than of Treason; and the Person injured had Power to put the Offender to Death; which was done by sacrificing him to *Pluto* or to the *Manes*. And whilst the Patronage subsisted thus at *Rome* upon the foot on which *Romulus* had established it, Concord reigned there. It was thought honourable to have a great Number of *Clients*; whilst *They* enjoyed Peace and Tranquillity under the Protection of their *Patrons*, and lived in Union and good Correspondence with one another. In short, mutual Interests to united the People with the Nobility and rich Citizens, that, for more than six

D. H. p. 85.

self. The whole Colony was divided into three equal Parts, which Parts were called *Tribes* from the numerical Word *tres*, because they were divided into *three*. First each *Tribe* chose three *Senators*, which made nine in all. Then the three *Tribes* were divided into thirty *Curiae*, or if you will, thirty Parishes: and each Parish had likewise the Liberty to chuse three, which made the Number of the *Senators* in all ninety-nine. So that *Romulus* chose but one, *viz.* the hundredth; who was the Head or *Prince of the Senate*; and he govern'd *Rome* when the King was in the Field. See *Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 84.*

⁹¹ According to *Plutarch*, this Word comes originally from an *Arcadian*, a Companion of *Evander*, whose Name was *Patro*. He was a Man who was very assistant to the Defenceless, and a Protector of the Poor. But be that as it will; the Inhabitants of *Rome* were not the only Persons who had their *Patrons*. The Colonies, and other Cities allied to or conquered by the *Romans*, had afterwards their *Patrons* also at *Rome*. The only Privilege taken from the *Patronage*, as instituted by *Romulus*, was, the Custom of obliging the *Clients* sometimes to part with their Goods, in favour of their *Patrons*. The *Romans* thought it unworthy of them to sell their Protection. Of this *Plutarch* assures us.

⁹² It is utterly improbable, that *Romulus* should have chosen his *Patrons* out of the hundred *Senators*, which were then the prime Nobility. These were by Office the Judges of the People, a Title incompatible with that of *Patron*. *Plutarch's* Account is therefore more rational. He assures us, that *Pa-*

tronage was then conferred on the most considerable Persons of the Colony, to distinguish them from *Plebeians* of a lower Rank, who alone were comprehended in the Order of *Clients*. So that we must not reduce the Number of the noble Citizens only to that of the hundred *Senators*, instituted by *Romulus*. For this *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* may be our Voucher. He says, (*B. 2. p. 85.*) the *Senators* were taken out of the *Patricians*, that is, out of the most considerable of the new Inhabitants. He would not have expressed himself so, if he had not supposed, that there was a sort of *Patricians*, or distinguished Persons under *Romulus*, who, tho' not *Senators*, were yet descended from a wealthy and noble Race. It is true indeed *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* gives the Name of *Patricians*, both to the hundred first *Senators*, and to those who were raised to the Dignity of *Patrons*. But strictly speaking, the Title of *Patrician* at first belonged only to those *Romans* who were descended from *Senatorial* Families. Afterwards indeed this Name was also given to those *Plebeians*, who had obtained the Honour of the *Curule-chair*. It is granted that those only who were born of Families originally *Patrician*, formed the Body of the prime Nobility at *Rome*; but it is evident, that the *Romans* acknowledged other Nobles, tho' of an inferior Degree. Otherwise it must be said, that the hundred first *Senators* were the only Persons of Distinction at *Rome*, in *Romulus's* Reign. But it is nevertheless certain, that the *Patrons* then formed an Order of honourable Persons, who held the middle Rank between the *Senators* and the Populace.

hundred

hundred Years, we find neither Jealousy nor Dissentions between the *Patrons* and *Clients*, even in the Time of the Republick ; notwithstanding that there were sometimes Insurrections among the People against those who were most powerful in *Rome*.

Year of
R O M E
I.
ROMULUS.

§. XXI. WHEN Order was thus established in political Affairs, it was likewise necessary to introduce some Discipline among the Troops, which were to be used as Occasion offered ⁹³. In order to this, *Romulus* divided his Colony into three *Tribes*, and placed Commanders at their Head, under the Name of *Tribunes*.

THE *Tribes* themselves were also divided into *Curia*, and these *Curia* into ⁹⁴*Decuria*. But whether this Division into *Tribes* was made before or after the War with the *Sabines*, is uncertain. Each *Curia* and *Decuria* had its own Commander ; and these Bodies of Militia were ready formed in the several Quarters of the City, each of which was in Subjection to its proper Captain, who summoned them to the publick Assemblies, and was to command them in the Field. And these might be term'd the *first Sketch* of those invincible Legions which afterwards conquered the whole World.

Plutarch.

§. XXII. WITH respect to Religion, *Romulus* did not indeed give it all that Form to which it was afterwards reduced : He contented himself with establishing some sort of Regularity in the Priesthood ⁹⁵, and in the Worship of those Divinities only, which *Evander* had consecrated, those which *Aeneas* had brought from *Phrygia*, and those which the *Aborigines* had worshipped in their Time. He neither introduced the infamous Fables of the *Greek* Divinities into the publick Faith, nor licentious Ceremonies into the publick Worship. He appointed that every *Curia* should have its own Temple ⁹⁶, and its peculiar Gods and Priests. He appointed, that the People should assemble on certain stated Days, in *Cænacula* or publick Halls, built for that Purpose, each of which was consecrated to its particular God ; and that they should there feast in common upon the Victims that had been offered to the Gods. *Romulus* likewise established Festivals, whereby Religion became an Ease and Relief to a laborious People. He augmented the Number of the Priests and Sacrificers, of which each *Curia* had its own. The principal Ministers of the Gods were chosen only out of the *Patricians* ; and the inferior Priests out of such Families only, as were honourable. Their Age was at least that of fifty Years, and their Wives alone performed the Functions of Priestesses. Their Sons and Daughters only were, to the Age of *Puberty*, permitted to wait at the Altars ⁹⁷ ; and the sacerdotal Families were made honourable, by the annexing great Privileges to them. They were freed from all publick Taxes, and from bearing Arms. And as their Employment was for Life, it excited the Ambition of many ; but *Romulus* forbade the seeking of the Priesthood by Intrigues and Cabals, the purchasing it with Money, and the trusting it to the Hazard of Lots. He left it to the free Choice of the *Curia*, and permitted each of them to please itself, by providing its own Intercessors with the Gods. In a word, he gave up likewise to the same free Choice, the Offices of the

Dion. Hal. B.
2. p. 90.

⁹³ *Plutarch* places this Division of the People into *Tribes* after the Union of *Romulus*, and *Tatius* King of the *Sabines*.

⁹⁴ *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* tells us, the *Curia* were divided into *Decurie*, in which he seems to differ from *Polybius* and *Varro*. These tell us, that this Division took place among the Squadrons of Horse call'd *Turme* ; which has made *Grævius* say, *P. 7. of the Pref. to 1 vol. of Rom. Antiq.* that *Dion. Halicarn.* is mistaken. But the Silence of some Authors is not a decisive Proof against the *Greek* Historian. What was done in later Times, with respect to the Cavalry, does not contradict the Order *Romulus* at first established in the *Curia*.

⁹⁵ *Dion. Halicarn.* relates, that in *Romulus's* Time the infamous Fables of the *Grecian* Deities were not made known to the *Romans*. Nothing was said to them of the God *Cælus*, who was castrated by the Children of *Saturn*, who ate his own ; or of *Jupiter*, who drove his own Father out of his Dominions. So true it is, that *Latium* * was not so called, from *Saturn's* seeking a hiding Place there from the Pursuits of his Son ; and that the *Saturn*

of *Italy* was different from the *Saturn* of *Crete*. Nothing was said at *Rome*, of Gods wounded, imprisoned, and enslaved by Men. The Paganism of the first *Romans* was free from the Fanaticism of the *Greeks*, the Cheats of Oracles, and those abominable Superstitions, which authorized the most shameful Vices.

⁹⁶ The Temple of the *Curia* was itself called *Curia*. It was the holy Place of each Quarter of the City. The Priest who presided over the Sacrifices in it was called *Curio* ; whence, without doubt, came the Word *Curate*. In these Temples were made common Entertainments for the whole *Curia* ; but with admirable Frugality. This was a Means of uniting the Inhabitants of the same Quarter together. We shall have Occasion to speak more particularly of the *Curia* hereafter.

⁹⁷ The Girls dedicated to the Service of the Altars, were called *Camilla*, the Boys *Camilli*. When a Priest had no Children of his own, he might chuse the handsomest Children in his *Curia* to attend him in the Sacrifices.

* The Name of *Latium* was suppos'd to be derived from the Word *latere*, i. e. to lie hid.

Year of *Aruspices*, and *Augurs* ⁹⁸; the former of which presided over the Inspection of the trembling Entrails of the Victims, and the latter foretold future Events, by observing the Flight and Singing of Birds.

I.
ROMULUS.

§. XXIII. As to the Civil Laws which *Romulus* instituted, they were indeed rather adapted to the present Disposition of a small Colony, than sufficient for the Government of a great People, and the political Regulation of a great State. So that, they afterwards received Additions and Alterations which either weakened or disannulled them. The most durable of them, was that which regulated Marriages. And it was unquestionably more wisely contrived than those of the *Barbarians* or *Greeks*. The ⁹⁹ Founder of *Rome* confined each Husband to one Wife. Their Union was not indeed absolutely indissoluble; but their Goods ¹⁰⁰ were in common between them, and under the Administration of the Husband.

The

⁹⁸ It is not improper to say something here of the different Offices of the *Aruspices* and *Augurs*, whom we shall often mention, in the Course of this History. The *Roman Aruspices* were all taken at first from *Hetruria*, where their Art had most Credit. Afterwards young *Romans* were sent into *Hetruria*, to be there brought up in their Science. It consisted in foretelling future Events by attending to various Circumstances of the sacrificed Victims. First, it was an ill Omen, when the Victim would not come to the Altar without dragging, when it broke its Rope, fled away, avoided the Stroke, struggled much after it, made a great bellowing, died hard, or bled but little. Secondly, Presages were drawn from inspecting the noble Parts of the Victim when opened, as the Heart, Lungs, Spleen, and especially the Liver. If all of these were sound, if the Top of the Liver was large and well made, and if its Fibres were strong, it presaged well for the Affair in question. Thirdly, Knowledge was also drawn by the *Aruspices* from the Manner in which the Fire consumed the Victim. If the Flame brightened immediately, was pure and clear, rose up in a Pyramid without Noise, and did not go out till the Victim was consumed; these were happy Signs. Fourthly, the Smoke likewise was considered; whether it whirled about in Curls, or spread itself to the right or left, or gave a Smell different from the common one of broil'd Meat. Fifthly, the Incense they burned, was a happy Omen, when it melted all at once, and gave a most agreeable Smell. How trifling these kinds of Divinations were, is very plain: nor were those the *Augurs* drew from the Air less so. These *Augurs* or *Auspices* were very different from the *Aruspices*. *Romulus*, who was himself skilled in their Art, first established them at *Rome*. There were only three in his Time, one to each *Tribe*. *Servius Tullius*, who added a fourth *Tribe*, is also said to have added a fourth *Augur*. But their College (for so it was called) was afterwards increased to fifteen under a Head, or *Master of the Augurs*. Their Offices, comprized in the Augural Law, which we find in *Tully's second Book of Divination*, were these. They were the Interpreters of the Will of the Gods with respect to the making War and Peace. And according to the Divinity of that Time, all were obliged to obey them, in so important an Article. They drew their Predictions from the different Signs, they said, appeared in the Air, and upon the Earth. Thus what they pronounced to be contrary to the Intentions of Heaven, was deemed unlawful; and it was capital to act contrary to their Decisions. They likewise appointed the Expiations they thought necessary, on account of the Signs the Gods seemed to give of their Anger. And from hence it appears how powerful they were in the *Roman* State; since by pronouncing any Affair, any Assembly of the *Comitia*, Election of Magistrates, War or Peace, to be disagreeable to the Gods, they prevented them. They pretended to make these Discoveries of the Will of the Gods, several Ways. First, by the

Flight, or Chirping of Birds. Secondly, by Thunder or Lightning. Thirdly, by the setting of the Wind. Fourthly, by the Hunger and different Postures of Chickens which were bred up in Cages on purpose for the *Augur's* Use, and were carried about in the *Roman* Armies. When the *Augur*, in the Execution of his Office, was to observe the Heavens, he went up upon some high Place; took the Augural Staff, (which was a sort of Crozier, bent at one End) in his Hand, and marked out the four Quarters of the Heavens with it. Then he turned to the East, having the West behind him, the South to his Right, and North to his Left; and this is what the *Romans* called, *Servare de Cælo*. In this Situation he waited for the Sign, whether it were given by Thunder, Birds, or the Wind. First, as to Thunder; when it was heard to the Left, when the Lightning came from the East, and was driven back by the Wind to the same Point, without darting forward to the West; when it did not upon the falling strike into the Earth, but rebound towards Heaven: these were happy Presages. Secondly, as to Birds; some, as Ravens, Owls, &c. were thought to presage things by their croaking and screeching; others, as Eagles, Vultures, and especially Wood-peckers, by their flying, which they observed whether it was from the Right to the Left, or from the Left to the Right. Thirdly, in the Wind, its Changes were observed, especially if sudden. When these Sorts of Signs fail'd, they had Recourse to the Pullets, which were bred in Cages, for this Purpose, at the publick Expence. The *Augur* went to consult their Presages early in the Morning, without giving any Notice to their Keeper. When they came but slowly out of their Cage, did not eat greedily, spoiled their Food, scattered it abroad with their Wings, let a great deal of it fall from their Mouths to the Ground, and above all, when they refused to eat, these were ill Prognostics. And besides all these, the *Romans* had other Ways of diving into Futurity, which arose rather from the Superstition of the People, than from the *Augural* Science.

⁹⁹ Divorces seem, in certain Cases, to have been permitted, even from *Romulus's* time. *Plutarch* says it. The Wife indeed could not put away her Husband; but the Husband could put away his Wife, when she had endeavoured to poison any of his Children, had put a strange Child upon him for one of his own, or had been unfaithful to his Bed. Divorces in any other Case were punished with giving one part of the Husband's Goods to the divorced Wife, and consecrating the rest to *Ceres*.

¹⁰⁰ This Community of Goods was thus expressed in the Marriage Ceremonies: The Persons to be married came to a Sacrifice, in presence of ten Witnesses; and the Priest, among other Offerings, presented a Wheat Loaf, and scattered Pieces of it over the Victim. This was to shew that Bread, the Symbol of all other Goods, should for the future be in common between the Husband and Wife; and this Rite was called *confarreatio*. Hence it

The Wife was declared universal ¹⁰¹ Heiress to her Husband, if he died intestate, and without Children; but if he had Children by her, the Mother and the Children were equal Sharers in the Inheritance. Two Faults especially were unpardonable in the Wife, the ¹⁰² one the Breach of her conjugal Fidelity, the ¹⁰³ other her drinking Wine. *Romulus* ordained that for each of these Transgressions, the guilty Person might be condemned to die. Wine, said he, is in Women the Foundation of Corruption, and Incontinence the Excess of it. These Laws were indeed severe; but the Judgment of the Criminal was in both Cases reserved to the Relations of the accused.

Year of
R O M E
I.
ROMULUS.

WITH respect to the Dependance which this Lawgiver required Children to have upon their Parents, it was greater and more general than was ever required in any other Nation. Among the *Greeks*, some freed Children from the Jurisdiction of their Fathers three Years after *Puberty* at the farthest, and others, at least at the Time of their Marriage, or * when the Republick thought them fit for the Magistracy. And the severest Punishment that an offended Father could inflict upon an unruly Son, in *Greece*, was to disinherit him. But *Romulus* ¹⁰⁴ set no Bounds to the Power of Fathers over their Children: Of what Age soever they were, or to whatever Dignities advanced, they were still subject to the Correction of their Fathers. These had a Right to beat them, to send them in Chains to cultivate their Lands, to disinherit them, to sell them for Slaves, and even to put them to Death. Every Father of a Family was a little Sovereign in his own House. His Power over his Children was more extensive than that of Masters over their Slaves. ¹⁰⁵ A Father might put up his Son to publick † Sale three times; whereas a Master could sell his Slave but once, and lost all Power over him after he had once given him his Liberty.

* Or when they were registered in the publick Roll of Men. *Dion. Hal.* p. 96.

† Sell his Son for a Slave. *Dion. Hal.* p. 97.

ROMULUS was of Opinion that the sedentary Arts and Occupations of Peace soften Mens Minds, and enervate their Courage; he therefore would per-

it is said in *Romulus's* Law, *Uxor farreatione viro juncta, in sacra & bona ejus venito*. It appears likewise by the same Law, that the Wife, upon Marriage, professed the same Gods, and the same Worship with her Husband; both as to the Household Gods of each Family, and the respective God of each *Curia*. The Law adds, *jus devortendi ne esto, i. e.* let not the Husband have an absolute and unlimited Power of divorcing his Wife. This is the strict Meaning of *devortendi*; but it is also sometimes used to signify a Power of refusing to accept the Person who had only been betrothed.

¹⁰³ According to *Lipsius*, *Romulus's* Law ran thus: *Temetum mulier ne bibito*; and *Dion. Hal.* says Wives were forbidden Wine, and were punished when caught drinking it; *ἐν τῇ οἴῳ ἐνεδείκναι Πιῶσα γυναῖκα*, &c. This Law was so severely observed, that, according to *Valerius Maximus*, *Romulus* did not think himself obliged to condemn *Egnatius Maccenius*, or *Metellus*, who having caught his Wife drinking Wine, killed her upon the Spot: And *Fabius Pictor* mentions another Woman whom her Relations starved to Death, for having broke open the Chest in which were the Keys of the Cellar. *Aulus Gellius* and *Pliny* likewise assure us, that in consequence of this Law, it was customary at *Rome*, for the Ladies to be saluted by their near Relations whenever they met them, not so much out of Civility and Friendship, as to find out by their Breath if they had been drinking Wine. But in Process of Time the Severity of this Law was somewhat abated. The Women who had drank Wine were only condemned to lose their Portions. Which appears by *Cneus Domitius's* Judgment, as related by *Pliny*. *Cneus* the Civilian indeed pretends, in the 25th Chap. of his *Observations*, that this Law did not decree Death against her who had drank Wine, but only some Punishment in general, at the Husband's Discretion: and supports his Opinion on this, that the Word *ὑπερέειναι*, used by *Dion. Hal.* signifies to inflict Punishment in general, without specifying the Nature of it. But *Bodinus*, in his *Method of History*, brings the Authorities of *Valerius Maximus*, *Fabius Pictor* and *Pliny*, in Proof of the contrary.

¹⁰⁴ The Law, the Sense of which we have collected from those Authors who mention *Romulus*, is this: *In liberos suprema patrum auctoritas esto. Venumdare, occidere licito*.

¹⁰⁵ *Romulus's* Law was express, that the Son was not free from the supreme Authority of the Father, till he had sold him three times. *Si pater filium ter venundavit, filius a patre liber esto*.

¹⁰¹ The Law, according to *Justus Lipsius*, was this, *Si stuprum commissit, aliudve quid peccasset, maritus iudex & vindex esto, deque eo cum cognatis, cognoscito*. And another very antient Law, attributed to *Romulus*, which specifies the Punishment of the Wife's Infidelity to her Husband, is this: *Adulterii convictam vir & cognati, uti volent necant*.

Year of
R O M E
I.
ROMULUS.

mit none but Strangers or Slaves to be employed in them. Only War and Agriculture, were by him thought to be Employments noble enough for Men whom he was forming for Conquerors. And if he tolerated Agriculture itself, it was only as considering it to be a laborious Exercise, which disposed Men to bear the Fatigues of War. With this View he distributed the Lands of his little District, among all his *Curiae*, in equal Proportions; reserving only so much Land for his own Demesnes as were necessary to defray the Expences of Religion, and maintain the Temples.

Year of
R O M E
II.

§. XXIV. THUS was the Colony founded; and the Wisdom of its Laws seemed to promise it an eternal Duration. Nevertheless, it wanted both Men to make it more numerous, and Women to perpetuate it by Marriages. But the Care and Artifice of *Romulus* provided a Remedy for both these Inconveniences. In order to augment his Colony with Men fit to bear Arms, he filled the neighbouring Countries with the Fame of his happy Administration, and of the Peace and Tranquillity that were enjoy'd at *Rome*. But these Reports, tho' very advantageous, did yet but little increase the Number of the *Romans*. However, as the neighbouring Cities were governed by imperious Sovereigns, such of their Inhabitants as were in a State of Freedom, inoffensive in their Behaviour, and came to *Rome*, were well received there, and admitted to the Privileges of the Colony. As to fugitive Slaves, Homicides, and Families overwhelm'd with Debts, they ran to the new City from all Parts: But they were not admitted within the Walls; an *Asylum* was open'd for them without the Gates of *Rome*. The Hill ¹⁰⁶ *Saturnius*, afterwards called *Capitolinus*, had two Summits, with a Valley ¹⁰⁷ between them, and being flanked to the Right and Left with very thick Woods, was thought an impenetrable Place. Here then *Romulus* receiv'd all the Profligates that fled to him, all the Slaves that were tired of their Masters Government, and all such Persons as were pursued for Debt. Nor was the Appearance of Religion wanting to cover the Policy of the new King. He erected a Temple to a new Sort of Divinity, which he called the ¹⁰⁸ *Asylean* God. All Criminals, and all that fled from the Cities of *Italy*, were to live securely there, under the Protection of the God; or rather under that of *Romulus*, and his Colony. And afterwards, when the Founder himself enlarged the Borders of his City, and the Hill *Saturnius*, under the Name of *Tarpeius*, became a Part of it, the *Asylum* was inclosed within the Walls, and those Profligates, after having been brought under some Regulation by *Romulus*, became Citizens of *Rome*.

Plutarch and
Livy, B. 1. c. 8.

Dion. Hal.
p. 88.
Plutarch.

Year of
R O M E,
III, IV.

BUT the Colony, tho' become more numerous, seemed yet to promise no longer a Continuance, than during the Lives of its present Members. There were but few Women in it, among so great a Number of Men. *Rome* therefore must, for want of Marriages, soon come to nothing; at least her jealous Neighbours had conceived Hopes of it. In vain had *Romulus*, by the Advice of his Senate, sent Embassies to the neighbouring Nations, to sollicite them to enter into Alliances with *Rome*, by giving the *Romans* their Daughters in Marriage. He had represented to them, that rising Colonies were not always contemptible; and that the Gods had hitherto shewn Favour enough to *Rome*, to give them Reason not to disdain to enter into Alliances with her. But the Deputies brought back only Railleries for Answers: *You have nothing to do*, said they, *but to open an Asylum for Women too; and then your People will be well matched. A Parcel of vagabond and loose Women, will be fit Matches for a Crew of Fugitives loaded with Crimes or Debts.*

¹⁰⁶ The Hill *Saturnius* was so called, because, as was commonly believed, *Saturn*, an antient King of *Latium*, resided there, in a little Town, called from him *Saturnia*. The Adventure of the famous *Tarpeia* changed its Name. It was thence called *Mons Tarpeius*, and afterwards *Mons Capitolinus*, from the finding there the Head of one *Tolus*, as they were digging the Foundations of a Temple, which was built on this Hill to the Honour of *Jupiter*.

¹⁰⁷ This Valley was called *Intermontium*. The

Establishment of the Privilege of *Asylums* by *Romulus*, was borrowed from the *Greeks*, and chiefly from the *Athenians*.

¹⁰⁸ According to *Plutarch*, this *Asylum* was put under the Protection of the *Asylean* God. But *Dion. Hal.* acknowledges that this tutelary Deity was unknown to him. It is certain, the Place was in his Time consecrated to *Jupiter*, who might be the same with him, whose Worship *Romulus* established under the Title of *Asyleus*, that is, Protector of *Asylums*.

Year of
ROME
III, IV.
ROMULUS.

WHEN therefore this insulting Refusal of the neighbouring Cities was brought to *Rome*, all the Prudence of *Romulus* was little enough to restrain the Resentment of the *Roman* Youth. They expressed an ardent Desire of procuring themselves Wives by their Arms. But the King did not think it proper to dedicate his first Victories to the Conquest of Women. He chose rather to make publick Sports an Occasion of Marriages. *Romulus* thought that to seize and carry off by Force the Women (by whom he intended *Rome* should be peopled) in the Height of their Merriment at a publick Shew, would be a less unlikely Means to soften their Hearts than Blood spilt in Battle.

As Workmen were digging in a Field very near *Rome*, they accidentally found an Altar dedicated to *Neptunus Equestris*, or the *Equestrian Neptune*, otherwise called the God *Consus*. It was probably a Monument of the Piety of *Evander*, and his *Arcadians*. Why *Neptune* was called *Equestris*, is well known: According to the *Grecian* Fables, he had brought the first *Horse* out of the Earth, with a Stroke of his Trident. And it was probably *Romulus* who gave him the Name of ¹⁰⁹*Consus*: because he hoped to receive useful Advice or *Counsel* from him in the Affair he was meditating. The Altar ¹¹⁰ was under Ground, to shew that Affairs which require Counsel, require Secrecy, and cannot be kept too private. And the Discovery of this Sanctuary was thought of Importance enough to deserve a Celebration by publick Sports instituted in Honour of the God. To the Shew was added a Fair, and Leave was given to all the Merchants of the neighbouring Cities to come there and trade. For which end, *Romulus* proclaimed the Day he had fixed for these Sports, in all the Countries round about him: and for his own Part, made all the pompous Preparations for it that the Poverty of his Colony would admit. As to the Nature of these Sports, it is probable they chiefly consisted of Chariot-Races, and Horse-Races; since this was the Manner that afterwards prevailed of celebrating the Sports ¹¹¹ called *Consualia*; which were perpetuated at *Rome*, in Memory of this first Shew which *Romulus* had given.

Plutarch.

Lic. B.1. c.9.
Dion. Hal. B.1.
p. 99, 100.

Florus, &c.

THE Multitude of People which this Festival drew to *Rome*, was unspeakably great: and they observed the Diligence of the Colony, in raising their Walls and building their Houses, with Admiration. The Strangers were every where received with all the Demonstrations of a friendly Hospitality: But in the mean while *Romulus* had agreed with his People upon a Signal to be given when the Rape should begin.

WHEN the Day fixed for the Sports was come, the King presided in a striped Robe, which the *Latins* call ¹¹²*Trabea*: The Assembly consisted of a vast Number of People, which were come together from the neighbouring Countries; but chiefly from the Cities, or rather little Towns of *Canina*, *Crustumium*, and *Antemnae*, which seemed to be emptied to furnish Spectators for the *Roman* Sports. Men, Women, Girls and Children, all came to them: But it may be affirmed that the *Sabines* came in greater Numbers than other People. The Shews and the Fair lasted a considerable Time; for the Feast begun at the Beginning of the Month ¹¹³*Sextilis*, and did not end till the twentieth of that

¹⁰⁹ The common Opinion is, that *Romulus* invoked *Neptune* under the Name of *Consus*. But others have made him a different God from *Neptune*. And *Dion. Hal.* and *Plutarch* leave it undetermined. The former acknowledges he had heard that the Festival called *Consualia*, was consecrated to *Neptune*; but that the subterranean Altar was dedicated to a mysterious Deity, who presided over secret Designs, and whose Name was unknown to the Vulgar.

¹¹⁰ *Plutarch* says, this Altar was preserved under Ground, in the publick Place where *Ancus Marcius* built the great *Circus*. The *Romans* uncovered it only during the Celebration of the Sports instituted in Honour of this God *Consus*: at which times they offer'd Libations and Sacrifices upon it.

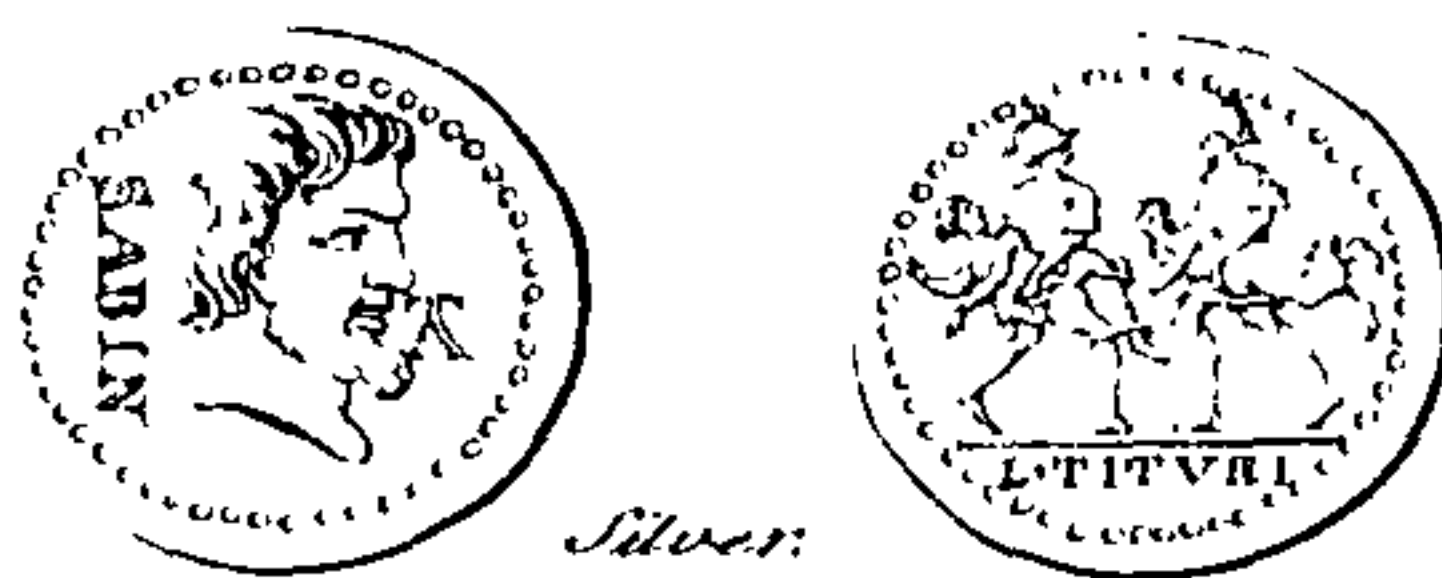
¹¹¹ We shall speak of these Games or Sports, in another Place. It is sufficient to observe here, that they were represented every Year, on the 20th of *August*, or the 12th Day before the Calends of

September, because the Rape of the *Sabines* was on that Day.

¹¹² The Learned have wearied themselves with Enquiries about the Habits of the ancient *Romans*, especially the *Trabea*. All things considered, *Dion. Hal.* and other ancient Authors, incline one to believe it was very like the *Toga*; with this Difference, that it was adorn'd with Stripes of Purple, at due Distances, on a white Ground. This was the ordinary Habit of the Kings of *Rome*: And it will hereafter appear, that the chief Magistrates of the Republic, and the *Roman* Knights, appeared in it, on certain Days of Ceremony. But there was likewise another Sort of *Trabea*, worn only by the *Augurs*; of which more in its Place.

¹¹³ Reckoning from *March*, which began the Year, according to *Romulus's* Calendar, the sixth Month was *August*: which was for that Reason called *Sextilis*, even after the Regulations made by *Numa* and *Julius Caesar*.

Year of Month. The Peace and Harmony that continued during the Sports, lulled the
R O M E Spectators into Security; for the *Romans* did not put their Enterprize in Exe-
 III, IV. cution till the last Day of the Festival. They had Orders to come armed to
 ROMULUS. the last Shew, and conceal their Arms under their Clothes: And in the mean
 time, every one, during the Sports, pitched upon the Woman whom he deter-
 mined should be his Wife. When therefore the Multitude was most attentive
 to the Shew, *Romulus* rose from his Seat, adjusted his Robe, folded it, and un-
 folded it again. This was the Signal agreed on for ¹¹⁴ beginning the Rape; and
 instantly the *Roman* Youth appeared Sword in Hand, and fell ¹¹⁵ upon the



Silver.

Spectators. They, being unarmed and frightened, fell in Disorder. And in
 the Tumult, the *Romans*, who had no Design of shedding Blood, carried
 off every one his Prey. The rest of the Strangers were suffered to disperse
 themselves, and to go home and bewail the Loss of their Daughters or Sisters:
 But in the Hurry of the Rape, some *Romans* of Distinction, perceiving a Body
 of their People, of the meanest Sort, running away with a young Woman of
 singular Beauty, envied them so fine a Prey: And they, to prevent their being
 Aurel. Victor. deprived of their Booty, cried out, *Thalassio, Thalassio* ¹¹⁶; a Word used in
Rome, in the Celebration of Marriages, ever after. Their Meaning was, that
 the young Person they were carrying away, was designed for *Thalassius*, an il-
 lustrious *Roman*, who was in great Esteem in the Colony. And from hence it
 was, that the crying out *Thalassio*, was always customary at *Rome*, in the Mar-
 riage Ceremony; in the same manner as *Hymen* and *Hymenæe*, prevailed among
 the *Greeks*.

Dien. Hal.
 B. 2. p. 100.
 Liv. B. 1. c. 9.

BUT nevertheless, as youthful Passions had a less Share in these Marriages
 than publick Necessity, *Romulus's* Law is said to have been observed with great
 Exactness. He had forbidden any Attempts to be made upon the Women who
 were carried off, till lawful Marriages had been solemnized in Form. For which
 Purpose, the King caused the *Sabine* Women (for so were they all call'd, because
 the greater Number were *Sabines*) to be brought into his Presence the Day after
 the Rape. They were by this time a little recover'd from their Fright; and the
 King comforted them under the Loss of their Relations, by his Panegyrick on
 the Husbands he was going to give them: *The Romans*, said he, *did not come*
upon you Sword in Hand to dishonour you: It was to secure you a happy Settle-
ment in a rising Colony, of which you are going to be both the Support and the
Glory. It is more honourable for you to have been seized as you were, than to
have observed the Rules of common Marriages. For this was the Case of the
many Heroines of Greece. I will take Care that you shall meet with all the
Tenderness from your new Husbands, which could have been shewn you in your
Father's Houses. Soften then the Fierceness of your Anger, and surrender your

¹¹⁴ The Rape of the *Sabines* is represented in
 the Medal above. It was struck by *L. Titurinus*;
 whose Name, together with the Head of *Titus*
Tatius, a *Sabine* King, which are on one Side of
 the Medal, prove that the *Titurine* Family was
 originally *Sabine*.

¹¹⁵ Some Authors say, it was in Memory of
 this Rape that it became customary in the *Roman*
 Marriages; for the Bridegroom to snatch the Bride
 out of her Mother's Arms, and carry her as it
 were by Force to his own House. *Qui rapis te-*
neram ad virum Virginem, says *Catullus*.

¹¹⁶ I have followed the Opinion of *Livy* and
Plutarch. I know *Varro*, as quoted by *Sex. Pom-*
peius, differs from them. He thought the Word

Thalassio antiently signified those little Baskets in
 which the Ladies put their Work, to this Day;
 and that for this Reason, that as the *Sabines* would
 not afterwards give themselves voluntarily to the
Romans, but on condition that they should only be
 obliged to work in Wool, they carried little Bas-
 kets to their Husbands Houses, on the Day of
 Marriage, to put their Work in. Whilst others
 say, the Word *Thalassio* was the Word *Romulus*
 agreed should be used, when they begun the Rape.
 And indeed this Cry agreed very well with the God
 of the Sea, whose Festival they then celebrated:
 And therefore the Poets always give him the Sur-
 name of *Thalassios*. *Aristophanes* speaking of *Nep-*
tune calls him, *Θαλάσσιος Ποσειδών*.

Hearts

Hearts to Men who thought themselves obliged to take you by Violence for the Good of their State. If we have fought you in a military Way, impute it to your Fathers, who denied you to our civil Requests. In a word, lay aside all Resentment, and be rather pleas'd with the extraordinary Method we have taken to possess you. After this he married them into the best Families of Rome, with this Form, which has been sacred ever since in Marriages; *Partake ye of your Husbands Fire ¹¹⁷ and Water.* As to the Number of these Sabine Women, some Historians make them to have been six hundred eighty-three, others five hundred twenty-seven, and others reduce them to thirty only. And the latter pretend, that the Word *Curia* comes from them, because they had for the most part been Natives of *Cures* ¹¹⁸, a City of the *Sabines*: But no eminent Historian has been of this Opinion.

Year of
R O M E
III, IV.
ROMULUS.

*Juba apud
Plutarch.*

ROMULUS had the Comfort of finding, that among this Multitude of young Women seized in a tumultuous Manner, there was only one that was married, whose Name was *Herfilia*. Possibly a very young Look made them confound her with the rest, and take her for a Maid: And a Greek Historian says, that *Romulus* made her his wife, and had a Daughter by her, named *Prima*, because she was his *first* Child, and a Son named *Abilius*. But other Historians, who were perhaps better informed, contend, that *Herfilia* was married to a noble Roman named *Hostus*, and that *Tullius Hostilius*, one of the Kings of Rome, descended from her. But be that as it will, the *Sabine* Women experienc'd the truth of *Romulus's* Promises. The Virtue and Fondness of their Husbands made them soon forget their native Country and their Father's Houses. Their Attachment also to Rome will soon signally appear by the most tender and generous Demonstrations. In Memory of this Rape, it afterwards became customary in all Marriages there, for the Brides to be taken up under the Arms and carried at least over the Threshold of the Door ¹¹⁹, when they enter'd their Husbands Houses, as if they had been taken from their Fathers by Force.

*Zenodotus
Trezenius.*

§. XXV. THE *Sabines* have been thought by some to have been a Colony ¹²⁰ of *Lacedæmonians*, transplanted into *Italy*; and that not improbably. At least the Moderation, Wisdom, and Frugality of these two Nations, bore a great Resemblance to each other. Their State was a pretty extensive one, if compared with the little neighbouring Sovereignities; but the People lived altogether in Villages which were open on all Sides, or at least only enclosed with Palisades. And tho' their Courage inclined them to revenge the Affront offered them in the Persons of their Daughters; yet their Prudence made them fear every thing from the *Roman* Arms, in an open and defenceless Country. They therefore proposed to repair their Honour by Treaties, before they run the hazard of a War; and sent to demand their Daughters, promising to enter into an Alliance with the *Romans*, whereby they should have Liberty to intermarry with them. But *Romulus* was inflexible. He on his Part demanded, that the *Sabines* would confirm the Marriages of his *Romans*, which were made indeed by Violence, but a Violence which was unavoidable. Whilst the slow Progress of the Treaty suspended Hostilities on both

Year of
R O M E
V.
ROMULUS.

Plutarch.

¹¹⁷ This Communication of Fire and Water between the Husband and Wife, was the Symbol of conjugal Union; and insinuated that their Goods were in common between them: Whilst on the contrary, the Orders for Banishment were expressed, by prohibiting the Use of Fire and Water, because the banished were thought excluded from the public Society.

¹¹⁸ *Festus* is of this Opinion. His Words are these: *Curie—sunt eain quas Romulus populum distribuit, numero triginta—hisque Curis singulis nomina Curium virginum imposita dicuntur, quas virgines quondam Romani de Sabinis rapuerunt.*

¹¹⁹ It is an ancient historical Tradition, that the Brides never step'd upon the Threshold, when they went into their Husbands Houses. They were held up to prevent it.

*Turritaque premens frontem matrona coronâ
Translatâ vitat contingere limina plantâ.*

Pharf. B. 2.

Varro indeed contends, that this was out of Respect to this Part of the House which was consecrated to *Vesta*: But *Plutarch* says, it was to shew, that the first Marriages were made by Rapes. And from hence, say some Authors, comes the Custom of parting the Hair of the new married Woman with the Point of a Lance. This was intended to shew, that Iron and Violence gave the *Romans* their first Wives: And the truth of this Custom seems to be confirmed by *Ovid*, in these Words,

Comas Virgineas hasta recurva comas.

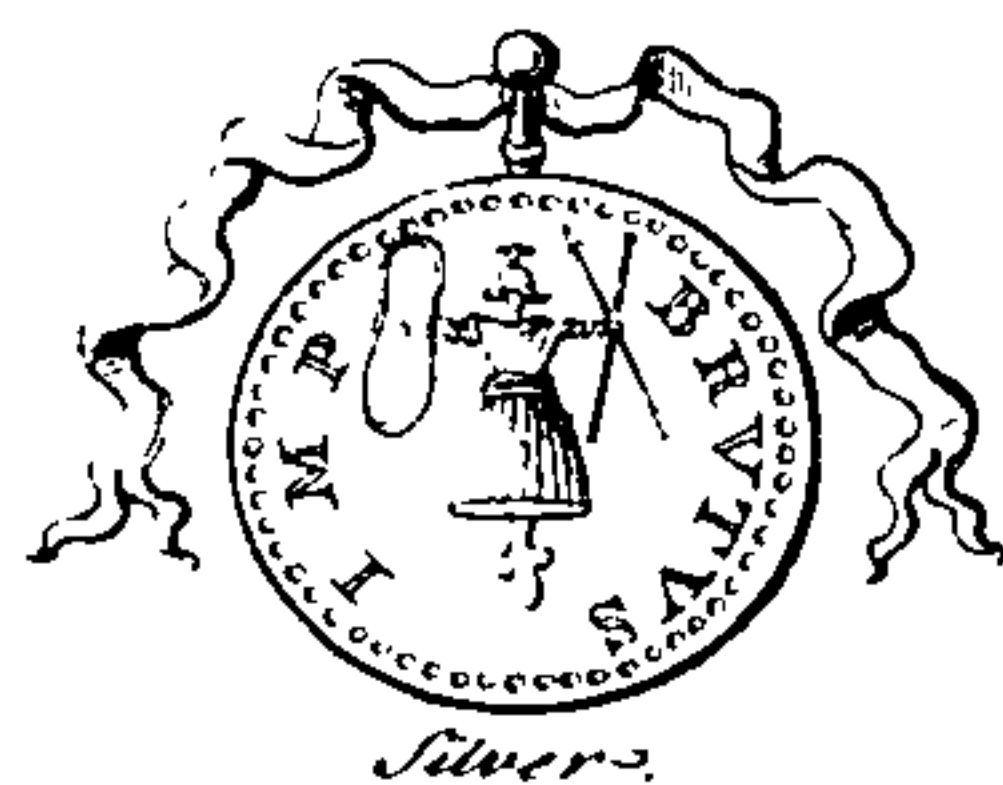
¹²⁰ *Dion. Hal.* upon the Credit of an ancient History of the *Sabines*, says, that the *Lacedæmonians*, not being able to submit to the Severity of *Lycurgus's* Laws, fled from their own Country into *Italy*, and landed at *Pometia*, whence they

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p. 101.

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both Sides, *Acron*, whom the Historians call King ¹²¹ of *Cænina*, and whom we shall stile the Head of that Town, prevented the *Sabines*, and first took the Field. He was a Man of Valour; and had signalized himself in more Wars than one. Besides, he thought the Neighbourhood of the *Romans*, which had given him Jealousy from their first Establishment, was now become more formidable since the audacious Rape committed on his Country-women. He thought it necessary to stifle a Colony in its Birth, which otherwise would increase in Strength as it grew in Age: And he, for these Reasons, solicited the *Sabines*, as well as the Inhabitants of ¹²² *Crustumium* and *Antemna*, to join their Forces with his. But their Delays put him out of all Patience. *Acron* thought he could himself subdue an Handful of Men, who were gathered together in a City newly founded, and very little fortified: But the March of his Army had more the Air of an Incurſion of Robbers, than of a regular Expedition. The *Cæninaſes* ravaged and pillaged the Lands of the *Romans*; and *Romulus* did not confine himself within his Walls: He instantly marched out against the Enemy, and went to give the first Proof of the *Roman* Valour against Strangers in open Field, where they joined Battel: and where the *Romans* fought for every thing that was dear to them, and even for the Hopes of their Posterity. But before we proceed, it is necessary to observe here, a Custom in Fighting very common in the heroic Times, and not then abolished; which was this: It was usual for the two Commanders mutually to provoke each other with their Eyes and Voices in the Heat of the Engagement, and to shew the Desire they had of engaging singly: Upon which the two Armies open'd, and made a Circle, wherein the two Leaders were to engage. And *Romulus* on this Occasion made a Vow to *Jupiter*, that if he came off Conqueror, he would erect a *Trophy* ¹²³ to him of



the Spoils of the Conquered. Upon which, as the Prejudices of Religion inspire with Courage, the young ¹²⁴ King of twenty-five or twenty-six Years of Age,

went into the Country of the *Sabines*, who soon became one People with them. But *Porcius Cato* says, the *Sabines* took their Name from *Sabinus* the Son of *Sancus* or *Sabus*, whom they worshipped under the Name of *Dius Fidius*. Whereas *Silius* the Poet calls the Founder of the *Sabines*, *Sabus*.

*Pars Sancum voce canebant
Auctorem gentis, pars laudes ore ferebant
Sabe tuas, qui de patrio cognomine primus
Dixisti populos magna ditioe Sabinos.*

The Name of *Sancus* was given him, because he presided over Compacts or Treaties, *a sanciendo fœderibus*.

¹²¹ *Cænina* was situated on the Confines of *Latium* and *Sabinia*. *Plutarch* and *Stephens* make it a City of the *Sabines*; but the Authority of *Livy*, *Dion. Hal.* and *Festus*, who think this a City of ancient *Latium*, is against them. *Cluverius* thinks, that *Cænina* was on this Side the *Anio*, four Miles from *Rome*. *Holstenius* places it beyond that River, in the Neighbourhood of *Monticelli*.

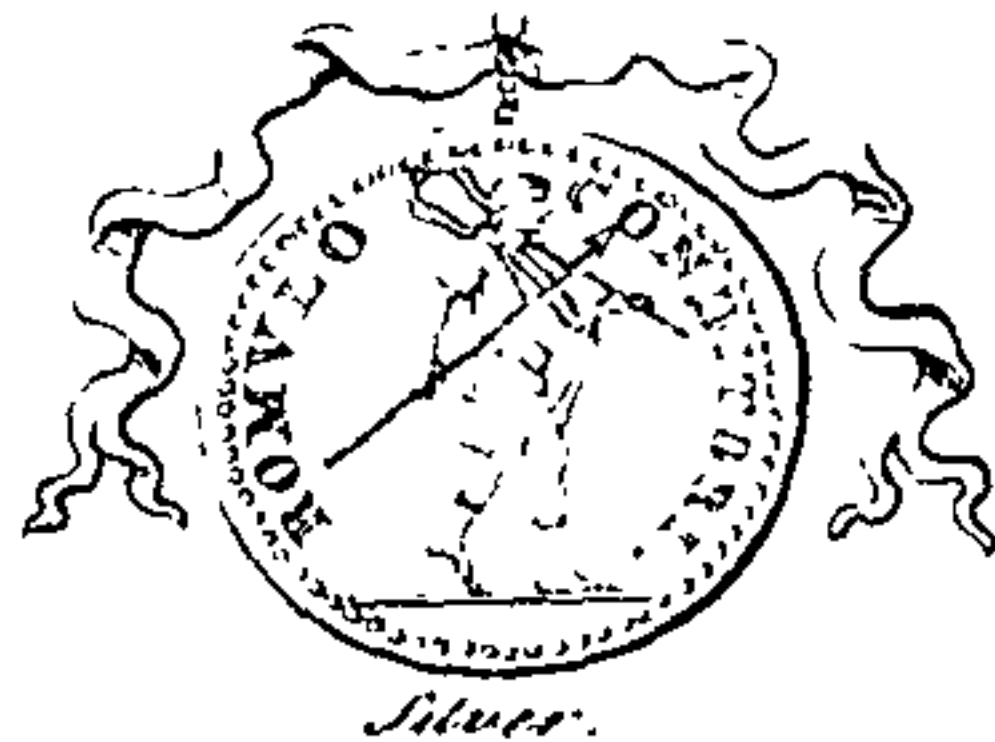
¹²² *Crustumium* and *Antemna* were either subject to, or in the Neighbourhood of, *Sabinia*. Some Geographers think the former was situated near the Place where *Marcigliano Vecchio* now stands. They place the latter upon the *Tyber*, almost between the *Tiburine* and *Nomantine* Ways. But it is uncertain where they stood. *Plutarch* says, that *Fidene* made a League with *Crustumium* and *Antemna*, against the *Romans*.

¹²³ The Use of Trophies, especially among the *Greeks*, is immemorial. It was customary to erect them upon the Field of Battle. The ancient Trophies consisted of a Post, a Stake, or a Trunk of a Tree dressed up with the Spoils of the Enemy. We have the Figure of one of them in the Medal above, which was struck after the Victory gained by *Brutus* over the *Bessi*, a People of *Thrace*, near *Mysia*. And in After-times, the Conquerors erected Pillars of Brass, or Marble, or Stone, and towers, and triumphal Arches, with Inscriptions to perpetuate the Memory of their Victories. But according to *Plutarch*, in his *Roman Questions*, Antiquity abhorred those who first made use of Marble and Brass for Trophies, because, says he, it seemed inhuman to transmit the Shame and Misfortunes of People to future Ages: And he adds, that in consequence of this, they would not suffer the triumphal Arches to be repaired. These Monuments were generally dedicated to some Divinity.

¹²⁴ If, according to *Tarrutius*, it be true, that *Romulus* was born the second Year of the second *Olympiad*, and we fix the Establishment of the new Colony, according to *Varro*, to the third Year of the sixth *Olympiad*, we shall then be forced to say, that *Romulus* was not at most but in his nineteenth Year when he laid the Foundations of his City. It is plain there are but eighteen Years between these two Terms: so that upon this Supposition, we agree with *Dion. Hal.* who makes the Founder of

Age, fought like a Hero, slew an antient Warriour, and stripped him of his Armour. The Death of *Acron* was also followed by the Flight and Discouragement of the *Cæninenses*; and *Romulus* pursued them to their Town, which they had of late slightly fortified. The *Romans* enter'd it with the Fugitives, and took it without opposition. And then did the Conqueror signalize at once, both his Moderation and his Policy. He spared the Blood of the Conquered, and contented himself with ¹²⁵ razing *Cænina*, and carrying the Inhabitants to *Rome*, to augment his Colony. And the Establishment he gave them, upon the same foot with his first Citizens, was a Rule of Conduct from which he never after departed upon any Victory. But either out of Ostentation, or to animate his People with an ardent Love of Glory, *Romulus* now adorned his Victory with a Pomp hitherto unknown. He decreed to himself the Honours of a *Triumph* ¹²⁶; for so the Reception given to Conquerors at their Return from their Conquests was called. It is reasonable to think, that this first example which *Romulus* gave in his own person, excited the Emulation of all the *Roman* Generals; and perhaps nothing contributed more to the Conquest they made of the world: But the Preparations for this Triumph were suited to the Poverty of the *Romans* in those Days. Whatever *Dion. Hal.* may say of it, *Romulus* did not ride in a Chariot; he enter'd *Rome* on Foot ¹²⁷, with his Troops marching some before and some after him. His long Hair flowed upon his Shoulders, and his Head was crowned with Laurel. He had fixed the Spoils of *Acron* to the Trunk of a little Oak, and covered it with them. This

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Trophy represented an armed Man which he carried in Triumph on his Right Shoulder ¹²⁵. All the People came without the Walls to meet the Conqueror, singing his Praises; and lined the Road on both Sides. When he was enter'd

of the Empire to be of that Age. But is it probable, that a young Man, scarce out of his Childhood, should be entrusted with the Conduct of an Enterprize of so great Importance, as the founding of *Rome*? It is more rational to say, that *Tarrutius* is mistaken in the exact Year of *Romulus's* Birth. And it is therefore better to adhere to the Tradition of some Authors, namely, that the first King of *Rome* was conceived five Years before, on the fourth of *April*, which they say was remarkable for an Eclipse of the Sun, which *Tarrutius* places on that Day. According to this Computation, *Romulus* was above twenty-two, when he was elected King of *Rome*. So that if, with *Cælius Gellius*, we place the Rape of the *Sabines* in the fourth Year of *Romulus's* Reign; it will then follow, that he was twenty-five or twenty-six Years old, when he defeated *Acron*. We have likewise thought fit to reject their Opinion, who place the Rape of the *Sabines* in the first Year of the Foundation of *Rome*: because it is incredible that the head of a Colony so lately planted, should dare undertake so hazardous an Enterprize, before he had settled his own little State.

first received the Honours of a Triumph. They who followed the Conquerors, made the Air resound with this Name of *Bacchus*; whence the Acclamation, *Io Triumpho!* which is thus expressed by *Horace*:

Tecum dum procedis, Io Triumpho!
Non semel dicemus Io Triumpho!
Civitas omnis.

The Order, Laws, and Pomp of the antient Triumphs, will be spoken to hereafter.

¹²⁷ *Plutarch* differs from *Dion. Hal.* who represents *Romulus* as carried in a Chariot drawn by four Horses, *τετρίων τε καὶ τετραβιβήτων*, during the Ceremony of his Triumph. He, and *Zonaras* after him, pretend, that old *Tarquin* was the first that rode in a Chariot. But others think this Custom was introduced by *Poplicola*. *Dion. Hal.* who was a *Grecian*, was probably mistaken in the Meaning of the Word *Feretrum*, which signifies a Bier.

¹²⁸ We learn from *Plutarch*, that there were at *Rome* in his Time, Statues representing *Romulus* on foot, and loaded with this Trophy. Some Medals prove it, as particularly that above. It was struck by the Order of *Adrian* the Emperor. On it appears *Romulus* on foot, holding with one Hand the Trophy which he had on his Shoulder, and carrying in the other the Pike which the *Sabines* call *Quiris*. In imitation of the Founder of *Rome*, it was customary for the Conquerors, since the Use of Chariots, to walk through the City, with a Trophy on their Shoulders.

¹²⁵ If we may believe *Dion. Hal.* *Romulus* treated the Conquered with yet more Clemency, in giving them their Choice, either to stay at home, or to settle at *Rome*: And the same Author adds, that the Conqueror thought fit to send a Colony of three hundred *Romans* to *Cænina*.

¹²⁶ This was the first *Roman* Triumph. The word comes originally from *θρίαμβος*, one of the names of *Bacchus*, who conquered the *Indies*; who, according to *Pliny* and *Diodorus Siculus*,

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Rome, they presented him Wine, and spread Tables before the Houses, for the Soldiers who had a mind to refresh themselves. Such was the first *Roman* Triumph. But these Triumphs afterwards degenerated into Luxury and Excess, which served more, in the latter Times, to make an ostentatious Shew of odious Treasures, than to excite Virtue. However, *Romulus* pursued his March to the Hill *Saturnius*, since called the *Capitol*, in the same Order he enter'd the City. He had there erected so small a Temple ¹²⁹, that it was only ten foot ¹³⁰ long, and five broad; and there the triumphant Victor deposited his Trophy, and consecrated it to *Jupiter Feretrius* ¹³¹. This Name was then given to *Jupiter*, because *Romulus* had himself carried thither the Present that he had vowed: And a Name of Distinction was likewise given to the glorious Spoils that *Romulus* had taken from the King of *Cænina*. They were called ¹³² *opima Spolia*, because they were more excellent than any other that could be taken from the Enemy. It was the General of the *Roman* Army, who had taken them from the General of the Enemy's Army, after he had killed him with his own Hand: And it will hereafter appear, how rare a thing it was, even in the most glorious Times of the Republick, to bring Trophies to *Rome*, which were distinguished with such remarkable Circumstances.

§. XXVI. IN the mean time, the Inhabitants of *Crustumium* ¹³³ and *Antemne* had not lost their Desire of revenging the Violence done to their Daughters; nor had any thing delay'd it, but the Care of making Preparations for War. The *Antemnates* were first in the Field, and spread themselves all over the *Roman* Lands, which were already enlarged with the Territory of *Cænina*, and laid them waste: whilst the *Crustumini*, on their Parts, destroyed the Harvest of the *Romans*. *Crustumium* was indeed a Colony from *Alba* as well as *Rome*; but Jealousy among the Children of the same Mother is not uncommon. However, one ¹³⁴ Legion hastily formed at *Rome*, delivered *Romulus* first from the *Antemnates*, and then from the *Crustumini*, who were more easily subdued. The *Romans* had already gained such an Ascendant over their Neighbours, as made them victorious in all their Engagements. They had nothing to do at *Rome*, but to consider what Method was to be taken with the Conquered: And *Hersilia*, who in all appearance was born at *Antemnæ*, disposed the King to favour her Countrymen. However, he consulted his Senate about the Treatment he should give to the Cities he had subdued: but he inclined the Senators to the merciful Side. The Result of the Consultation was, that the Inhabitants of the conquered Cities should be brought to *Rome*.

BUT before he put in Execution this favourable Determination, he caused such of the Women, seized at the late Sports, as were born in either of those two Cities, to be brought before him into the Senate. It is hard to imagine their loud Cries at the Sight of the Conqueror of their Fathers. They hid their Faces with their Robes, to conceal their excessive Grief. But *Romulus* forbade their Tears, and addressed himself to them in this Manner: *Your Countrymen preferred a bloody War to the Offers we made them of an advantageous Alliance. The Fate of that War has been against them, and made us Masters of their Lives, their Goods, and their*

¹²⁹ Some Remains of this Temple, whose Ruins *Augustus* had repaired, were to be seen in the Time of *Dion. Hal.*

¹³⁰ Another Version of *Dion. Hal.*'s *Roman Antiquities*, says fifteen Foot long.

¹³¹ *Plutarch* derives the Word *Feretrius* from *ferre* to strike; and supports his Conjecture by *Romulus*'s Prayer to *Jupiter* to strike *Acron*. But this Interpretation does not very well agree with what he says in another Place, that the *Greek* Tongue was in Use in the Reign of *Romulus*. What he says in his Life of *Marcellus*, is most probable, namely, that *Feretrius* came originally from *φερετρος*.

¹³² *Festus* derives the Word *Opima* from *Ops*, which signifies the Earth, and the Riches it produces; so that *opima Spolia*, according to him, signifies rich Spoils. But *Plutarch* derives it from *Opus*, as if one had said Spoils difficult to be obtain'd. This Name was given only to such Spoils as the General of the *Roman* Army had taken from the General of the Enemy's Troops; at least this is *Plutarch*'s Opinion. Tho' *Varro* assures us, that not only a subaltern Officer, but even a common

Soldier might make a Trophy of the Spoils he had taken from him who commanded in chief the Enemy's Army. In the space of about five hundred and thirty Years after *Romulus*, only *Cornelius Cossus* and *Claudius Marcellus* are reckoned to have had the Glory of carrying off this sort of Spoils.

¹³³ *Dion. Hal.* contrary to both *Livy* and *Plutarch*, says, that *Romulus* defeated the *Cæmentini* and *Antemnates* before his Triumph, and the *Crustumini* after it.

¹³⁴ The Word *Legion* comes from *legere*, which signifies to choose. And indeed the *Roman* Legions were all chosen Men. The Number of Men in a Legion, was different at different Times. We shall often speak of them in the Course of this History. It is sufficient to observe here, that when *Livy* says, *Romulus* led one Legion against the *Antemnates*, he must be understood to mean, that he led three thousand Foot and three hundred Horse against them; which was almost all the Forces the *Romans* then had. *Plutarch* shews us, that the *Roman* Legion then consisted of three thousand Foot and three hundred Horse.

Liberty. They have justly merited our Anger and Resentments, but we forgive them. Our Regard for your Husbands, and our Affection for you, give us a tender Concern for every thing that nearly affects you. Your Fathers shall owe to you their Lives, Liberties, and Estates. And we doubt not but your Husbands will find from your Gratitude an Increase of Respect and Affection, on account of the Benefits we now grant you, in their Names. And that you may have nothing left to wish for, Leave is given to the Conquered to settle in Rome, if they please; and so to comfort you by their Presence (when intermixed with us) for your past Loss of them. I will not so much as destroy the Walls of your Cities. A Colony of Romans shall go and take Possession of the Houses of your Countrymen, who shall come and supply their Places here; and we will take nothing from them but a third Part of their Lands.

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At this, the Fear and Grief of these Women were instantly turned into an unexpected Joy. And their Satisfaction was complete, when they saw their Relations incorporated in a Colony, which began already to extend it self, and could reckon more than one City within its Jurisdiction.

In this manner did the Valour and Clemency of *Romulus* daily gain him new Subjects. Whole Cities, of which *Medulia* was ¹³⁵ one of the first, submitted to his Laws. The *Hetrurians* were even in Haste to come and taste the Sweets of so wise a Government. One of their Generals, named *Calius*, led all the Troops under his Command to *Rome*: Where *Romulus*, either out of Policy or for Want of Room, placed him upon a Hill near the City, which had then no Name; but has ever since been called *the Hill* ¹³⁶ *Calius*, from his taking Possession of it, to build and settle there. The City of *Rome* was already too much confined to contain so great a Multitude of Inhabitants: And they were therefore obliged to enlarge its first Bounds, beyond the first *Pomærium*, and to build new Walls. *Rome* had hitherto contained only the Hill *Palatinus*, which was encompassed with a square Wall: But now it spread it self to the ¹³⁷ *Capitol*, which was at this time called the Hill *Saturnius*. And on the Top of this Hill was built a Citadel, which was committed to the Government of a noble *Roman* named *Tarpeius*. This Citadel was surrounded on all Sides with Ramparts and Towers, which equally commanded the City and the Country: By which means the Asylum which the Founder had opened for Slaves and Fugitives, was encompassed with a new Enclosure. In short, the People built a Wall from the Foot of the *Capitol* to the *Tyber*, and opened a Gate in it ¹³⁸ which they called *Carmentalis*.

Alex Donatus
ex Tito Livio.

BUT this Increase of the *Roman* Forces and Fortifications did not terrify the *Sabines*. As they were Enemies superior to the rest in Wisdom, they were therefore more formidable: And they had as much resented the Rape of their Daughters, as any of those Towns which had brought Destruction upon themselves, by engaging in an inconsiderate War. But as Precipitation had been destructive to these latter, so was Slowness to the former. Had the *Sabines* joined themselves at first to the *Cæninenses*, *Crustumini* and *Antemnates*, they would have made themselves the more formidable by their Confederacy; and the *Roman* Colony had been perhaps destroyed in its Infancy. But Providence determined otherwise. And as Historians so far differ in the Circumstances of this War, that it is impossible to reconcile them, I am determined chiefly to follow *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, whose Account appears to me to be the most particular, and the most probable.

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¹³⁵ *Medulia* was at a small Distance from *Rome* and the *Anio*. No Footsteps of its antient Situation are now remaining.

¹³⁶ *Tacitus* says the Hill *Calius* was covered with Oaks, before it was inhabited, and was from thence called *Mons querquetulanus*.

¹³⁷ *Dion. Hal.* is mistaken in saying that *Romulus* fortified the Hill *Aventinus*, to make the Approaches to *Rome* the more difficult. This Hill was then at too great a Distance from the City. Besides, this Historian himself owns that it was

Ancus Martius who fortified the Hill *Aventinus*. So that to avoid charging him with a Contradiction, we must say his Text has been altered. I should rather credit *Strabo*, who says *Romulus* built Fortifications and a Ditch round the Hill *Quirinalis*.

¹³⁸ This Gate was called *Carmentalis*, either because *Carmenta* chose to live there, or on Account of some Altar or Oratory erected there to her Honour.

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B. 2. p. 104.

§. XXVII. THE Capital of the *Sabines* was the City of ¹³⁹ *Cures*; which was under the Government of *Titus Tatius*, who had the Title of King: (We know that every City, and even every Town of a State had then its own Governour, who honoured himself with that Title.) And at *Cures* therefore was held the general Assembly of the *Sabines*, to deliberate on the Affront they had received at the *Roman* Sports. All were of Opinion that Satisfaction was to be demanded, and an Army raised, sufficient to humble a Colony, which they had already suffered to gain too much Ground. The King of *Cures* was chosen to be General. And whilst the *Sabines* were preparing to come and attack the *Romans*, they, on their Parts, were busy in augmenting their Troops, in order to a vigorous Defence. *Hetruria* furnished them with Supplies under the Command of *Lucumo*, or rather, one of their *Lucumones*, that is, one of their Kings: And *Numitor* did not forget his Grandson in a Time of so much Danger. He sent to *Rome* Supplies of Men, Provisions and Arms, and proper Machines for sustaining a Siege. And when all was ready on both Sides, the *Sabines*, to preserve their Character of Equity in the Country, sent a second Summons to *Romulus*, to restore them their Daughters. To which the King answered, that the *Sabine* Women, tho' taken away by Force, were yet contented with their Lot; and that he would not deprive them of the Happiness they enjoyed at *Rome*. An Answer which was a sufficient Pretence for the *Sabines* to begin Hostilities. Their Troops began their March towards *Rome* early in the Spring. Their Army is said to have consisted of 25000 Foot, and 1000 Horse; which is an incredible Number for so small a Nation: And it is added, that the *Romans* were scarce inferior in Number to their Enemies. They came out against them with 20000 Foot, and 800 Horse, whom they posted on the Mountains, which did then surround the City, but soon after became a Part of it. They divided these Troops into two Bodies: *Romulus* with his took Possession of the Hill *Esquilinus*; and the *Lucumo*, with his *Hetrurians*, posted himself on the Hill, since called *Quirinalis*. And the *Romans* likewise called in all their Husbandmen out of the Country, and inclosed their Cattle within Entrenchments made for that Purpose.

Lucius Piso,
apud Dionys.
Et dicit. P. 13.

In the mean time the *Sabines* advanced in good Order, and preserved an exact Discipline in their March. All on a sudden they came and encamped at the Foot of the *Capitol*, in that vast Plain which has since been called the *Campus Martius*. *Titus Tatius*, upon seeing all the Posts guarded, was extremely uneasy about the Success of his Enterprize. But an unforeseen Adventure extricated him out of his Difficulties. As the *Sabines* were strolling round the *Capitol*, to find a Passage whereby they might get privately into the Citadel, the Governor's Daughter, named *Tarpeia*, who went accidentally to draw Water for a Sacrifice, was charmed with the Bracelets and Rings with which the Enemies were adorned. She therefore privately sent one of her Maids to desire a Conference with the *Sabine* General: And at Night *Titus Tatius* came to the Postern-Gate that had been shewn him; and agreed to give *Tarpeia* what the Soldiers wore on their left ¹⁴⁰ Arms, provided she would facilitate their Entrance into the Citadel, by that very Gate. But it is probable the young *Roman*, whose Eyes were at first dazzled with the Jewels of the *Sabines*, immediately repented of the Treachery. And then, in order to turn the Stratagem against the *Sabines* themselves, she sent to *Romulus* desiring a strong Body of Troops to oppose *Tatius*, who expected to enter the *Capitol* the Night following, by a Gate that she was to open to him. But it unfortunately happened, that the Express she sent proved a Traitor, and went to the Camp of the *Sabines*, to inform them of the Ambushes that were laying for them. *Tatius* did not fail of being at the Gate at the Time appointed, but with a greater Body of Men than *Tarpeia* expected. As soon as the

¹³⁹ *Cures* was situated in the Territory now called *Correzè*, or *Curezè*, upon a little River of the same Name, which falls into the *Tyber* above *La Farsa*. *Cluverius* guesses that this City was built in the same Place where now stands the Monastery called *Il vestovio di Sabina*, or the Bishoprick of *Sabina*. He assures us some old

Remains of Towers and Walls are to be seen there.

¹⁴⁰ According to *L. Piso* the Historian, as quoted by *Dion. Hal.* *Tarpeia's* Design was only to strip the Enemy of the Bucklers they wore on their left Arms, in order thereby to expose them defenceless to the Mercy of the *Roman* Garrison.

Gate

Gate was opened, he led in his *Sabines*; who meeting with but little Resistance, *Tatius* made himself Master of the Citadel of *Rome*: And then he found Means to revenge himself on the *Roman* Lady by keeping his Word. The *Sabines* crushed her to Death with the Bucklers they wore on their left Arms, and so killed her. By which Punishment, and the Tomb which *Romulus* erected for ¹⁴¹ her, it appears that her Intentions to her Country were

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good. The Hill *Saturnius* took from her the Name of *Tarpeius*, which it retained till it was afterwards called *Capitolinus*. And even then, the steepest Part of it, down which Criminals were thrown, continued to be called *Rupes Tarpeia*.

THE *Sabines* being thus lodged on the *Capitol*, promised themselves the Conquest of *Rome*. At least, they might depend on a safe Retreat, if they were worsted in a general Action. Several Days were spent in Skirmishes, which cost more Blood than they brought Advantage to either Party. But at last, *Romulus* offered Battle to the *Sabines*, who were posted as advantageously as himself; and they confidently accepted it. The *Roman* therefore drew up his Troops within the new Inclosure of his City, between the Hills *Palatinus* and *Capitolinus*, where the Ground was straitened by the new Walls which he had lately built there. Whilst on the other hand, the *Sabine* General marched down from the Citadel with his Troops, to try his Strength with *Romulus*. It is impossible that two great Armies should engage in so narrow a Space of Ground; and we must therefore abate much of the twenty thousand and upwards, which the Historians give to each Party.

THE Field of Battle was bounded, on the Side of the *Sabines*, by the Hill *Tarpeius* and the Citadel; and on that of the *Romans*, by the Hill *Palatinus*, and the first Enclosure of *Rome*. The Troops which lined the Walls of the Citadel, and City, were Spectators of the Battle, and encouraged the Armies by their Shouts. Nevertheless, the first Action determined nothing; the Night coming on put an End to it: And the Days following were taken up with burying the dead, and refreshing themselves. But at length, the Day was fixed for a second Engagement, which began early, and did not end till Night. *Romulus* commanded the right Wing, and the *Lucumo* the left. The Battle was fought with a Valour natural to these two Nations of *Italy*, who valued themselves for their Bravery. The *Romans* had at first the Advantage in both Wings; but they fought a great while in the Center of the two Armies, without giving way on either Side. Till at length a brave *Sabine*, named *Metius Curtius*, turned the Scale in favour of his Countrymen. He first broke into the Heart of the *Roman* Army, and then ran with great Fierceness to rally the Wings of the *Sabine* Army, which had been put into Disorder by *Romulus* and the *Lucumo*. Then some of the *Roman* Cohorts gave way, and *Curtius* drove them to the Gates of their City: But *Romulus*, in his Turn, pursued the victorious *Sabines*, brought *Curtius* into great Danger, and

¹⁴¹ *Fabius* and *Cincius* assure us, according to *Dion. Hal.* that *Tarpeia* exactly kept her Promise, of delivering up the *Capitol* to *Tatius*. To which *Dion.* adds, that the *Sabines* were going to give her the golden Bracelets they wore on the left Arms; but that upon her demanding the Bucklers, *Tatius*, enraged at the Deceit, threw his with all his strength at *Tarpeia's* Head, and made all his Soldiers follow his Example; and that they thus bruised her to Death. Whilst, on the contrary, *Fabius* throws all the Treachery on the *Sabines*. He pre-

tends that they, being enraged that *Tarpeia* would abate nothing of the excessive Price she had demanded of them, beat her to Death with their Bucklers, and thought themselves freed from their Promise, by this cruel Artifice. We have to this Day a Medal, as above, which has on one Side *Tatius* King of the *Sabines*, and on the other, *Tarpeia* beat down under a Heap of Bucklers. The Crescent and Star on the Medal confirm what *Dion. Hal.* says, that the whole Intrigue was executed in the Night.

drove

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drove him and his Troops back to their Posts. But *Curtius* sustained the Attack of the *Romans* with indefatigable Vigour, and was a Shield to his Men in their Retreat. Till at length *Romulus* came up to him; and *Curtius* halted to receive his Attack. Then, according to Custom, the Engagement was changed into a single Combat. The Duel between the two Heroes was vigorously fought on both Sides; but *Romulus* carried off all the Glory of it. His Rival, being wounded and covered with Blood, quitted the Field of Battle. And as he was surrounded by Enemies on all Sides, he chose rather to throw himself into a Pool, which was made by the Inundation of the *Tyber*, than to go a great Way about. This Pool was deep, and encompassed on all Sides with thick Mud. And therefore *Romulus*, thinking *Curtius* lost, rejoined his Army. But the *Sabine* was taken out of the Water, and only left his Name to the Place in which he had like to have perished. It was ever after called ¹⁴² *Lacus Curtius*, even when it was dried up, and covered with Houses, and became almost the Center of the *Roman Forum*.

ROMULUS, upon his Return to his Army, pursued the *Sabines* with such Vigour, that they fled in Confusion, and gained the *Capitol*. The *Romans* followed them, and, flushed with their Success, expected to have regained their Citadel. But an unfortunate Accident delayed the taking it. The *Sabines* rolled great Stones from the Top of the Hill, and one of them hit *Romulus* on the Head. Who being stunned with the Blow, fell down senseless; and whilst his Men were carrying him to the City, the *Sabines* recovered their Courage, took the Advantage of his Absence, and fell with Fury upon the right Wing of the *Romans*, which had lost its commander. The ¹⁴³ *Lucumo* with the left Wing did indeed more than make a brave Resistance; he penetrated into the *Sabine* Legions: Till at length, being run thro' the Side with a Javelin, he died on the Spot. But then the *Romans*, being worsted on all Sides, left the Field of Battle; and flying in their Turns, sought for a Retreat within their Walls. The *Sabines*, who pursued them to the Gates of *Rome*, hoped to enter it with them: but the Foresight and Bravery of *Romulus* secured the Place from an Assault. He having by this time a little recovered his Senses, sent out a Body of Reserve, which had not yet engaged: and immediately after, he appeared himself at the Head of his Troops, and rallied his Men about him. His Presence alone restored the Courage of his Party, and struck the *Sabines* with Terror. All the Plain, to the very *Capitol*, was strewed with their dead Bodies, and as they could not recover the Place of their Retreat without climbing, their Loss was considerable. The Night only put an End to the Action, which was remarkable for a continual Change of good and bad Success, on both Sides; and at last ended, after an equal Loss, to the Advantage of the *Romans*.

*Aurel. Victor,
&c.*

IN the most critical Minute of the Day *Romulus* is said to have made a Vow to *Jupiter*, in order to obtain of him the rallying of his Troops, after their Flight: and, as Fortune would have it, they stopped at the Sight of their General. Out of a Belief therefore, that this was the Blessing of Heaven, he erected a

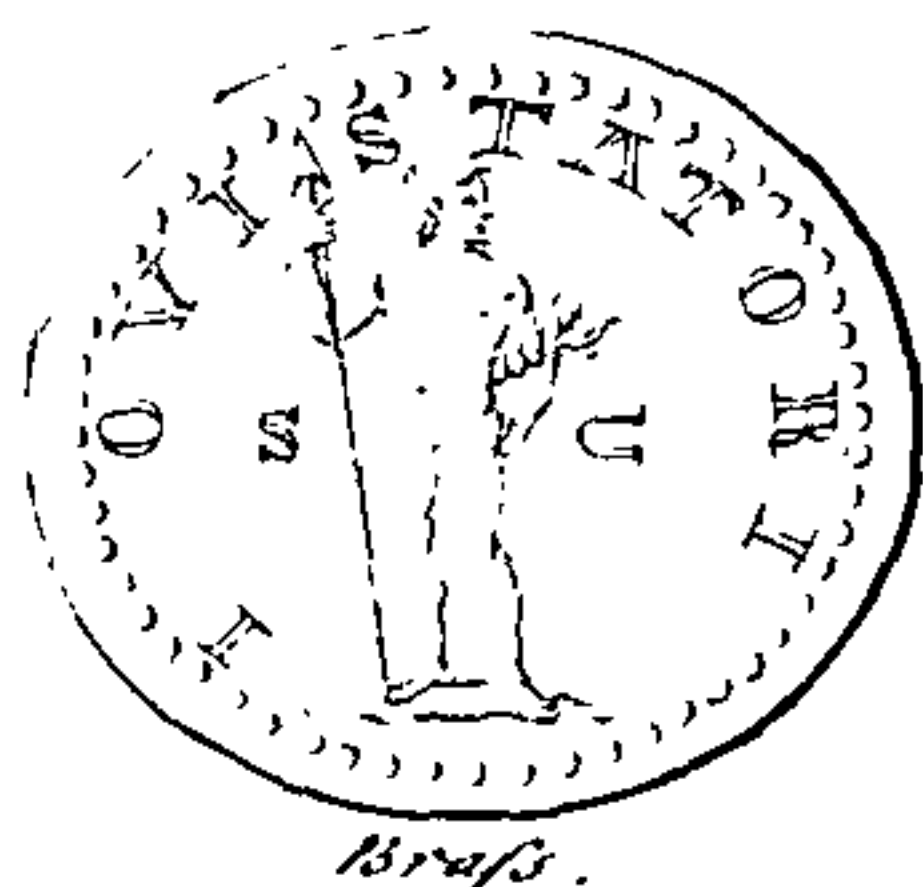
¹⁴² That one *Curtius* gave Name to this Lake or Pool, which was made by the Overflowings of the *Tyber*, is attested by all the *Roman* Historians; but they are divided between three different Persons of this Name. *Procilius* says, that the Earth having opened it self, the *Aruspices* declared it necessary, for the Safety of the *Republick*, that the bravest of the Citizens should throw himself into the Gulph; and that, for this Reason, one *Curtius* mounted on Horseback, and leaped armed into the midst of it. After which the Gulph immediately closed up, and immortalized the Name of *Curtius*. But *Piso* and *Dion. Hal.* authorise our Relation in the Text. They assure us that *Curtius* the *Sabine*, to avoid *Romulus's* Pursuit, threw himself into a Pool, which then overflowed a Piece of Land, which lay between the Hills *Palatinus* and *Capitolinus*, and which was afterwards made the *Forum Romanum*, or the Great Place of *Rome*.

Before the building of the Common-Sewers, this Pool was a Sort of Sink which received all the Waters of the Neighbourhood: And other Authors say, that this Place having been struck with Lightning, the Consul *Curtius*, Collegue to *Marcus Genutius*, caused it to be walled in, and according to them, gave his Name to the Lake *Curtius*. *Varro de Ling. Lat. l. 4.*

¹⁴³ *Livy* makes no Mention of this *Lucumo* who, according to *Dion. Hal.* came to *Romulus's* Assistance. But he speaks of one *Hostus Hostilius* who fought bravely against the *Sabines*, and fell wounded in several Places, in the Heat of the Battle. This *Roman* Officer was Grandfather to *Tullus Hostilius*, the third King of *Rome*. The Great Historian says nothing of him, or the Circumstances of his Death: But *Plutarch* says, that he was found among the Dead after the Battle.

Temple to *Jupiter*, whom he called ¹⁴⁴ *Stator*, in memory of the happy Moment, when the *Romans*, recovering their Fright, *stopped*, and made head against

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the Enemy. Some Historians indeed say, that in this very Moment the *Sabine* Women came out of the City, with their Hair about their Shoulders, and their Children in their Arms: and add, that making their Way through the Enemy's Legions, they put a stop to the Fury of their Fathers, and of their Husbands, by their Tears. But this is an Adventure too wonderful, not to be thought fabulous. What Part the *Sabine* Women really had in the Reconciliation of the two People, of whose Differences they had been the Cause, will appear by the Sequel of our Story.

Plut. Florus,
Livy, B. 1.
ch. 13.

TITUS TATIUS continuing Master of the *Capitol*, and *Romulus* being shut up in his City, they mutually watched one another, without daring to appear in the Field. The *Sabines* held a Council, and deliberated whether they should raise the Siege, and content themselves with ravaging the *Roman* Territory, or should send for new Levies from *Sabinia* to continue the Attacks. The first was the safer, the second the more honourable. And the *Romans* were equally doubtful and undetermined what to do. The *Sabines* were, after all, a powerful Nation. The Victory of the preceding Days had neither been compleat nor decisive: and it was more difficult for the *Romans* to repair their Loss, than for the Enemy. Besides, could they with Honour restore the *Sabine* Women whom they had seized? Would not that have been an Acknowledgment of their Weakness? And might not the *Sabines*, who would thence become more haughty, take advantage of such a Confession to destroy them some time or other?

Dion. Hal. B.
2. p. 109.

BUT whilst the Men were thus deliberating in the Senate, the Women, for whose Sake the War had been made, met together; and, at the Persuasions of *Herfilia*, formed a Design of mediating between their Countrymen, and their Husbands. They demanded Admittance into the Senate, were received, and their Design approved: which was, to go into the Camp of the *Sabines*, and represent to the Head of their Nation the Happiness they enjoyed under *Romulus's* Government, and in the Families into which they were married. All the Security that was required of them, was to leave one or more of their Children at *Rome*: And such of them as had several, were permitted to carry one at least in their Arms, to raise the Compassion of their Grandfathers.

THE *Sabine* Women then laid aside their Ornaments, and put on a mourning Dress. They advanced towards the *Capitol*, and filled it with their Cries; which they redoubled when they came into the Presence of their Relations. Being introduced into the national Council, their Tears, at the Sight of *Titus Tatius*, flowed afresh: and ¹⁴⁵ *Herfilia* is said to have been their Speaker. But be that as it

¹⁴⁴ We here give the Reader the Reverse of one of *Gordian's* Medals, on which is the Figure of *Jupiter Stator*, holding a Pike in his right Hand, and Thunder in his left. *Tully* and *Dion. Hal.* say that *Romulus* built a Temple to *Jupiter*, at the Foot of the Hill *Palatinus*, near the Gate *Mugionia*, in gratitude for the Protection he had received from him. Whereas *Livy* says only, that he made a vow to erect this Temple; and that it was not built till long after, and then by Order of the Senate. Several Authors have spoken of this Building, but do not agree in the Time, when or Place

where it was erected. We learn from *Tacitus*, that the old Temple of *Jupiter Stator* was burnt down in the Time of *Nero*.

¹⁴⁵ *Plutarch* makes this *Herfilia* to be different from her who is said by *Livy* to have been *Romulus's* Wife. The first was *Hostus Hostilius's* Widow, and mediated between the *Romans* and *Sabines*. The second had inclined her Husband *Romulus* to favour the *Antemates*. It's probable they were both of those *Sabine* Women who were carried away at the Sports consecrated to *Neptune*. Nevertheless, some Authors quoted by *Dion. Hal.*

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it ¹⁴⁶ will; *We are come, said they, to ask Favour of our Relations, for our Husbands. Your Love for us has been but too evident, in the War you have made with the Romans. Cease therefore your Hostilities in Favour of those, whose Restitution you have demanded with your Swords. Our pretended Interests have made you shed Blood enough; let now our real ones disarm you. Wisdom will doubtless make you come to a Resolution, which is suggested to you by the public Interest, as well as by the Affection you have for yourselves, for us, and for your Grandchildren.*

INDEED, the *Sabines* wanted only a Pretence to put an end to their Resentments; which they were furnish'd with by this Contrivance of the Women. The Truce propos'd by the latter was therefore accepted, and gave room to hope for a lasting Peace: and afterwards the two Kings had a Conference, which ended to the Satisfaction of both Parties. Perhaps never was Reconciliation so sudden and so perfect. They mutually engaged by Oath to become one People, and to be governed by the same Laws, and live within the same Walls. It was agreed, that the two Kings should live together in *Rome*; and be equal in Power; that *Romulus* and *Titus Tatius* should have the same Honours paid them; and that their common City should continue still to bear *Romulus's* Name; but that the *Romans* should take the Name of *Quirites*, till then peculiar to the ¹⁴⁷ *Sabines*, and the latter be admitted to publick Offices, both civil and religious.

THREE powerful *Sabine* Families follow'd the Example of their King, and settled at *Rome*; where their Descendants were ever held in great Veneration and Esteem. The Head of one of them was *Valerius* ¹⁴⁸ *Volesus*; of another, *Talus Tyrannus*; and of the third, that *Metius Curtius*, who had signalized himself so much in the last Battel. And a great Number of their Clients and Slaves settled in the same Place with their Patrons and Masters. The rest of the *Sabine* Army dispersed, and return'd to their old Towns: But it's probable, that after they had been long united to the *Romans* in Alliance, they all made at last but one State, under the Administration of the two Kings. Thus ended a three Years War, which one would naturally have thought must have been destructive to those, who, in the end, drew most Advantage from it.

Plutarch and
Livy, B. 1.
ch. 13.

§. XXVIII. A Treaty so advantageous to *Rome*, and sworn to on the Altars by both the Parties concerned, considerably increased the Colony, and made it formidable: And then were instituted those illustrious Bodies of *Roman* ¹⁴⁹ Knights, who have since been looked on as the Flower of the Nobility, next to the *Patricians*.

say, that this *Herfilia* who negotiated the Peace, had been married before the Rape, and lived at *Rome* of her own Accord, with her only Daughter, who had been carried off. Her Husband's Name is not mentioned.

¹⁴⁶ This Account, which we give after *Dion. Hal.* is more probable than that of *Livy* and *Plutarch*. They say, the Women that were settled at *Rome* ran together from all Parts, to stop the Fury of the Combatants; that these desperate Women presented themselves to their Husbands, with their Children in their Arms, and their Hair about their Shoulders, in the midst of a Shower of Arrows; and that they, by their Tears and Entreaties, disarmed both Parties, and made them enter into a Truce, which was soon followed by a lasting Peace, between *Romulus* and *Tatius*.

¹⁴⁷ It appears by the Treaty between *Romulus* and *T. Tatius*, that they were willing to put every thing upon an equal foot. As the common City was to retain the Name of *Romulus*, and be called *Rome*; so the common Inhabitants of this City, were to assume the Name of those of *Cures* the Capital of the *Sabines*, and be called *Quirites*. The Origin of the Words *Cures* and *Quirites*, which were originally peculiar to the *Sabines*, and became, in *Romulus's* Time, the general Name of the Inhabitants of *Rome*, has been much sought for; and the most probable Account Antiquity gives us of them, is this. The Word *Quiris*, according to

Plutarch and some others, signified in the *Sabine* Language, both a Dart, and a warlike Deity armed with a Dart. 'Tis uncertain whether the God gave Name to the Dart, or the Dart to the God. But be that as it will, this God *Quiris* or *Quirinus*, was the same with *Mars* or some other God of War; and the Worship of this God *Quiris* continued in *Rome* all *Romulus's* Reign: but after his Death, He was honoured with the Name *Quirinus*, and took the Place of the God *Quiris*.

¹⁴⁸ *Livy* calls him *Volesus*; *Festus* and the *Fast Capitolini*, *Volsus*. *Plutarch* gives him the Honour of negotiating the Peace between *Romulus* and *Tatius*.

¹⁴⁹ In their first Institution, these Knights alone formed the Body of the *Roman* or legionary Cavalry. They, who aspired to the Honour of being admitted into this Order on account of their Fortunes or Birth, often served in the Army as Volunteers; with this Difference, that the State furnished the former with Horses out of the public Treasury, whereas the latter were obliged to furnish themselves with Horses at their own Costs. This Custom continued to the Time of *Marinus*. Then *Rome* had recourse to her Allies, to supply the Deficiency of the *Roman* Knights: And from that Time, the Provinces furnished as many Horses, as were wanted to recruit the Legions. Indeed the Equestrian Order never had any settled Form, till after the *Census* appointed by *Servius Tullius*. They

tricians. *Romulus* gave those, whom he chose, the Name of ¹⁵⁰ *Ramnenses*; and *Tatius* called his *Tatenses*, from his own Name. To which was added a third Order, out of those Fugitives, who had formerly come and peopled the *Asylum*: and they, from the Wood they inhabited, which the *Romans* called *Lucus*, were named *Luceres*. These three Bodies of Horse were incorporated into the *Roman Legions*, which, according to *Plutarch*, consisted afterwards ¹⁵¹ of six thousand Foot and six hundred Horse each. But the most common Opinion is, that the *Roman* Legion did not then consist of above four thousand Men at the most.

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§. XXIX. AND, that he might likewise imitate and equal *Romulus* in all Respects, *Tatius* formed a Council of an hundred Senators of his own Nation. They bore the Name of *Fathers*, and enjoyed the same Privileges with those who had been at first instituted by the Founder of *Rome*: And both the *Roman* and *Sabine* Senators held their first Assemblies on Affairs of State separately, at the Houses of their respective Kings. But afterwards, they all assembled together, near the Temple of *Vulcan*: in a Place therefore called ¹⁵² *Comitium*; because the *Sabines* and *Romans* were here united in one Assembly.

§. XXX. *ROME* could not without Ingratitude forget the Services that had been done her by the *Sabine* Women, who were become entirely *Roman*, both by Marriage and Affection. Their strict Adherence to, and Regard for, their Husbands, was what had just then completed her Grandeur and Felicity; and therefore nothing was neglected, in distinguishing them from the other Ladies. Every body was commanded to give way to them when they

They who had the Honour of being joined to them, engaged themselves to be Soldiers by Profession. They fought equally on Foot or on Horseback, as Occasion, or the Disposition of the Ground, required. They were sometimes posted in the advanced Guard, sometimes in the Centre, but more frequently in the Wings, of each Legion. But in length of Time, this illustrious Body degenerated, and the *Roman* Knighthood became a bare Title of Honour. Those who enjoyed it, were distinguished from the *Plebeians*, by a Gold Ring they wore on their Fingers. So that in the latter Times of the Republic, the *Roman* Knights were no more confined to War, than any other Citizens. On the contrary, they undertook to collect the public Taxes, under the Name of Publicans. But of this more hereafter.

¹⁵⁰ *Varro*, *Plutarch*, and *Festus* give the same Name to the three Tribes established by *Romulus*, which *Livy* gives to those three hundred Horse which were drawn out of each Tribe. Which is easily reconciled, if we suppose each hundred to bear the Name of its Tribe. *Dion. Hal.* dates the Division of the Colony into Tribes, from the first Year of *Rome*. *Plutarch* brings it down to the Time of this Union of the *Romans* with the *Sabines*. And what can we infer from these different Opinions, but that *Romulus* instituted the Tribes from the Beginning of his Reign, thereby to settle his Form of Government; and that each Tribe had no particular Name, till after the Conclusion of his Treaty with *Tatius*. What confirms this Conjecture, is, that the second Tribe was called *Tatensis*, or *Ti-tensis*, from the Name of *Titus Tatius*. Some Authors indeed give all the three Names, *Ramnenses*, *Tatenses*, and *Luceres*, an *Hebrurian* Derivation. But the generality of Historians agree in calling the Colony of the Inhabitants of *Alba* that went to *Rome* with *Romulus*, *Ramnenses*; and so they do, in calling the second Tribe, *Tatenses*. The others who fled into the *Asylum*, were called *Luceres*, if we may believe *Festus*, from *Lucerus*, King of *Ardea*, who, according to him, joined with *Romulus* against the *Sabines*.

¹⁵¹ The most learned Critics have observed, that *Plutarch* is mistaken, when he says the *Roman* Legion consisted of six thousand Foot and six hundred Horse, after the Conclusion of the Treaty between *Romulus* and *Tatius*. But it's probable, that

Plutarch meant no more, than that *Romulus* formed two Legions, of the two united Nations, which consisted each of three thousand Foot and three hundred Horse. Αἱ λεγιῶνες ἐγένοντο πεζῶν μὲν ἑξακισχίλιων, ἵππων δὲ ἑξακοσίων. And by the Help of the same Interpretation, we may explain *Dion Hal.*'s saying, that *Romulus* incorporated into his Legion, or Army, three thousand of the *Cæninenses* and *Antemnates*. Tho' it were true, as some Authors conjecture, that each Legion did consist of above three thousand three hundred Men at this time; yet it is certain, that, ordinarily speaking, it did not exceed four thousand Foot. For this Reason, *Festus* calls a Legion square; tho' this Denomination owed its Origin to their Order in Battel. I say, ordinarily speaking, because on some Occasions, the Legion did consist, if we may believe *Vegetius*, of five thousand Foot, and two hundred, three hundred, four hundred, and sometimes seven hundred Horse. *Livy* tells us, the Legions which were appointed to go over into *Africa* with *Scipio*, consisted of six thousand two hundred Foot and three hundred Horse. And therefore *Festus* is mistaken, when he says that *Marius* first made the *Roman* Legion to consist of six thousand two hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse. The Number of Soldiers in a Legion was therefore different at different Times. Nevertheless, it's probable, that from *Marius*'s Time, the Legions did more commonly consist of six thousand Foot and three hundred Horse.

¹⁵² The *Comitium* was Part of the *Forum* at *Rome*; and was at the Foot of the Hill *Palatinus*, over-against the *Capitol*. Not far from thence, the two Kings built the Temple of *Vulcan*, in the *Forum*. They usually met here to confer with the Senate on the most important Affairs. *Dion. Hal.* adds, that *Romulus* then built the Temple of *Jupiter Stator*, near the Gate *Mugonia* so called from the lowing of the Oxen which passed through it; or from one *Mugius*, who stood Centinel there: and that *Tatius* built Temples to the *Sun*, the *Moon*, *Saturn*, *Rhea*, *Vesta*, *Diana*, and *Enyalius*, whom both *Romans* and *Sabines* worshipped under the Name of *Quirinus*, without being able to say expressly, whether he was *Mars*, or some other Divinity. *Tatius* also erected Altars in every *Curia*, to *Juno Quiritis*; which was the Name the *Sabines* gave to a little Image of *Juno*, which they carried on the Top of a Pike.

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passed by; all immodest and too free Discourse was forbidden in their Presence: it was a Law, that indecent Objects should never be brought into their Sight; they were exempted from the Jurisdiction of the ordinary Judges, in capital Cases; and lastly, were permitted to hang a Ball ¹⁵³ of Gold about their Childrens Necks, to distinguish them from the Vulgar. A particular Robe was also assigned these Children, called ¹⁵⁴ *Prætecta*, the Use of which was forbidden to all others: And by these Laws, which these illustrious Women considered as a proper Recompence, it is evident how much Modesty was in esteem among them.

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FOR five Years together, the two Kings lived at *Rome* in a surprising good Correspondence. *Romulus* knew how to restrain his lively Temper and aspiring Genius. *Titus Tatius*, who was more peaceable and less warm in his Desires, could well enough bear with a Partner, in a Throne which he was just admitted to share with him. *Romulus* had his Palace on the Declivity of the Hill ¹⁵⁵ *Palatinus*; and his particular Dominion reached all over old *Rome*, to the Hill *Cælius*, which was then but very thinly inhabited. *Tatius* resided, and held his Court, on the Hill ¹⁵⁶ *Tarpeius*; and his *Sabines* had fixed their Settlements

¹⁵³ It's difficult to find out exactly what was the Form of this Ornament, which the *Sabine* Women had leave to hang about their Children's Necks. It was called *Bulla*. *Plutarch* says, that this *Bulla* was like the little Bubbles which the Drops of Rain make, when they fall upon running Water: And it is therefore probable, that these little golden Balls were both hollow and light. But several think, that they were but half Globes, with one Side flat, and the other globular. *Macrobius* pretends, that *Tarquin the Elder* extended the Right of wearing these sort of Necklaces to all the Children of the *Patricians*, and began with his own. The Account we have given of these Marks of Honour, which *Romulus* granted to the *Sabine* Women and their Children, has been in part taken from *Plutarch* and *Livy*: tho' we don't deny but *Macrobius* relates the Thing otherwise, on the Credit of some Writers. These say, that *Herfiliæ* being carried away with her Daughter, fell in Marriage to *Hostus*, an Officer distinguished by his Merit among all those of his Colony, and was the first who gave a Child to *Rome*. This Child, say they, bore the Name of *Hostus Hostilius*, and was the only one to whom *Romulus* gave the Privilege of wearing the *Bulla Aurea*. But however that be, this Ornament was already of very antient Use among the *Itetrurians*. *Diodorus Siculus* says, that the *Egyptians* used it. And in After-times, not only the Children of the *Patricians*, but they also who had the Honours of a Triumph, the chief *Vestal*, and the *Roman* Ladies, wore this sort of Ornament. The young *Romans*, when they came to the Age of Manhood, quitted the *Bulla*, and made an Offering of it to the *Dii Lares*, which were then called *Lares Bullati*. *Persius* assures us of this, in these Words:

*Cum primum pavidæ custos mihi purpura cessit,
Bullaque succinctis Laribus donata pendit.*

And this Ornament was also sometimes consecrated to some other Divinity, as appears by this Inscription which *Gruterus* gives us from an antient Monument:

JUNONI PLACIDÆ,
CONSERVATRICI AUGUSTÆ
CLAUDIA SABBATIS
BULLAM. D.D.

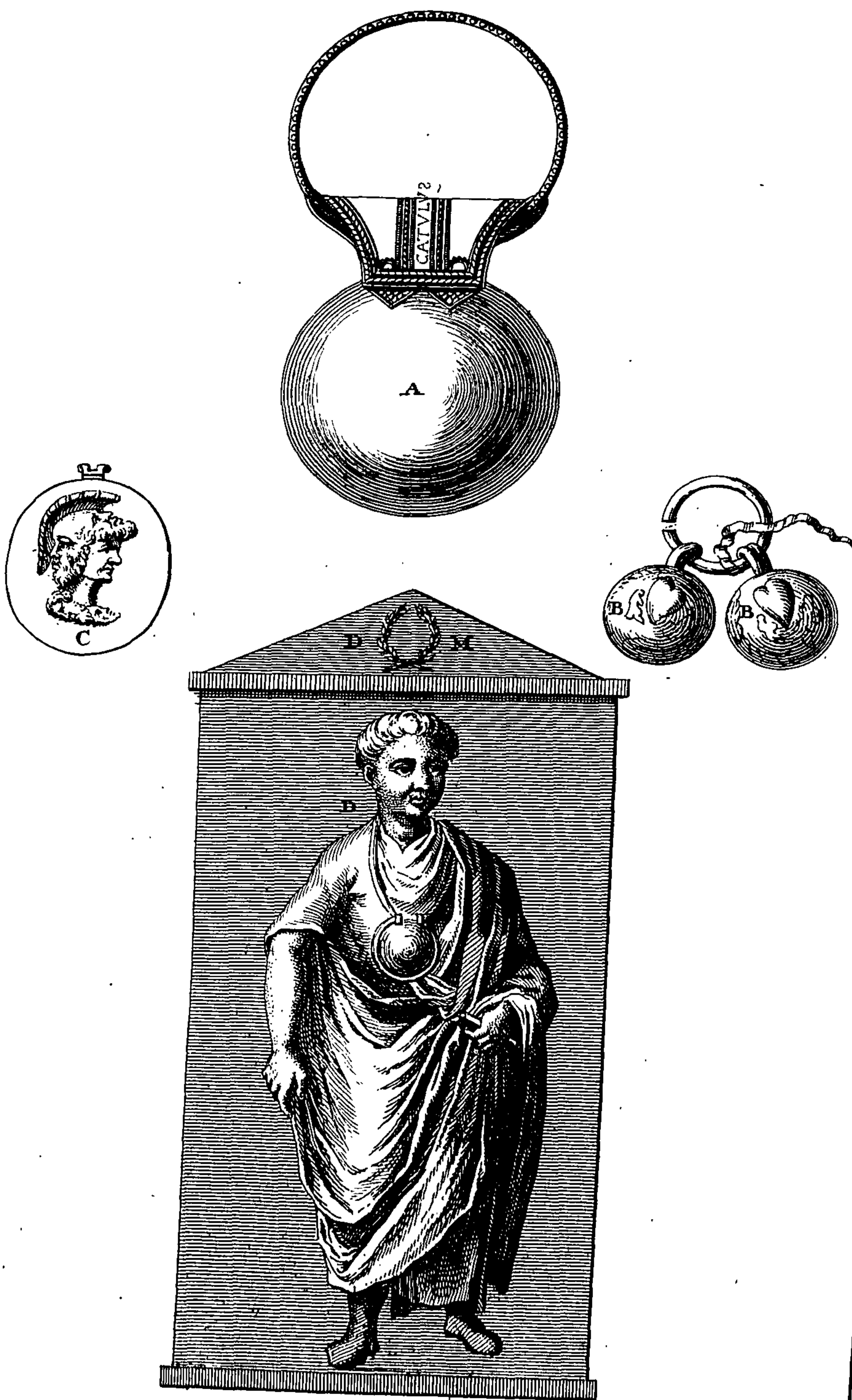
The *Romans* used also to inclose in these *Bulle*, certain Preservatives which Paganism had consecrated, to secure their Children against Enchantments: And they perhaps attributed this Virtue to some Hieroglyphicks, or other mysterious Characters, which had more of Superstition in them, than

of Magic. The Figures of the Deities and of Animals were perhaps made use of for this Purpose; as in that particular Preservative, which the *Latins* called *Amuleta*, whose Form was arbitrary. The Figure of these *Bulle Aureæ* may be judged of, by the Representations here given of some of them. The Figure of a Man's Heart was sometimes impressed upon them, to put their Children continually in mind, says *Macrobius*, of this moral Truth. *That Men are only valuable for the Qualities of their Hearts*: In like manner as the purple Colour of the *Prætecta* put them in mind of the Rules of Modesty, of which it is the Emblem.

¹⁵⁴ The Liberty of bordering their Childrens Robes with Purple, was at first granted only to the *Sabine* Ladies. These Robes were laced at the Bottom, and perhaps on the two Lappets, if what *Rubenius* thinks be true, that they were open before. They were called *Prætextæ*, from this purple Border or Lace. They were worn by Girls till their Marriage, and by Boys till they were seventeen, and took the *Toga Virilis*, or *Manly Robe*. But what was in *Romulus's* Time a Mark of Distinction for the Children of the *Sabine* Ladies, was afterwards very common. All even to the Children of the *Liberti*, or Men who were made free, wore Robes bordered with Purple in their Youth: And at length, the gravest of the Magistrates wore them likewise, not only at *Rome*, but in the Colonies, and *Municipia*, or free Cities.

¹⁵⁵ That is, according to *Plutarch*, upon that Descent of the Hill *Palatinus* which led down to the *Great Circus*. The Credulity of the People had spread the Fable, that *Romulus*, to shew his Strength, had thrown a Javelin from the Hill *Aventinus* to his own House; that the Wood of the Javelin was still green; that it stuck deep enough into the Earth to take Root; and that the Tree it produced was long honoured by the *Romans*, and thought fatal; (*i. e.* that the Safety of *Rome* depended on its Preservation;) and *Romulus's* Descendants walled it in. If any one perceived that the Verdure of this Tree lost its wonted Freshness, he gave the Alarm to the City: and then the Citizens ran together from all Parts, with Vessels full of Water, to water the sacred Tree; till at last, when *Caius Cæsar* repaired the Steps that went up the Hill *Palatinus*, one of the Workmen hurt this Tree so much, with his Digging, that it lost all its Sap, and died soon after.

¹⁵⁶ This is the same Hill which was afterwards called *Capitolinus*. The Place on which *Tatius's* House stood, was afterwards dedicated to *Juno Moneta*; because, as it's said, she had given the *Romans* wholesome Advice in the War with the *Antians*.



A. The Bulla usually worn by the Young Patricians about their necks.
B. Another sort of Bulla with an heart engraven or impressed upon it.

C. An Amulet, which contains five heads in one, most probably representing some of the Pagan Divinities.
D. A Young Roman in his Praetexta and with his Bulla about his neck.



- | | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| A. <i>The Hill</i> Palatinus | F. <i>The Gate</i> Mufonia | L. <i>The Hill</i> Esquilinus |
| B. <i>The Capitol</i> | G. <i>The Gate</i> Romanulia | M. <i>The Hill</i> Quirinalis |
| C. <i>The Tyber</i> | H. <i>The Hill</i> Janiculus | N. <i>The Habit.</i> of the Rhamnenses |
| D. <i>The Gate</i> Carmentalis | I. <i>The Hill</i> Aventinus | O. <i>The Habit.</i> of the Taticenses |
| E. <i>The Gate</i> Pandana | K. <i>The Hill</i> Coelius | P. <i>The Habit.</i> of the Luceres |

ments on the Hill, which they called *Quirinalis*, either in Memory of their City *Cures*, or in Honour to their God *Quiris*. The Space between the Hills *Palatinus* and *Tarpeius*, became a public *Place*, or common *Market-place* for the two united Nations; and they gave it the Name of *Forum*, which it retained ever after: and there they also held their Assemblies for Public Affairs.

Year of
R O M E
IX, X, XI, XII,
XIII.
ROMULUS.

§. XXXI. THE Union of the two Nations soon produced a Mixture of Manners, Customs, and Religion. The *Romans* borrowed from the *Sabines*, and the *Sabines* from the *Romans*. *Rome* readily adopted the *Sabine* Gods; and *Tatius* built Temples to the *Sun*, the *Moon*, *Saturn*, *Rhea*, and *Quiris*, who was most probably the same with the God *Mars*. But whether he took this Name from the Lance he carried in his Hand, or the *Sabines* called the Lance *Quiris*, because he had such a one in his Hand, is uncertain. *Juno Sabina* was introduced to preside over the public Entertainments of *Tatius's Curia* in *Rome*: and the two Nations agreed to institute some new Festivals, by common Consent: That called ¹⁵⁷ *Matronalia* was instituted in Memory of the Peace, which had been brought about by the Mediation of the Women. The *Romans* changed also the Form of their Bucklers to that of those which the *Sabines* wore; and they in their Turns conformed themselves to *Romulus's* Calendar ¹⁵⁸, and observed the Computation of the *Romans*. In a word, never was a more perfect Harmony; nor did ever any two Nations which had been Enemies, so soon bring themselves to bear with and love one another, and unite so cordially in Interest and Inclinations.

Plutarch.

THE Years in which *Romulus* had an Associate on the Throne, were remarkable for little more than Works of Peace. Whether it were out of Fear of sharing the Glory of his Conquests with a Rival, or whether Necessity required that the whole Time should be taken up, in enlarging and regulating a City, which on the Union with the *Sabines*, was increased by almost one half; so in fact it was, that martial Enterprizes were almost laid aside by *Romulus*. The *Camerini* were the only People that were united to the *Roman* State under the Joint-Government of the two Kings; and the Conquest of them was not difficult. *Cameria* was ¹⁵⁹ a City founded in the most antient Times, by the *Aborigines*. The *Albans* had possessed themselves of it, and placed a Colony in it long before the Foundation of *Rome*: and its Inhabitants having been used to live by Pillage, had made Incurfions into the *Roman* Territory. Upon this, the Senate cited them to appear, and answer for their Rapines. *Rome* from that time haughtily assumed that Ascendant over her Neighbours, which she ever after kept, and which gained her so many Enemies, and so many Conquests. But *Cameria* remember'd her Independance, and refused to pay Obedience to a Tribunal but newly erected, though it already gave Law to the most antient Cities. However, one single Battel brought the *Camerini* into Subjection to the *Roman* Laws: And the two Kings contented themselves with disarming them, and depriving them of only a small Part of their Possessions. But rebelling, and being vanquish'd a second time, they forced *Romulus* and *Tatius* to put the Maxims of their old Policy in execution upon them.

Dion. Hal.
B. 2. p. 114.

runci; or according to *Suidas*, because she had promised that they should not want *Money* in the War with *Pyrrhus*.

¹⁵⁷ This Festival was celebrated on the first of *March*. *Ovid*, in his *Fasti*, gives other Reasons for the Institution of it; but grants that the chief of them was the Remembrance of the Benefits the *Romans* received from the *Sabine* Women. The *Matronalia* was to the *Roman* Ladies, what the *Saturnalia* was to their Husbands. They now served their Slaves at Table, and received Presents from their Husbands, as the Husbands did of their Wives in the *Saturnalia*. The *Matronalia* was consecrated to *Mars*, and according to some, to *Juno Lucina*; and on it the Ladies sacrificed to these two Deities. *Plutarch* says the two Kings instituted likewise the *Carmentalia*, in Honour of the Goddess *Carmenta*.

¹⁵⁸ *Solinus* reports, *Chap. 3.* that before the Foundation of *Rome* the Year consisted of thir-

teen Months, and of three hundred and seventy four Days: But nevertheless, it is probable, that great Part of the People of South *Italy* followed the *Greek* Calendar, which made the Year first to consist of three hundred and sixty, and afterwards of three hundred and fifty four Days, which is a lunar Year. However, the *Sabines* thought fit to conform themselves to *Romulus's* Calendar. The common Opinion is, that he made his Year to consist of only ten Months, viz. *March*, *April*, *May*, *June*, *Quintilis*, *Sextilis*, *September*, *October*, *November* and *December*. *March*, *May*, *Quintilis* and *October*, had each thirty one Days, the other six Months had but thirty.

¹⁵⁹ This City was not far from *Rome*. It is thought to have been in the Neighbourhood of *Genina*, pretty near the *Anio*. But *Hollernius* places it beyond this River, towards the Place where *Palombara* now stands.

Year of ROM E IX, X, XI, XII, XIII. ROMULUS. They deprived them of their Lands, transplanted as many of them to *Rome* as would go, and gave them all the Privileges of *Roman* Citizens, whereby four thousand were incorporated in the *Curia*; and lastly they sent a Colony of *Romans* to *Cameria* to supply their Places, and to share the Lands of these their unfortunate Neighbours.

Year of ROM E XIV. §. XXXII. BUT as it is scarce possible that Concord should be perpetual in a State which is governed by two Sovereigns, whose Power is equal, and whose Interests in the End prove different; in the sixth Year of *Romulus* and *Tatius* that Union was broke, which Policy had made, and reciprocal Condescensions had maintained: And *Romulus*, who was formerly suspected of not being able to endure a Brother for a Competitor, was likewise thought to have had a Share in the Assassination of his Collegue on the Throne, or at least of having rejoiced at it, since he did not revenge it: It is true, *Titus Tatius* gave great Provocation to an Attempt upon his Life. He shewed too much Favour to his Relations and Friends. He suffered them to undertake unjust Things, and often even authorised their Violence. One Day some of his Courtiers gathered together, and went to make Inroads upon the Lands of *Lavinium*, which they plundered; and forcibly brought away several Herds of Cattle, contrary to the Law of Nations. *Lavinium* was one of the antient Capitals of *Latium*, built by *Aeneas* himself, after his Arrival in *Italy*; and was therefore looked on as the Mother both of the *Alban* and *Roman* Colonies: And this made the *Lavinians* think it proper to make their Complaints to *Romulus*, and demand Justice at his Hands, upon those unjust Aggressors. Accordingly, the King heard them with all the Friendship of an Ally, and gave Sentence that a Crew of Robbers who had ravaged their Country without any Warrant, should be given up to their Discretion. But *Titus Tatius* interposed. These Men, says he, are *Roman* Citizens, who ought not to be given up to the Fury of a Foreigner, before the Senate has pronounced Sentence upon them. And so far indeed his Proceedings were justifiable. But his Favourites soon rendered his Conduct completely odious. They added Assassinations, and Breaches of the Law of Nations, to the most unjust Depredations. As the Envoys of *Lavinium* were returning home from *Rome*, full of Grief that they could not get Justice done them, these very Villains prepared an Ambush to intercept them on the Road. The *Lavinians* being benighted, pitched their Tents, in order to take a little Rest; and there the *Sabines* attacked them, massacred those whom they found asleep, plundered the rest of what they had, and then returned to *Rome*.

UPON this Occasion at least *Tatius's* Protection ought doubtless to have been changed into Justice, upon the Assassines; and he should have let the Law have its free Course against the guilty. But this Murder abated nothing of his Favour to the Assassines. He connived at the whole Matter, and screened them. Upon which the *Lavinians* were provoked to shew their just Resentments; and made the whole Country ring with their Complaints: And *Romulus*, who thought they ought to be appeased by an honourable Satisfaction, settled these two Things: First, that the Murderers should be given up into the Hands of the Persons injured. Secondly, that the two Kings of *Rome* should go in Person to *Lavinium*, and there offer an expiatory Sacrifice to the Gods of their Allies, who had been provoked by so barbarous an Action. But *Titus Tatius* carried his Injustice to the utmost Height. He sent armed Men after the *Lavinians*, who took his guilty Friends away from them. As to the Journey to *Lavinium*, he agreed indeed to go; but it cost him dear. The common People of the City being enraged, ¹⁶⁰ conspired together to kill the Protector of the Assassines. In the midst of the Sacrifice therefore, and at the Feet of the Altars, they fell upon the *Sabine* King, and running him thro' with the Knives of the Priests, and the

¹⁶⁰ *Livy* and *Plutarch* say, that *Tatius* was assassinated in the City of *Lavinium* it self, by the *Laurentes*. These, according to some Authors, had sent Embassadors to *Rome*. *Tatius's* Friends and Relations surprized them on the Road, robbed them, and offered them many Violences; for which the *Laurentes* demanded Satisfaction of the *Sabine* King, who shewed no Regard

to their Remonstrances. The *Laurentes* enraged at this Contempt, waited for him at *Lavinium*, where they killed him as he was sacrificing. But *Dion. Hal.* charges this Assassination upon the *Lavinians*. Possibly, those two Authors may have made *Laurentum* and *Lavinium* but one City, as others have thought since.

Spits that were designed for roasting the Limbs of the Victims, mixed his Blood with that of the Sacrifices. As for *Romulus*, they re-conducted him out of the City with Acclamations. *Tatius's* Corps being brought back to *Rome*, was buried on the Hill *Aventinus*. The *Lavinians*, for fear of *Romulus's* Resentment, delivered up the Assassines of the King his Colleague, into his Hands. But *Romulus* sent them back to *Lavinium*, without punishing them. *The Death of your Ambassadors*, said he to them, *has had no more than a just Satisfaction made for it, by the Death of the too indulgent Prince who authorized it*: And this Neglect of revenging the Attempt made upon so sacred a Person has made it believed, that he was at least not ill pleased to be rid of him.

Year of
R O M E,
XIV.
ROMULUS.

ONE would have thought, the *Sabines* must either have abandoned *Rome*, after the Assassination of their King, or have obliged *Romulus* to revenge it. But *Romulus* knew how to quiet all their Minds. He made them sensible, that Equity is the chief Virtue of Princes, and ought to guide or restrain the Arm of the Avenger. By this means, he appeased both the *Romans* and the Foreigners that were settled at *Rome*: And in short, this Assemblage of People, out of so many different Countries, readily obeyed one single Master, who was famed for his Justice, his Prudence, and his Valour.

Year of
R O M E
XV, XVI.

§. XXXIII. In the mean time, a cruel Plague raged in *Rome*. It took Men off very suddenly, and left no Space between their Seizure and Death: And the Infection of the Air spread it self likewise over the Cattle and the Grain. So that the Scarcity brought a Famine, which was a second Scourge added to that of the Plague. And as the *Lavinians* were visited in their Turn, it was thought that the Gods were at once punishing the Authors of the Death of *Tatius*, and of the Murder of the Deputies of *Lavinium*. Then the Cities that were jealous of *Rome*, thought they might improve these Times of Affliction to the utter Destruction of a Colony, which seemed to be threatned with Ruin by Heaven it self. And the *Camerini*, among whom were yet some of the antient Inhabitants mixed with the *Romans* who had been transplanted into their City, seized this critical Moment, in order to shake off the Yoke. Hoping that the Plague had destroyed the Forces, and sunk the Courage of their Conquerors, they insulted the *Romans*, and laid their Lands waste. But *Romulus* did not let the Revolt escape unpunished. He marched out of his City, gave the *Camerini* Battle, killed six thousand, transplanted twice as many *Romans* to *Cameria*, as there were left of the antient Inhabitants; and thereby put the City out of a Condition of attempting to recover her Liberty for a long time. And by so glorious a Conquest the King merited the Honours of a second Triumph. He entered *Rome*, as after the Defeat of *Acron*, with the Acclamations of his People: And brought to *Rome* from *Cameria*, a magnificent Chariot all of Brass, which he consecrated to the Gods in the Temple of *Vulcan*, as an eternal Monument of his Victory. The *Fasti Capitolini* place this Triumph ¹⁶¹ on the first of *August*, in the sixteenth Year of *Rome*.

THE Inhabitants of *Fidenæ* ¹⁶² were likewise particularly concerned to have *Rome* destroyed. They were but forty *Stadia* distant from it: and great and numerous as they were, they foresaw that the continual Increase of the *Roman* Colony would soon be followed by the Subjection of its Neighbours. They therefore had joined Interests with the *Camerini*, and taken Part with them in their Quarrels with *Rome*. They had already begun their Hostilities with plundering some Lands that lay between *Rome* and *Cameria*: and they had just gone

Year of
R O M E
XVII, XVIII.
Dion. Hal.
B. 2. p. 116.

¹⁶¹ Its true, Time has effaced out of the Marble in which the *Fasti Capitolini* were engraven, the Name of the People over whom *Romulus* triumphed: And we only read there the Year and Day of his Triumph. But all learned Men who have commented on them, or filled up their *Lacuna*, have thought we are here to read *de Camerincis*. *Dion. Hal.* says expressly, that *Romulus's* second Triumph was the Reward of his having taken *Camerium*. *Plutarch* sets down the same Day and Year, without saying any thing of the Triumph. And the former Author assures us likewise, that *Romulus* consecrated a brazen Chariot to the God

Vulcan, out of the Spoils of *Camerium*; so that it is uncertain whether *Romulus* took the Chariot among the Spoils, or caused it to be made. Near the Chariot, if we may believe the same Historian, *Romulus* placed his own Statue, with a *Greek* Inscription, reciting his warlike Actions.

¹⁶² It is not well known where *Fidenæ* was situated. It is thought to have stood upon the Banks of the *Tyber*, forty *Stadia*, or five thousand Paces from *Rome*, near the Place where that River joins the *Teverone*, in the Neighbourhood of *Castel Jubileo*.

Year of
R O M E
XVII, XVIII.
ROMULUS.

Livy, B. 1.
6. 14.

upon another Expedition, which was more prejudicial to the *Romans*. These had had Recourse, in the late Scarcity, to the *Crustumini*, one of their Colonies; who had loaded some Boats with Provisions, and sent them down the *Tyber*. But the *Roman* Convoy was beaten, and the Provisions seized by the *Fidenates*. *Romulus*, who never declared War with any Aggressors till he had first cited them before his Senate, did not take the Field, till after they had refused to appear. But then the Necessity being pressing, his Army marched without Delay: and the better to deceive the Enemy, he advanced but with a small Party towards *Fidenæ*, and concealed the rest in a Wood at some Distance from the *Roman* Camp. After this, *Romulus* appeared with a Body of Horse under the Enemy's Walls, and skirmished to their very Gates. His Design was to draw the Enemy to a Battle: and the Stratagem succeeded. The *Fidenates*, thinking the *Roman* Troops reduced to a small Number, by Sickness and Famine, flew upon them with Vigour. Upon the first Onset the *Roman* Cavalry gave way, and by a pretended Flight drew the Infantry after it. At this, all the Troops of *Fidenæ* marched out in Pursuit of the *Romans*, and their precipitate Heat soon brought them to the Place of the Ambuscade. Immediately the *Roman* Cohorts appeared, and surrounded them, which put them into such a Terror that they betook themselves to Flight, before *Romulus* had Time so much as to face about with his Cavalry. Then the *Fidenates*, flying in their Turns, endeavour'd to regain their Walls; and that with the more Expedition, as their Flight was real. Nevertheless the *Romans*, who were as swift as they, follow'd them so near that they enter'd the City with them, and took it without Opposition. Thus *Fidenæ*, as well as the other Cities, was reduced to a *Roman* Colony, and Part of its Lands distributed among the new Inhabitants whom *Romulus* transplanted thither.

Dion. Hal.

BUT the taking of *Fidenæ* drew new Enemies upon the *Romans*. Though situated on this Side the *Tyber*, it was deem'd within the Territory of the *Hetrurians*, or at least was in Alliance with them. All *Hetruria* therefore shewed Concern for its Misfortunes; but the *Veientes* were the first who openly declared against the Conquerors. The City of ¹⁶³ *Veii* was but one hundred *Stadia* distant from *Rome*: And the Irruptions of the new Conquerors came too near their Frontiers not to make it necessary for them to put a Stop to them. The *Veientes* therefore reclaimed *Fidenæ* as within their Jurisdiction; and sent an Embassy to *Rome*, to demand the restoring of the City to her Liberty, the withdrawing the foreign Garrison, and the re-instating of the *Fidenates* in the Lands which had been taken from them.

THIS Conquest was too convenient for the *Romans* to dispossess themselves of it. Besides, it appeared to be a Weakness in the *Veientes* to reclaim a City which they did not think fit to assist when it was attacked. However, the Refusal of the *Romans* made them take Arms: They came and blocked up *Fidenæ*, and encamped within Sight of its Walls. And the *Roman* King was too careful of his Colonies, to abandon that of *Fidenæ*, in Time of Danger. He marched thither with a Part of his Army; first entered the City with Succours, and then marched out to attack the *Veientes*. The first Day's Engagement was not decisive; the next was more happy for the *Romans*. *Romulus* was indeed a great Commander for his Time; he, unknown to the Enemy, possessed himself of a Hill, and in the Night-time posted fresh Troops upon it, which were just come to him from *Rome*. Depending then upon this Reinforcement, he fell upon the *Veientes*, who were drawn up on the Plain; and in the midst of the Engagement gave the appointed Signal, for the Descent of those Soldiers, who lay in Ambush in the Mountain; and who instantly fell upon the Enemy with such Shouts as struck them with Terror, and put them to the Rout. The Slaughter was not great, during the Action; nevertheless the

¹⁶³ *Veii* was situated on a very high Rock, and of difficult Access; near the Place, as *Cluverius* guesses, where *Scrofanò* now stands. *Dion. Hal.* compares *Veii* with *Athens* for Grandeur and Riches: And in another Place says, that *Rome*, in *Servius Tullius's* Time, was equal to *Athens* it self. But *Cluverius* can't think *Veii* was then so

powerful and populous; and therefore concludes that either we ought to read *Fidenæ* instead of *Athens*, or that the Greek Writer has exaggerated. But would *Dion. Hal.* who writ for the Greeks have thought of comparing *Rome* to *Fidenæ*, a City which was, in all appearance, as much unknown to them as *Veii* it self?

Loss of the *Veientes* was considerable. Many of them were forced headlong in- Year of
to the *Tyber*, and there found that Death in the Waters, which they had escaped R O M E
from the Sword. XVII, XVIII.

BUT this severe Blow did not lessen the Courage of the *Veientes*. They ROMULUS.
raised another Army in their City, which was then so considerable that it
is said to have equalld that of *Athens*. They solicited Succours of their
Allies, and returned to *Fidena* to make a second Attempt upon it: And
there they received the last Stroke, which abated their Pride, and taught
them to reverence the Power of the invincible Colony. *Romulus* gained a
complete Victory over them; but what one Historian says of it is indeed
with Reason thought incredible by *Plutarch*. He affirms, that of fourteen *Plutarch*.
thousand Men that remained dead upon the Spot, *Romulus* killed half with
his own Hands. But this Exaggeration really means no more than this; that
the King of the *Romans* did such Feats in Arms, as seemed to be beyond the
Power of Man. The Enemy's Camp was plundered, and great Treasures
found in it. The Number of the Prisoners was considerable; with whom,
the old King of the *Veientes*, who was taken in the Battle, was conducted to
Rome, in Boats down the *Tyber*: And the Sale that was then made of these
Slaves, laid the Foundation of a Custom which prevailed ever after. As oft
as the People offered Sacrifices to the Gods, in Thanksgiving for any Victory,
they dress'd up an old Man in a Child's Coat, and cried all around him,
164 *Sardians to sell*. By which Cries and Ceremony, they alluded to
these two Things: 1st. They signified thereby, that the old King of the
Veientes had governed his State like a Child: And 2^{dly}. That the *Veientes*,
an *Hetrurian* People, were a Colony of the *Lydians*, whose capital City was
Sardis.

IN the mean time *Romulus* was intent upon making the best Advantage of
his Victory. He passed the *Tyber*, and pursued the *Veientes* to the Gates of
their City; whose Situation preserved it. *Veii* was built upon a steep Rock,
and *Romulus* had then neither Troops nor the necessary Provisions to besiege it.
He therefore retired, with a Resolution of returning in a little Time, and re-
ducing that City to Ashes, which had no other Motive to conspire against
Rome, but Jealousy or Ambition. But two Defeats had taught the *Veientes*
Wisdom; and they prevented their Ruin by their Submission. They sent an *Livy, E. 1.*
Embassy to *Rome*, in a suppliant Manner, thereby to soften the Conqueror: *ib. 15.*
And he punished the Conquered without driving them to Despair. He made *Dion. Hal. B.*
them surrender up to him a little District upon the Banks of the *Tyber*, in which *2. p. 118.*
were seven small Towns; and deprived them of their Right in some 165 Salt-
Pits, which were near the Mouth of the River. He obliged them to give
Hostages for their Fidelity; and fifty of their chief Citizens were sent to
Rome, as Securities for the Treaty. And for his own Part, he engaged to let
them enjoy a Truce of an hundred Years: And a publick Monument was
erected in Memory of this Treaty, which was engraven on Stone. In a Word,
as by a War thus advantageously ended, *Romulus* merited the Honour of a
third Triumph; he obtained it on the *Ides of October*, in the seventeenth *Fast. Capit.*
Year of *Rome*. And as his City was now much increased both in Riches and
Inhabitants, it is probable this last Triumph might somewhat exceed the two
former ones in Magnificence.

§. XXXIV. AFTER this, the Fears of the neighbouring Nations suspended Year of
the Effects of their Jealousy, and left *Rome* to enjoy the sweet Fruits of her R O M E
Conquests in Peace. And *Romulus*, for his Part, was desirous of preserving XIX—
the Appearances of Equity; and was afraid to be seen to be the first in be- XXXVII.
ginning Wars, tho' they must infallibly have turned to the Advantage of his ROMULUS.
Colony. He would have it thought, that he had not aggrandized it by any

164 We take our Account of this Custom from
Plutarch. But *Sinnius Capito* gives it a later Date.
He says, that when *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*
the Consul had conquered *Sardinia*, he brought so
great a Number of Slaves from thence, that for a
great while together, nothing was to be seen in

the Markets but *Sardinians*, or *Sardi*, to be sold.
Which gave Rise to the Proverb, *Sardi venales*,
alius alio nequior. That is, *Sardinians to sell*, eve-
ry one worse than his Fellow.

165 These Salt-Pits were near the Place now
known by the Name of *Campo di Saline*.

Year of other Conquests than those of such rash People, as had, of their own Accord, and without any Provocation, given just Cause for his Revenge and his Victories. And his Moderation appeared yet more, in his Renunciation of a Crown, to which his Birth gave him a Right. After the Death of his Grandfather *Numeritor*, *Alba* and its Dependances were his Inheritance, which he might justly have seized, and subjected to the *Roman* Laws. But he chose rather to let *Alba* enjoy its Liberty under the Form of a Sort of Republick; and reserved to himself no other Dominion over it, than the Right of nominating annually a supreme Magistrate to govern it, with the Title of *Dictator*.

R O M E
XIX—
XXXVII.
ROMULUS.
Plutarch.

BUT whilst the King of *Rome* was making himself equally feared and beloved Abroad, his People at Home began rather to dread than love him. Pride and Haughtiness, the common Attendants on Prosperity, corrupted his Heart, and tarnished the Glory of his Virtues. The Name of *Senator* or *Father* was now become a mere empty Title in *Rome*: the new Splendor of the King obscured all other Distinctions of Honour. The Senate was now assembled only for Form's sake; *Romulus* made himself the sole Arbiter and Judge in all Affairs. All the use he made of the antient Council of his Colony, was only to inform them first of his Will, and to charge them to communicate it to the People. But this illustrious Body could not see the Laws broken by the very Man who had made them, without inexpressible concern; And what piqued the *Romans* most, was the Authority the King took upon him, of sending back the Hostages of the *Veientes*, without consulting either the People or the Senate. The disdainful Air with which he received their Petitions and Salutations was not to be born. He was fond of distinguishing himself by a purple Robe, which he always wore; and his Guards were more numerous than formerly. In War or Peace, he always had a Body of three hundred young Horsemen to attend him; and he called them *Celeres*¹⁶⁶, either from their readiness to obey his Commands, or because they were commanded by that *Celer*, whose Mattock had been fatal to *Rhemus*. These young Warriors fought round the King, either on Horseback, or a Foot, as there was occasion: and to this Guard he added a Company of *Lictors*, armed with Thongs, Rods, and Axes, whom he made use of for arbitrary Executions, without the Knowledge of the Senate. In a word, the Sweetness of his Administration, which was very lovely whilst the Colony was in its Infancy, soon degenerated into Severity, when the City came to be greatly increased. Tho', after all, *Romulus* made his Government odious to none but the Senate. The People and the Soldiery always retained that Respect and Affection for their Sovereign, which Superiority of Merit will command from the People, notwithstanding their Discontents. Besides, they were convinced that there was a Necessity of increasing the Severity of the Government, in proportion as the People multiplied in *Rome*.

BUT the Hatred of the Senate proved more prejudicial to *Romulus* than the Esteem of the People was advantageous. The Senators conspired against him, and watched for a favourable Moment to get rid of him. His Death is differently related. Some *Roman* Historians, who give the God *Mars* a share in his Birth, do likewise carry him up to Heaven alive in a Cloud, in the midst of Thunder and Lightning. But as the *Greek* Historians seem to reject all miraculous Stories in general, which relate to the *Romans*, tho' they readily admit them in favour of their own Heroes; we shall here follow the Relation of the latter, as most probable.

Dion. Hal. B.
2. p. 119. &
Plutarch.

S. XXXV. ON the seventh Day of *July*¹⁶⁷, in the thirty-seventh Year of *Rome*, *Romulus* appointed a Review of his Troops in a Plain, without the City, and

¹⁶⁶ The three hundred Horse which *Romulus* had for his Guard, were the first Corps of the *Roman* Soldiery. They were chosen by the thirty *Curia*, each furnishing ten Men; and *Romulus* divided them into three Companies, under the Command of a general Officer called *Tribunus Celerum*. The particular Captain of each Company was stiled *Præfectus Celerum*. The *Tribunus Celerum* had great Authority in *Rome*, and may be said to have been the second Person in the State

next the King. He had a Right of assembling the People on pressing Occasions.

¹⁶⁷ In the *Roman* Calendar, the Nones of *July* is marked as a Festival, under the Name of the *Populi fugium*, (i. e. the Flight of the People) and the *Caprotine Nones*. Which, according to *Plutarch*, had no other Foundation than a fabulous Tradition maintained by the Superstition of the People, to immortalize the Memory of their Founder. They said, that *Romulus* having assembled

and harangued them near a Pond which was called *Goats-pond*. Here the King was surrounded with his Senate, who attended him for the greater State: And whilst he was speaking, was overtaken with a sudden Storm mixed with Hail and Thunder. The Rain dispersed the Soldiers; and the Senators remaining alone with the King, they thought this too favourable an Opportunity of executing the Design their Hatred had formed, to be neglected. The King was therefore killed, and his Body convey'd out of Sight in an Instant: And some pretend, that the better to conceal the Fact, the Senators cut him into an hundred Pieces, and every Senator carried away one under his Robe. But however that be, the Circumstance of the Storm gave occasion to the Fable which the Assassines spread among the People. They reported, that the King was all on a sudden surrounded with Flame, and snatched up in it, from Earth to Heaven. The most Credulous were indeed contented with a Story which made the Founder of their Colony a God: but the more Penetrating conceived just Suspicions against the true Authors of the Murder; insomuch that the Senate became odious thereby to all the better Sort in *Rome*. This then made it necessary to find out some Secret to stop the Complaints, and appease the Hatred of the Multitude: And *Julius Proculus*, a considerable Man among the *Fathers*, was the Person whom the Senate suborned to impose upon the People. This venerable Senator had always been thought a Friend to *Romulus*; and having come from *Alba* with him, had preferred the doubtful Fortune of an unsettled Colony to his own Country. Being likewise a Branch of the *Julian* Family, and descended from *Iulus* himself, he had from the beginning been of distinguished Rank in *Rome*; and the Esteem of his Probity gave a new Lustre to his Birth. When therefore the *Curia* were assembled together, *Proculus* harangued them, and calmed their Minds with a Fable which he told them, affirming the Truth of it, with an Oath. *As I was travelling along*, says he to the *Romans*, *Romulus suddenly appeared to me: His Stature was taller than that of Mortals, and his Armour cast a dazzling Brightness. The Apparition instantly filled me with a religious Dread: and I addressed myself to it in these reproachful Words. Why have you left us so soon? What Suspicions have you raised against us? We are taken to be the Authors of your Death, and our Reputation suffers by it. What Sorrow has not your disappearing spread all over the City which you founded?* To which he replied, *It has pleased the Gods to call me back to Heaven, from whence I originally came. They have placed me among themselves, now that I have put Rome into a Condition of becoming the Capital of a great Empire. Go then, dear Proculus, and admonish my Romans to love Temperance and warlike Exercises. They may by that means hope to become one Day the Masters of the World. And as for me, I will always be assistant to you, under the Name of the God Quirinus.*

THE Harangue of a Man whom the People thought sincere, soon removed the Suspicions *Rome* had formed against her Senate, and caused Divine ¹⁶⁹ Honours to be paid to *Romulus*. The People were transported with Joy, and

bled the Citizens of *Rome* near *Goats-Pond*, so furious a Storm overtook them, on a sudden, as entirely took away the Light of the Sun; That the *Romans* were so frighted with this terrible Darkness, the Noise of the Thunder, and the Whirlwind, that they fled in Confusion; and that, as soon as the Sky was clear, they returned to the Place of Meeting, where they were informed that *Romulus* had been carried up to Heaven in the midst of the Thunder and Lightning, and in the sight of the Senators, who kept close to him in the midst of the Storm. This Adventure, according to *Plutarch*, gave Rise to the *Caprotine Nones*, *Populi fugium*. But the most celebrated Authors do, with Reason, give another Origin to this Festival, of which we shall speak in its proper place. On it, the *Romans* offered Sacrifices, without the City, near *Goats-pond*.

¹⁶⁸ Historians differ about the Place where *Romulus* lost his Life; some saying it was in the open field, whilst he was haranguing his Army; others

in the Temple of *Vulcan*; others in the Senate. But these two last Opinions are in effect the same, supposing the Senate was then assembled in the Temple of *Vulcan*. Nor do the Historians agree any better about the Manner in which he was assassinated. Some say it was done by the People, who were enraged at the King for shewing more Favour to those who were newly come to *Rome* from the conquered Cities, than to the old Inhabitants: Whilst others pretend, the Senators stabbed him in full Senate, and having cut his Body in Pieces, every one took a Part of it, and carried it away under his Robe.

¹⁶⁹ A Festival was instituted to *Romulus*, at *Rome*, called *Quirinalia*. It was celebrated on the 17th of *February*. An High-Priest, who was always chosen out of the *Patricians*, presided over the Worship of the new God, with the Title of *Flamen Quirinalis*. The Person who created this sacerdotal Office in Honour of *Romulus*, was *Numa*.

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ROMULUS.

Year of
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ROMULUS.

turned their Murmurs into the Worship of this new Deity. *Romulus* became new *Mars* in *Rome*, under the Name of *Quirinus*, and there took the place of the old God *Quiris*, whom the *Sabines* had long worshipped.

THUS ended the Reign of a Prince, for whose Loss *Rome* could be no other wife comforted, than by the Hopes of having him to be her Protector among the Gods. *Romulus* reigned thirty-seven Years ¹⁷⁰ in a City, whose Foundation he laid. He found Means to make it so considerable, that numerous Colonies were sent from thence, in a few Years, to people the Cities it had conquered. In order to gain himself Authority in *Rome*, he knew how to make his Advantage of the Opinion the People had of his Divine Birth. He was thought to be the Son of *Mars*, and certainly did not appear to act unbecoming that Character. For, according to the prevailing Opinions of those Times, his military Exploits made him thought worthy of being esteemed the God of Battels himself. Nor were his Wisdom and Policy inferior to his Courage. *Romulus* made a Handful of Men, gathered together by Accident, and without any Choice, formidable to all *Italy*: And what is more surprising, he formed a Colony out of a Company of Profligates, which has been yet more illustrious for its Virtue, than either for its Bravery, or its Conquests.

¹⁷⁰ We thought it necessary to follow their Opinion, who make *Romulus* twenty three Years old, when he was elected King of *Rome*. And all Writers agree, he reigned thirty seven Years. He was therefore, according to this Opinion, about sixty when he died.



T H E

Roman History.

B O O K II.

S. I. **R**OMULUS died at near sixty Years of Age, and left no Children. Had he had any fit to have succeeded him, the Affection the *Romans* would have had for the Race of the Founder of *Rome*, would doubtless have determined them to have made their Crown hereditary. That of *Alba*, from whence *Rome* was a Colony, was so, and it's probable they would have followed this Example, and have filled their Throne with a Prince descended from so long a Succession of Kings. But the Blood of *Aeneas* ceased to reign with *Romulus*: Tho' it is said to have been still preserved in the *Julian*² Family, which in a less elevated Station than a Throne continued down the Remains of the purest *Trojan* Nobility in *Rome*. So then the Want of Issue of *Romulus*, was what made the Crown of *Rome* elective, which otherwise would naturally have been hereditary.

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XXXVII.
Dion. Hal.
B. 2. p. 119.

HOWEVER, the Dissentions of the *Romans* about a Successor to *Romulus*, kept them long in Suspence. Not that the Ambition of any private Persons who coveted the Crown, raised these Commotions among the People: No one of the Senators had Superiority enough over the rest, to make him aspire at a Rank which would have raised him above that Equality in which *Romulus* had placed them. But what deferred the Election of a King, was the Contest that arose between the two principal Nations, of which the *Roman Curiae* then consisted. *Alba* had furnished *Romulus* with the first Inhabitants of his new City, and the *Sabines*, under *Tatius* their King, had increased the Colony. It was then, between the *Romans* who came from *Alba* with *Romulus*, and the *Sabines* who came from *Cures* with *Tatius*, that the Dispute arose. Each Party would fain have given a King to their common City. The *Romans* contended that they, as Founders of the City, had a Right to fill the Throne with a Prince chosen from among them. The *Sabines* urged, that their Moderation in suffering *Romulus* to reign alone, after *Tatius's* Death, ought not to prejudice their Rights. To which they added, that they had in their Compact reserved to themselves the Liberty of having a Sovereign in *Rome* of their own Country; and that, if it was not thought proper to have two Monarchs together upon the same Throne, at least the *Sabines* ought in their Turn to see a Prince of their Nation fill it.

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XXXIX.
Plutarch. in
the Life of
Narr.

¹ Besides what has been observed of the hereditary Descent of the Crown of *Alba*, the following Remark ought not to be omitted. *Florus*, who wrote from the Memoirs of the ancient *Roman* Historians, assures us, that the *Alban* Scepter descended from Father to Son, down to *Amulius*, who deprived *Numitor* his eldest Brother of it. *Ab his Amulius, jam bis septima suboles, regnabat, patre pulso Numitore.* It's true, in the greatest Part of the Editions of *Florus*, this Passage runs thus: *Ab his quarto decimo filio regnat Amulius.* But, besides that this Text, when thus mangled, has the same Sense which it has when corrected by the ancient Manuscripts, *Jornandes*, who quotes *Florus*, expresses it in the same Terms as they do who are for the Correction: *Amulius jam bis septima suboles regnabat.* He means, that *Amulius* was

the fourteenth King of *Alba*, to whom the Crown descended from Father to Son. It was therefore hereditary.

² We have already observed, that *Ensebins* in his *Chronology*, ascribes the Origin of the *Julian* Family in *Rome* to *Julius Proculus*, *Romulus's* favourite. He was so considerable there, that the *Romans* had Thoughts of making him King, after the Death of *Romulus*, and appointed him to be one of the two Deputies sent to *Cures*, to bring *Numa Pompilius* to *Rome*. And it is therefore surprizing that *Pighius* should, in his Enumeration of the illustrious *Patrician* Families that were in *Rome* from its Foundation, omit the *Julian*. He mentions only the *Hostilian*, *Porcian*, *Fabian*, *Horatian*, *Antonian*, *Quintilian* and *Tarpeian*.

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Dion. Hal. ib.
Livy. B. I. c. 17.
and Plutarch.

Aurel. Victor.

Plutarch.

Livy, ibid.

Plutarch.

THE Senators, who were one half *Albans* and the other *Sabines*, made themselves Masters of *Rome*; and they being divided among themselves, as well as the People, were so far from healing the Divisions, during the *Interregnum*, that they increased them. Nay, the Senate resolved to take Advantage of the public Broils, and assume the contested Sovereignty to themselves; and their Manner of doing it was this.

THE two hundred Senators divided themselves into Tens. These Tens drew Lots which should govern first, and the Ten to whose Lot it fell, enjoy'd the Sovereignty for five Days; but in such a manner that one Person only of the Ten, had the *Regalia* at a Time. To these another Ten succeeded, every one of whom took his Turn of sitting upon the Throne, wearing the Crown, and being attended by the *Lictors*. It was a Form of Republick which *Rome* even then made Trial of; but it was of very short Continuance: This Sort of *Interregnum*, for so it was called, lasted but a little more than a Year. The public Murmurs shortned its Duration. Complaints were made of an intolerable Slavery under alternative Kings. As the Masters multiplied, the Weight of the Yoke increased. As the Interests and Views of so great a Number of Sovereigns were different, the one undid what the other had done; and a continual Change of Monarchs introduced Instability and Disturbances in *Rome*. Besides, the People apprehended, that the Senate, tho' constant in nothing else, would yet be so in maintaining that Kind of Government, which they had possessed themselves of, and would destroy the Monarchy. And their Complaints were growing into Sedition, when a proper Expedient was thought on, whereby to bring both Parties to agree in the Choice of a King.

THE *Albans* who first founded *Rome*, and the *Sabines* who came into it after it was founded, each obstinately insisted on having a King of their own Nation: And a middle Way was therefore chosen. The former were prevailed on to be contented with nominating the Sovereign they liked; and the latter, to leave the Right of electing to the former, provided they chose a *Sabine*. By this Means all was made easy. The antient Inhabitants of *Rome* were in Possession of the Right of choosing their Master; and the *Sabines* had the Satisfaction of seeing one of their Countrymen on the Throne. The Choice of the Sovereign was left to the People, but in Subordination to the Senate, who declared, that the *Curiae* should hold their Power of electing from the Senators, who reserved to themselves the Right of approving or rejecting their Choice of a Successor to *Romulus*.

§. II. THERE was then in the native Country of the *Sabines*, a Man of a distinguished Birth and Virtue, who led a retired Life: He was wholly taken up with the Worship of the Gods, and the Study of an austere Philosophy, and had no Thoughts of Empire, but over his own Passions. His Name was *Numa* ⁴ *Pompilius*. He was the fourth Son of *Pompo*, an illustrious *Sabine*, who had married the Daughter of King *Tatius*, but had not followed the Fortunes of his Father-in-Law to *Rome*. The Princess his Wife was also of her Husband's Mind; she continued at *Cures* with him, and was satisfied with the Tranquillity of a private Life. When Death had, after a thirty Years Marriage, taken *Tatia* from her Husband, *Numa* gave himself up entirely to the Study of Wisdom. He left the City, and confined himself wholly to the Country; where he wandered from Solitude to Solitude, in Search only of those Woods and Fountains, which Religion had made sa-

³ The Historians give us different Accounts of the Government of *Rome*, during this first *Interregnum*. *Plutarch* reduces the Number of the Senators who divided the Regal Power between them, to an hundred and fifty: And he will have it that each reigned only twelve Hours; that is to say, one from Midnight to Noon, and another from Noon to Midnight, every twenty four Hours, *ἡ μὲν αὖτε τῆς νυκτὸς, ἡ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας*. Whereas *Livy*, for his Part, pretends that the Number of the Senators who reigned was but an hundred; and agrees, that they being divided into Tens, each Ten had the whole Authority for five Days; but nevertheless in such a manner as that one only had

the *Regalia*. And *Dion. Hal.* tells us that these Senators were in Number two hundred; in which he seems to come nearer the Truth than the other two. It is well known, that *Romulus* created an hundred Senators, and that *Titus Tatius* added another hundred to them. But as to the other Particulars, *Plutarch's* Account is the most exact, and the most circumstantial. Supposing, with *Livy*, that each ten Senators reigned in its Turn for five Days, it is natural enough to infer, that each Senator reigned but twelve Hours.

⁴ *Dion. Hal.* gives *Numa's* Father the Name of *Pompilius Pompo*; *A. Victor* calls him *Pompo*; *Palerius Maximus*, *Pompilius Pompus*.

cred. And from thence, doubtless, came the Fable, which was very early received among the *Sabines*: That *Numa* had the Loss of the Pleasures of the City, and the Company of his Relations, abundantly made up to him in the Country, by the Conversation and Embraces of the Nymph *Egeria*. Thus much is indeed certain, that *Numa*, when he was upon the Throne, actually took Advantage of this general Persuasion, in order thereby to give Credit to his Laws, and bring about a Reformation in *Rome*. But his chief Employment in his Solitude seems, most probably, to have been only a Search after Truth, and the Knowledge of the true God: And it will hereafter appear, that he did, by the Strength of his Reason, discover his Existence, notwithstanding the Darkness of Paganism, with which he was surrounded.

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THE *Roman* People pitch'd upon *Numa Pompilius* to be their King, though absent from *Rome*: And his Name, when brought to the Senate, was received with general Applause. His Reputation had been spread all over *Italy*, and in him were found all those Qualities which were necessary to maintain, improve, and correct, the Regulations made by *Romulus*. He was of a mature Age. Having been born the very Day on which the Foundations of *Rome* were laid, he was then about ⁶ forty. He had also been Arbitrator of all the Differences in *Cures*, before he chose to retire into the Country: Such Credit did his Equity, and a perfect Knowledge of the Laws give him, among the *Sabines*. The Senator therefore, who then officiated as King, during the *Interregnum*, declared the Election of *Numa Pompilius*, in a general Assembly of the *Curia*; and that with the unanimous Consent of both Senate and People. The only Apprehension that remained, was, that a rigid Philosopher, who had tasted the sweet Calm of a rural Life, would refuse to expose himself to the various Tempests of a difficult Government. Two Senators were sent to fetch *Numa* from the Neighbourhood of *Cures*; whose Names were *Julius Proculus* and *Valerius Volesus*, the one of *Alban*, the other of *Sabine* Extraction. The Citizens had indeed long been inclined to raise one of these two to the Throne, and in Suspence which to choose: But nevertheless, as Love of the publick Good had then the Ascendant in *Roman* Breasts over Ambition and Jealousy; the two Senators set out together, to go and make an honest and sincere Offer of it to the *Sabine* Philosopher.

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5 *Numa's* Inclination to Solitude, and his Custom of retiring into the secret Places of the Forest of *Aricia*, gave Rise to several popular Opinions. Some persuaded themselves, that the Nymph *Egeria* her self dictated the Laws he established, as well civil, as religious. Whilst others, less favourably to *Numa's* Reputation, have believed, that under this affected Love for Woods and Caves, was concealed another, which was more real and less chaste. Hence the Reports that were spread of this King's Assignations and Privacies with this pretended Nymph. *Juvenal* was prepossessed with these Opinions, and expresses himself agreeably to them, where speaking of the Wood which was known to the *Romans* by the Name of *Lucus Egeria*, he says,

Hic ubi nocturne Numa constituebat amica. Sat.3.

This Wood is said to have been consecrated to the Muses, as well as the Fountain which watered it, and which was under the Care of the *Vestals*. They drew there the Water they wanted for Sacrifices and Lustrations. And in Process of Time, this Wood, which was near the Gate *Capena*, came to be within the Limits of *Rome*. The Loss of the old Wood was supplied by another which was without the City, and bore the Name of *Lucus Egeria*, and *Lucus Camenarum*, as the former had done. But *St. Austin*, *de Civ. Dei*. l.7. building upon a Passage taken out of *Varro's* Book of *Antiquities*, as his Authority, gives an allegorical Interpretation to these frequent Meetings between *Numa* and *Egeria*. He says, that this King being versed in *Hydromancy*, saw several Demons in the Water, whom he consulted, and from whom he

received the Laws he proposed to his People: And that because *Numa* caused Water to be brought him for his magical Operations, *eo quod aquam egesserit*, this gave Occasion to the Fiction that he had married the Nymph *Egeria*, who took her Name from the *Latin* Word *Egerere*. *Dion. Hal.* indeed tells us that *Numa* boasted of being instructed in the Art of Governing by one of the nine Muses: But at the same time relates such a fabulous Story on this Occasion, as he himself judges to be below the Gravity of History.

6 *Rome*, according to *Varro's* Calculation, was founded on the second Day of *April*, in the third Year of the sixth Olympiad. *Romulus* died the seventh of *July*, in the first Year of the sixteenth Olympiad. The Difference between these two, is thirty eight Years and about three whole Months. Now *Numa* was born the same Day that *Rome* was founded; and consequently was in his thirty ninth Year when his Predecessor died. So that if to thirty eight Years, and near three whole Months, we add one whole Year, which the most celebrated Historians allow to the *Interregnum*, it will be true, that *Numa* was about forty when he ascended the Throne. Which being supposed, we must, in order to find out this forty Years of the Foundation of *Rome*, and of *Numa's* Age, say with *Father Petaw*, either that *Romulus* reigned above thirty eight Years, or that the first Year of his Reign was not till the third Year of the Foundation of *Rome*; that is, till two Years after the *Romans* began to lay the Foundations of this City. For the forty Years which Historians give *Numa*, cannot be made out, but upon *Varro's* Scheme, which we have followed.

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Plutarch Life
of Numa.

BUT the Deputies found more Resistance in *Numa Pompilius* than they had expected. His Aversion to the Government of a City, which had sprung up in the midst of Wars, was not inferior to his Love of a retired Life. And he therefore in the Presence of his Father, and *Marcus* his Relation, gave the Roman Envoys the following Answer: *'Tis a great Happiness to be entirely independent on the Assistance of other Men in the Manner of Life which one has chosen, and it is a Folly to relinquish one's old Ways of living to learn new; and to prefer an uncertain Satisfaction to an assured Tranquillity. The Deaths of Tatius and Romulus make me fear every thing from a Senate which is divided into Factions, and not free from the Suspicion of having assassinated their King. And who was that King upon whom the Murder is suspected to have been committed, but Romulus himself, who had the Reputation of being descended from the Gods? Whereas my Descent is merely human; and if I have gained any Reputation, it is for such Qualities as are in no wise proper to make me shine upon a Throne, a Love of Peace, Retirement, Study, and divine Worship. But as Rome is envied by her Neighbours, and threatened with foreign Wars, for which Romulus, perhaps, gave no Provocation, she has Need of an active and warlike Prince to govern her. What Benefit could you receive, in these Circumstances, from a pacifick King, who would be wholly employ'd in establishing despised Justice and Equity, and the neglected Worship of the Gods? Would you find any thing in him to satisfy the vast Views of your Ambition, or that insatiate Desire of Conquest, which Rome has been full of from her very Infancy?*

THIS Answer struck the Deputies with Surprise: And they joined Intreaties to Arguments, in order to persuade the Philosopher not to disdain the Crown. *What will become of Rome, said they to him, if you by your Refusal throw her back into the Disorders of the Interregnum? Will the Romans ever agree again in the Choice of a Monarch, as they have all joined their Suffrages in electing you? Will you suffer a Colony to be ruined by its Dissensions, which was founded in the Union of the two most flourishing Nations in Italy?*

Plutarch.

NUMA's Father, and his Relation *Marcus*, espoused the Interests of Rome; and each separately advised him, not to despise a Present which was sent to him from Heaven. *It is indeed, said they to him, worthy of you not to suffer your Eyes to be dazzled with the Riches and Splendor of a Throne: But ought you therefore to pay no Regard to the Appointment of the Gods, who have chosen you to fill it? Have they indued your Heart with so great a Love of Equity, only to lie useless in a Desert? The Throne is an eminent Place, from whence Virtue shews itself to Advantage, and exercises a Power which captivates and subdues the Hearts of Men. Tatius, tho' a Foreigner, was highly esteemed by the Romans, and the Memory of Romulus was so precious to them, that after his Death they voted him divine Honours. And who knows but Rome, influenced by the Royal Example, will abate of her Pride and Fury, and the Love of Arms will be succeeded by a Respect for Religion? How glorious is it to become the Reformer of a People whom Nature formed for Virtue! You will no sooner have the Reins of Government in your Hands, but you will convert that martial Impetuosity of the Romans, into a Love of Peace.*

THIS Discourse staggered the Philosopher; and the People of Cures brought him to an absolute Determination. They pressed him on all Sides, not to envy the *Sabines* the Glory of giving a King to the Roman Colony: At length Zeal for the publick Good prevailed over his private Inclinations: And after having rendered Heaven propitious to him by Sacrifices, he set out for Rome.

Dion. Hal.
B. 2. p. 121.

Plutarch.

THE Senate and People went out to meet their new King, with all the Joy that Prepossession can give in favour of those who are generally esteemed. *Spurius Vettius*, who was King for the Day, commanded the Tribes and *Curiae* to assemble a second time, in order to elect him when present, whom they had already chosen in his Absence: and then the Senate confirmed the second Choice of the People. But when all things were ready for cloathing him in the Royal Robes, he insisted that the Gods should first be consulted by *Angury*: and he was therefore

therefore attended to the top of the Hill *Tarpeius*, to observe the flying of the Birds; and the Ceremony was performed with the utmost Regularity. The King was seated upon a Stone, with his Face to the South, and his Head covered with a Veil 7: The *Prince of the Augurs* stood behind him, and stretching his Right Hand over *Numa's* Head, turned himself to the East, and prayed for him; then, looking round on all sides to discover some favourable Omen, he saw some Birds, which were presumed to be auspicious; and this was sufficient. The King came down from the Mountain, with the Acclamations of the People, who were charmed with the Modesty of the Governor whom they had chosen

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S. III. But the Reader is not to expect here the Events of a Reign made famous by Arms, and signalized by Battels. The *Romans* acknowledge that *Numa Pompilius* did not aggrandize their State by Conquests. It was his particular Glory to establish a good Polity in it: And he begun the Reformation of *Rome* with himself. His Predecessor had always caused himself to be attended with three hundred Guards, under the Name of *Celeres*: but *Pompilius* laid them aside. *It would ill become me*, said he, *to reign over a People I distrust; and as ill to distrust a People, who force me to reign.* His first Care was to strike at the Foundation of the public Disorders; which he found to be the Love of Arms. *Rome*, at its Birth, consisted only of bold and enterprizing Men, or of Profligates, who were accustomed to Robberies and Murders: *Romulus* had indeed made a good Use of this martial Genius, by turning it against foreign Enemies; but after all, he let it have its free Course: whereas *Numa Pompilius* did all he could to weaken it. And as he thought Religion, which sometimes proceeds from Fear, but more frequently produces it, would best moderate the too lively Sallies of a fiery and intrepid People; he therefore made it his main Business to new model the publick Worship of the *Romans*.

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It is very probable, that this wise Prince had, by the Light of his Reason, and perhaps the reading of the antient Philosophers, arrived at the Knowledge of the true God 8. Besides what prophane Historians tell us of it, he gave Proofs of it by his Conduct, and the Regulations he established in *Rome*. He forbade the making any Representations of the Deity for the future, under the Figures of Men or Beasts: He said, *It was injurious to make use of corruptible Things to represent an invisible Being, of which we ought to have no Representation, but in our Minds.* Some have thought that he was *Pythagoras's* Disciple 9, and learned this pure Philosophy from him: but the Time in which he lived,

Plutarch.

7 *Livy* adds, that the *Augur* covered his own Head also with a Veil. The *Augurs* did indeed actually use Veils, when they made their Observations, out of a Persuasion, that they could not use too much Recollection and Attention in the Exercise of their Office.

8 I shall here quote only *Plutarch*. This judicious Author makes a Concession which is very contrary to the Pagan Religion. He says, that the wisest King of the *Romans* acknowledged *One first Being, who is imperceptible, impassible, invisible, incorruptible, and purely intelligible*: *ὅστις γὰρ ἐκείνος ἀδιόρητος ἢ ἀπάθητος, ἀάρατος δὲ καὶ ἀκίνητος καὶ νοητὸς ὑπελαμβάνει εἶναι τὸ πρῶτον.* And the same Author adds, that the Divinity was never represented by any Image in *Rome* before *Numa's* Time; and that for a hundred and sixty Years, no Statues were made there, which were honoured as Gods. Whence one might conclude, that the *Palladium* was not then looked on as a Divinity, but as a mere *Talisman*. We have spoken of it in the Notes upon the second Book of the *Aeneid*. *Numa's* Prohibition likewise, who, according to the same Author, forbade the erecting any Images of the Gods in Temples, deserves our Regard. Indeed, *Jupiter, Juno, Neptune, &c.* were known in *Italy* before *Numa's* Time, and *Quiris* had been first worshipped by the *Sabines*, and afterwards by the *Romans*; but it's probable they had then no Statues. The Art of Sculpture was doubtless un-

known in that barbarous and unpolished Age. Besides, *Plutarch* adds, that *Numa* thought it unworthy of the Deity, to represent him by Figures of Men or Beasts.

9 Several at *Rome* were persuaded upon the Credit of an antient but false Tradition, that *Numa* had been *Pythagoras's* Disciple. But all sensible Historians reject this Opinion. *Livy* finds fault with it. *Plutarch* and *Dion. Hal.* oppose it. The Substance of their Reasons is as follows. First, *Pythagoras* did not live till long after *Numa*. According to *Dion. Hal.* this Philosopher did not come into *Italy*, till above an hundred Years after this Prince's Time, in the Reign of *Tarquin the First*, and in the fifty-first Olympiad: whereas *Numa* was elected King in the third Year of the sixteenth Olympiad. So that between the Reign of *Numa*, and *Pythagoras's* Arrival in *Italy*, there were thirty-four Olympiads, or a hundred thirty-six Years. *Livy* says, *Pythagoras* taught in *Italy*, in the Time of *Servius Tullius*: Now from the first Year of *Numa's* Reign, to *Servius Tullius*, are reckoned a hundred thirty-seven Years. *Aulus Gellius* contends, that this Philosopher had not appeared in *Italy*, before the Reign of *Tarquin the Proud*. He landed there about the sixtieth Olympiad, according to *Diog. Laertius*, or the sixty-second, according to *Clem. Alexandrinus*. And lastly, *Tully Tuscul. 4.* assures us, that *Pythagoras* taught in *Italy* at the Time when *Brutus* abolished Monarchy

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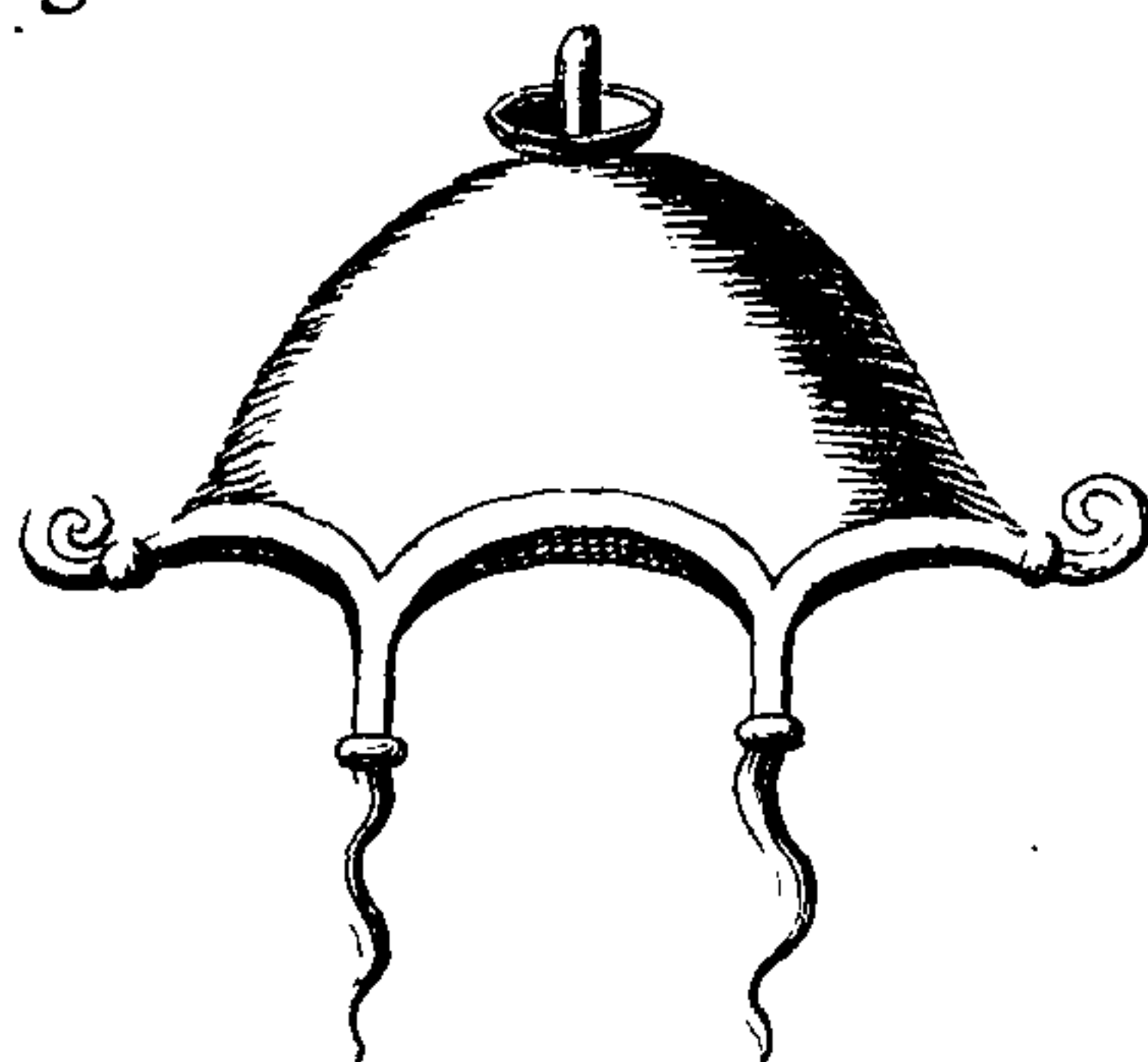
lived, will by no means admit of it. It is more probable that he had his Knowledge from the antient Books of the *Sabines*. We have already observed, that they were originally *Lacedemonians*, and had brought with them into *Italy* the Manners and Doctrine of the Philosophers of *Greece*, from whence *Pythagoras* afterwards came.

BUT *Numa*, whatever Convictions he might have had of the Existence of the true God, yet did not cause him to be worshipped in *Rome*: nor did he ever abolish all the antient Superstitions. On the contrary, judging that the Number of the Festivals, and the Variety of the Heroes, consecrated by Religion, would be such an Amusement for the People, as would soften their Manners, and be instead of their military Occupations; he politickly adopted both the old *Alban* Ceremonies, which *Romulus* had brought with him, and those which the *Sabines*, who came with *Titus Tatius*, had afterwards introduced into *Rome*. Next was this all, he regulated those Ceremonies¹⁰, made them decent and orderly, and divided all the Ministers of Religion into eight Classes.

THE first were called *Curiones*¹¹, because they were the particular Priests¹² of each *Curia*: and as therefore there were thirty *Curiae* in *Rome*, so were there thirty *Curiones*.

Dion. Hal.
B. 2. p. 124.

THE second Class were the *Flamines*¹³, who took their Names from their Caps. They wore a sort of picked Bonnets, on the tops of which were Linc or Woollen Tufts of scarlet, which hung down on both Sides of the Head.



Monarchy in *Rome*. Secondly, *Pythagoras* kept his School at *Croton*, a City which was not begun to be built till the fourth Year of *Numa's* Reign. Thirdly, It is not utterly improbable indeed, but *Pythagoras* of *Samos* might have come into *Italy*: It is granted, that no other *Pythagoras* was known as a Man of great Reputation, but him of *Samos*; and that his Doctrine was not unlike that of *Numa*. But must we from thence conclude, that the Man who was not so much as his Co-temporary, was his Disciple? What gave occasion to invent many Fables concerning *Numa*, was, according to one *Clodius* in *Plutarch*, this; that the Acts of his Reign were burnt by the *Gauls* at the taking of *Rome*, and those Acts of it that remained in *Clodius's* Time, had been framed afterwards, in favour of some Men, who had falsely grafted themselves upon the most antient Families in *Rome*. And according to this then, we must suppose that the Historians, who are our Guides at present, wrote from false Memoirs. But who can know this? Again, *Plutarch* relates, upon the Testimony of some Authors, that another *Pythagoras* of *Sparta* won the Prize at the Races in the Olympick Games, about the sixteenth *Olympiad*; that he travelled into *Italy*, and that he, by his wise Counsels, made himself useful to *Numa*. But this *Pythagoras* either never existed, or at least never passed for a Philosopher.

10 If we believe *Dion. Hal.* *Numa* took care to digest and place in order the Laws and Ceremonies of Religion, in a Book, which he divided into eight Parts.

11 These *Curiones* were instituted by *Romulus*. Each *Curia* chose its own *Curio*. The Chief of the *Curiones* bore the Title of *Maximus Curio*. He was chosen by all the *Curiae* together. The

Curiones were charged with the Care of the Sacrifices, much in the same manner as the principal Magistrates, were in antient *Greece*; where they sacrificed in the *Prytaneum*, which is the Name the *Greeks* gave to the sacred Place, in which the People assembled. The Sacrifices which were offered to the Gods in the Temples of the *Curiae*, were called *Curionia*. Hence the Latin Expression *Æs Curionium*, which signifies, the Sums of Money, granted out of the publick Treasury, for defraying the Expences of these Sacrifices.

12 *Numa* instituted no bloody Sacrifices. He offered no Bulls or Sheep. He only caused Loaves and Meat to be presented to the Gods, and Libations to be made to their Honour, of Wine and Milk. At least *Plutarch* declares this. And because *Pythagoras* had likewise brought the same Ceremonies from *Greece*; therefore *Numa* was thought to have learned them from him. The Law this King made about Sacrifices, is this: *Deis fruge & mola salsa supplicando*. He suffered Wine to be used in Libations, but it was to be such Wine as had been drawn from Grapes, gathered from a Vine which had been pruned: *Diis ex imputata vite ne libato*. This was to encourage his People to prune their Vines, and cut them every Year. In Process of Time even the *Vestals* came to offer Victims.

13 *Plutarch* says, these Priests were first called *Pileamines*, from the Greek Word *πίλος*, or the Latin one *Pileus*, which signifies a sort of Hat which was peculiar to them. *Varro* derives the Word *Flamen*, a *filo quo caput cinctum erat*, from a Bonnet made of Wool or Flax, which the *Flamines* wore in hot Weather: but, according to others, the Word came from a Lincen Fillet

In *Romulus's* Time ¹⁴, there was a *Flamen* called *Dialis* ¹⁵, because he presided over the Worship of *Jupiter*; and another called *Martialis* ¹⁶, because consecrated to the Worship of *Mars*. To these *Numa* added a third, in Honour of *Romulus*, who had been deified, under the Name of *Quirinus*.

THE third Class consisted of those, who had been called *Celeres* in *Romulus's* Time, and had been his ¹⁷ Guards. *Numa* changed this military Body into a Company

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Fillet which they used to bind round their Heads. Hence, say they, comes the Word *Filamen*, and by Contraction *Flamen*. And some other Etymologists do likewise derive the Word from certain Strings, which, say they, the *Flamines* wore about their Heads, and were called by the Antients *Flame*, or from the Latin *Flammeum*, because this Part of the *Flamen's* Head-dress was of scarlet. It was almost in the Form of a Cone; and was for this Reason called *Apex*. This Bonnet was fastened under the Chin with Clasps, or two Strings, as may be observed in the Figure we give of it, from Medals. But *Servius* pretends, that upon the top of the *Apex*, there was a Tuft of Wool, which ended in a Point; and that the Bonnet was called *Apex* from thence. As to the Dignity of the *Flamines*, they were chosen by the People: after which, they received an Inauguration, or rather a sort of Consecration, at the Hands of the *Pontifex Maximus*, to whom they were absolutely subject. Their Ministry was confined to one particular God, whose Name they took. All other Priestly Offices were incompatible with the Title of *Flamen*; a Dignity which they held for Life, unless they were, for very great Reasons, deposed. In this Case, they were degraded, which the *Romans* called *Flaminio abire*. It was a Crime for the *Flamines* to appear in publick uncovered, or to offer Sacrifice bare-headed. *Val. Maximus* speaks of one *Sulpitius*, who was deprived of the Office of *Flamen*, for having let his Bonnet fall off whilst he was sacrificing. The Body of the *Flamines* did not form a Society or particular College, as the *Augurs* and *Pontifices* did: but they were summoned, and took their Seats as Judges, whenever an Affair was to be determined, the Cognizance of which belonged to the College of the *Pontifices*. *Tully*, *pro domo sua*, addresses himself to his Judges, thus: *Disce orationem Pontifices & vos Flamines*. In civil Life, the *Flamines* were tied up to several trifling Practices, which the Extravagance of Paganism had made sacred. Their Wives, who were called *Flaminice*, partook of the Priesthood of their Husbands, and shared with them the Care of the Sacrifices: as we learn from *A. Gellius*, and some of *Gruter's* ancient Inscriptions: and a *Flaminica* could not be divorced on any Account whatsoever. Death alone could separate a *Flamen* from his Wife; and upon her Death he lost his sacerdotal Dignity. Both had under their Care some young Girls and Boys, to assist in the Sacrifices. These sorts of *Acolytes*, whose Fathers and Mothers must be living, were called *Flaminii* and *Flaminie*. The Number of the *Flamines* was at first but three; afterwards they increased to twelve, and fifteen.

¹⁴ *Livy* will have it, that the three *Flamines* were created by *Numa*. But *Plutarch* on the contrary assures us, that *Romulus* had already instituted the *Flamen Dialis*, and the *Flamen Martialis*. And it's certain, that the Founder of *Rome* paid a particular Worship to *Jupiter*, and the God *Mars*, whom he gloried as his Father: which therefore inclines us to favour *Plutarch's* Opinion.

¹⁵ The *Flamen Dialis* was the most distinguished of any, both by the Pre-eminence of his Rank, and the God he served. The Engagements he entered into, as Priest of *Jupiter*, were inconsistent with his bearing civil Offices, which he could neither solicit, nor accept. But to make him

amends, he had the Privilege of being guarded by a *Lictor*, and wearing a magnificent Robe: to which were added the Honours of the *Curule Chair*. He was generally descended from a *Patrician* Family, as well as the *Flamen Martialis*, and the *Flamen Quirinalis*: and therefore these were called *Flamines Majores*, to distinguish them from the *Flamines Minores*, who were descended from *Plebeians*. The *Flamen Dialis* was subject to very troublesome Laws, the Particulars of which we have in *A. Gellius*. Among other things, he was forbidden to ride on Horse-back or cast his Eyes upon an Army drawn up in Battalia. It was unlawful for him to swear, and therefore his taking the Oaths appointed by the Laws, was dispensed with. His Word alone was a sufficient Testimony, according to that Form of Words used by the *Prætor*, which had the Force of a perpetual Edict: *Sacerdotem Vestalem, & Flaminem Dialect, in omni mea jurisdictione jurare non cogam*. He could not attend Funeral Solemnities, but with the utmost Precautions. To be absent but one Night from *Rome*, to touch a dead Body, and a thousand other Actions, which are in themselves indifferent, were thought to be so many considerable Faults in the *Flamen Dialis*. But in order to lighten this heavy Yoke, great Marks of Distinction were annexed to his Office. He wore a hollow or pierced Ring on his Finger; and he was placed uppermost at Feasts, unless the King of the Sacrifices was present, to whom he was obliged to give place. He had the Privilege of wearing the *Prætexta*, and sitting in the *Curule Chair* in the Senate: and only a Freeman could cut his Hair. In some Cases, the Respect shewn him was carried even to Superstition. Witness this Law: *Unguiam Dialis, & capilli Segmina, subiciat abstinere felleam, verba integuntur*. He appointed the Time of the Vintages, which he declared by sacrificing a young Sheep. His Bonnet was, by way of Honour, distinguished from that of the other *Flamines*. We find it represented in the ancient Monuments and Medals, under the Name of *Albogalerus*: and *Festus* says it was made of the Skin of a white Victim. Some modern Authors have falsely advanced, that no *Flamen Dialis* ever partook of the Honours of the Magistracy. To convince themselves of the contrary, they need only read *Tacitus Annal.* 3. and *Livy B.* 45. The former gives us the Instances of *Servius Maluginensis*, and *Merula*, who both obtained the Consulship, tho' they were then both *Flamines Diales*: and says, in the same Place, *Sæpe Pontifices Dialis sacra fecisse, si Flamen valetudine, aut munere publico, impediretur*. And *Livy* speaks of a *Flamen Dialis*, who exercised the Office of *Prætor*.

¹⁶ The *Flamen Martialis* was the second in Rank, among the *Flamines*. It was not lawful for him to go out of *Italy*, at least in the first Ages of *Rome*. We learn from *Livy* and *Val. Maximus*, that *Anulus Posthumus*, Consul and *Flamen Martialis*, could not get leave of *Cæcilius Metellus*, the *Pontifex Maximus*, to command the Roman Army in *Africa*. The *Flamen Quirinalis* was also subject to the same Law. *Livy*, *B.* 37. gives us an Instance of it in the Person of *Q. Fabius Pictor*.

¹⁷ *Dion. Hal.* tells us, that *Numa* made no Alteration in the Customs *Romulus* had established. And

Year of R O M E Company of Sacrificers, and consecrated those to Religion, whom his Predecessor had destined to War.

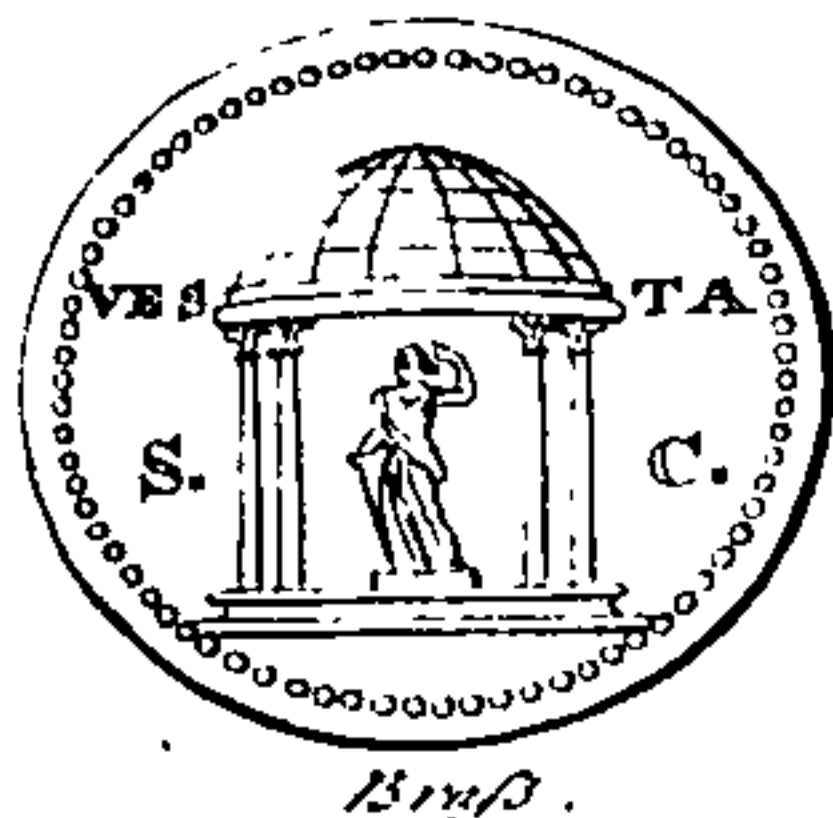
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Dion. Hal. B.
2. p. 125.

Dion. Hal.
ibid.

THE fourth Class consisted of those who were called *Augurs*¹⁸: but their Functions extended farther than the Name seems to imply. They did not foretel future Events by the flying or singing of Birds only: all sorts of Divination were within their Province. They interpreted Dreams; they drew Presages from several *Phænomena* both in the Heavens, and on the Earth, such as Monsters, Earthquakes, &c. and their Ministry was equally made use of by the Publick, and by private Persons.

THE *Vestals* made the fifth Class: tho' it is certain their Institution was older than *Numa*. Not to go farther back, *Rhea Sylvia* was a *Vestal*: and indeed, the Worship of *Vesta* was as old as *Aeneas's* Arrival in *Italy*¹⁹. The *Trojans* had brought it with them out of *Phrygia*: but *Romulus* in his Reign had a little neglected it, in *Rome*. For it was confined only to the *Cænacula*²⁰ of the *Curia*, in which the People publicly feasted on the Flesh of the Victims, which had been offered in Sacrifice. *Numa Pompilius* was the first who erected²¹ a particular Temple to this Goddess, under the Name of *Vesta Communis*. He built it between Mount *Tarpeius* and Mount *Palatine*: and therein caused a Fire to be kept always burning²², with the utmost Care and Vigilance; this Fire being considered



And it is therefore probable, that he kept up the three Companies of *Celeres*; not indeed for military Offices, as before, but as inferior Ministers who were to take care of the Sacrifices, under the Direction and Government of the *Tribunes*, who commanded this Militia, during the Reign of *Romulus*.

¹⁸ We have spoken of the *Augurs*, and explained their different Functions in another Place. The only Observation therefore necessary to be made here, is, that *Numa* did not institute any *Aruspices*: Nor ought we to be surprized at it: He did not introduce the offering up of Victims, or bloody Sacrifices, in the Worship of the Gods. They therefore who foretold future things, by the Inspection of the Entrails of slain Victims, had no Employment in his Reign.

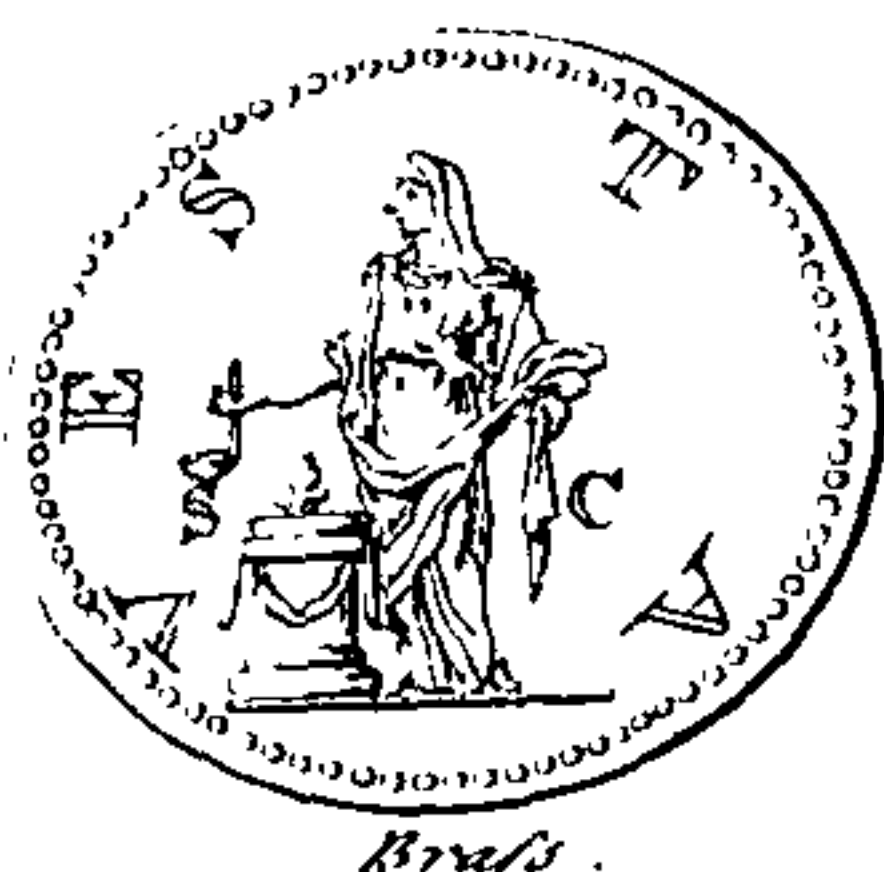
¹⁹ To what has been already said of *Vesta*, let us here add, that it's credible the Antients understood by *Vesta*, the whole World, or the Universe to which they attributed a Soul, and which they looked upon as the only Divinity, sometimes under the Name of τὸ πᾶν, and sometimes under that of μὶνρας, that is to say, of *Unity*. This was the mystical Signification of *Vesta*, though the Vulgar worshipped her as the Goddess of the Earth and of Fire. And with a View to represent the Universe, under the Name of *Vesta*, *Numa Pompilius* built a round Temple in Honour of this Goddess: under which Form, the Temples of this Goddess are still represented in Medals. In the midst of the Temple *Numa* placed the Altar of the sacred Fire, which was ever burning, out of a Persuasion, that the proper Region of Fire was the Centre of the World. In all probability, this King did not think the Earth immovable, but fancied it was always rolling round the Fire; that is, the Sun, which he thought placed in the Centre of the Universe. And *Plato* embraced this Opinion towards the End of his Life; as did *Pytha-*

goras, and his Disciples. So that, if we believe *Plutarch*, who relates all these Facts, and makes *Numa* to have lived before *Pythagoras*, we must acknowledge, that the System which has since been adopted by *Copernicus*, was known in *Italy*, so early as in the Days of *Numa Pompilius*.

²⁰ We learn from *Dion. Hal.* that *Romulus* neither built any Temple, nor consecrated any Virgins to *Vesta*. He contented himself with erecting a Chapel, and placed a sacred Hearth in each of the thirty *Curia*, where they paid their Worship to *Vesta*, in common, as the *Greeks* in their *Pytaneum*.

²¹ *Dion. Hal.* says here, that *Numa* was the first who built a Temple to *Vesta*, and consecrated a certain Number of Virgins to her. But he says in another Place, that *Tatius* had erected a Temple to the same Goddess. And in order therefore to reconcile these seeming Contradictions, we must either say, that the Historian only means, that *Numa* built the first Temple, in which the sacred Fire was appointed to be kept, under the Care and Direction of *Vestals*; or else that the Temple erected by *Tatius*, was only a little Chapel, which did not deserve the Name of a Temple.

²² The keeping up of a sacred Fire had always been a Part of Religion, in different Nations. The Fire shall ever be burning upon the Altar, saith the Lord, it shall never go out, Lev. vi. 13. Such a Fire was preserved in the Temples of *Ceres* at *Mantineia*, of *Apollo* at *Delphos* and *Athens*, as in that of *Diana* at *Ecbatana* among the *Persians*. *Setinus* committed the Care of the sacred Fire to the Temple of *Minerva*, and of the Statue of *Pallas*, to a Society of young Women. The *Magistrates* were charged with keeping a Fire always burning on Altars erected in the middle of those Temples which *Strabo* calls πυρᾶδρις. A Lamp was always burning in the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*. And, if we may believe *Diod. Siculus*,



Brass.



Brass.



Brass.

considered by the *Romans*, as equally sacred in itself, and in its Extinction fatal to their Republick. The Care of supplying and preserving it, was committed by the King to four *Vestals*, whose Names were *Gegania*, *Verenia*, *Canuleia*,

and *Tarpeia*. So that *Numa*, tho' a *Sabine*, had yet more Regard for these Remains of the *Trojan* Religion, than *Romulus*, who was descended from *Æneas*. Nevertheless, *Romulus* is said to have had his Reasons for not instituting this College of Virgins in *Rome*, which had been established ²⁴ in *Alba* before his Time. At first, his Colony wanted Women; and afterwards, he was afraid lest the Faults of the *Vestals* should call to Remembrance *Rhea Sylvia*, his Mother. But *Numa* thought it his Duty to establish them ²⁵; and he

this Custom came from the *Egyptians* to the *Greeks*, and from them to the *Romans*. The latter made it the principal Part of their Religion. They so far made the Safety and Fate of *Rome* to depend on the Preservation of the sacred Fire, that they thought the Extinction of it foreboded the most terrible Misfortunes. So that *Vesta* was looked upon by the *Romans*, as one of the tutelary Deities of their Empire, agreeably to these Lines in *Virgil*;

*Dii Patrii indigetes, & Romule Vestaque Mater;
Que Tuscum Tiberim & Romana palatia servas!*

And we find the Footsteps of this Superstition in several Medals. Sometimes *Vesta* is represented on them, under the Symbol of a quick Fire burning on an Altar. At other times she is represented sitting, to denote the Stability of the Earth, holding the *Palladium* in one Hand, and a lighted Torch, or Sceptre, or a sort of Pike, in the other: and sometimes she is seen standing with the *Sympullum* in her Hand, and in the Posture of a *Vestal* making Libations on a Fire, as in the Medal above. *Tully*, *B. 3. de Nat. Deorum*, speaks also of an Image erected to *Vesta*, in the same Place where *Q. Scævola* the *Pontifex Maximus* had been massacred: and some other Medals have this Inscription: *VESTA P. R. QUIRITIUM—VESTÆ MATRI*; either because the earth is the common Mother, or because *Vesta* was considered by the *Romans* as the Mother and Protectress of *Rome*. In this Sense *Mars* is called *Pater—Gradiusque Pater*.

²³ In the Medal of *Julia*, the Emperor *Severus*'s second Wife, we see a Temple of *Vesta*, and four *Vestals*, watching in the sacred Fire.

²⁴ *Livy*, *Dion. Hal.* and *Plutarch* agree, that there were *Vestals* in *Alba* before there were any in *Rome*. *Alba oriundum Sacerdotium*, says *Livy*. And tho' we shall hereafter see *Alba* destroyed in the Time of King *Tullus Hostilius*; yet the Worship of *Vesta* will not be entirely abolished there.

It subsisted amidst the Ruins of that City. Only the *Vesta* which was continued to be honoured at *Alba*, was called *Vesta Minor*; as if she had given place to the *Vesta* of *Rome*: And in this Sense we are to understand this Verse of *Juvenal*,

Ignem Trojanum & Vestam colit Alba Minorem.

²⁵ Authors tell us nothing of the Forms observed in the Choice, and Consecration of the *Vestals*: only *A. Gellius* tells us, that the *Pontifex Maximus* was commanded by the *Papian Law* to chuse out among the People twenty young Women, whose Fathers were Freemen and of good Reputation, and make them draw Lots. She, on whom the Lot fell, became subject to the Power of the *Pontifex Maximus*, who took her away from her Parents: and then he made her free from their Authority, and confined her to the Temple of *Vesta*. But afterwards, the *Vestals* were received by the Consent of, and barely upon being presented by, the Father and Mother. *A. Gellius* has preserved the following Form of Words, which the *Pontifex Maximus* used at the Reception of the *Vestals*. *Sacerdotem Vestalem, quæ sacra faciat, quæ Jovis fiet, Sacerdotem Vestalem facere pro populo Romano Quiritium, ut ei quæ optuma lege fuit, ita te Amata capio.* The Name *Amata* was made use of, in the Form, according to the same Author, because she who had been the first that was taken from her Family, bore this Name. The new *Vestal*, after the Ceremony of her Reception was over, cut off her Hair; which was afterwards hung up upon a Tree, which both the *Greeks* and *Latins* call *Lotos*. From that time, she became her own Mistress, and was no longer under the Tuition of her Parents. I have said, they were chosen from among the People, because it was not always necessary that they should be of *Patrician* Families. We sometimes find even the Daughters of those who had been made free, among them. *Numa* gave them an Endowment out of the

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he gave them Rules and Privileges. All Sort of Commerce with Men was not indeed forbidden them; they were permitted to receive Visits from them by Day ²⁶, but by Night none but Persons of their own Sex were suffered to come into their Apartments. They were obliged to strict Continence for thirty Years; the ten first of which were employed in learning the Ceremonies of Religion ²⁷, the next ten in the Performance of them, and the ten last in teaching them to the younger *Vestals*. After this, they were permitted to lay aside their Ornaments, quit their Office as Priestesses, and marry ²⁸. But as these late Marriages were observed not to be very happy, few of them left their old Profession, even after the Time of their Ministry was expired. And they found themselves well compensated for the Restraints of their Condition, by the Honours that were annexed to it. They never appeared in publick, but attended by the *Lictors*, as the Kings were ²⁹. If they accidentally met a Criminal going to Execution, he was immediately pardoned ³⁰. It was a capital ³¹ Crime

to

the publick Money, that being free from the Cares of Life, they might be the more at leisure to apply themselves to sacred Offices: And it will appear in the Course of this History, that they heaped up great Riches, by the many Endowments and Legacies which were given them. And then, they no longer appeared in *Rome*, without a magnificent Train of Attendants. If the *Consuls* or *Prætors* met them, they were obliged either to turn another Way, or to lower their *Axes* and *Fasces* to them. They had the Precedence wherever they came. The Senate, in respect to the Holiness of their Office, commanded that Seats of Distinction should be provided for them at the Sports of the *Circus*, the *Shews*, and even in the *Amphitheatre* of the Gladiators. Nay, the *Vestals* afterwards enjoyed the Honours of the *Capitol*, that is, they had a Right of being carried to the Temple of *Jupiter* in a Chariot; which was an Honour done only to them, and the *Empresses*, or *Emperors Daughters*: and they were also buried within the City; which was a Privilege granted to none but the greatest Personages in the Republick and Empire. Their principal Duty was to keep up the sacred Fire, and to offer up continually their Prayers and Vows for the Prosperity of the *Romans*. They were the Guardians of those sacred and mysterious things, which were kept with great Care in the inner Part of the Temple of *Vesta*, as the most valuable Pledges of the Duration of the *Roman Empire*. A Sight of these secret Monuments was denied to all the World.

Nullique aspecta virorum
Pallas, in abstracto pignus memorabile templo.

Lucan.

But these Mysteries were really nothing else but the *Palladium*, or the Images of the *Samothracian Deities*, which *Aeneas* brought to *Italy* from *Troy*. Besides which, *Pliny* speaks likewise of another Divinity which was worshiped by the *Vestals*, as the Protectress of Children, and of Generals of Armies: And some think, there were two mysterious Vessels like Tuns kept in the Sanctuary of the Temple of *Vesta*, one of which was empty and open, the other shut and full.

²⁶ *Dion. Hal.* expressly tells us, that Men were not only forbidden to enter into the Habitation of the *Vestals*, but also into the Temple of *Vesta* it self, in the Night-time. This Verse therefore of *Ovid*, which he has not confined enough, is to be understood only of the Night,

Sacra vir intrabo non aduunda viro.

It's certain some Men were admitted into the Temple of *Vesta* by Day. Both *Nero* and *Piso* were, according to *Tacitus*. And *Dion. Hal.* says expressly, that the Temple of *Vesta* was open to every Body in the Day-time, especially on *Vesta's* Festi-

val. It was then opened in an extraordinary manner, so that the *Romans* could go in to the very Place where the Sacred Things were kept; which nevertheless the *Vestals* did not suffer to be seen, but under Veils.

²⁷ The *Vestals* were chosen from six to ten Years of Age; beyond that Age none was admitted among them. Their Number at first was but four. Afterwards *Tarquin the Elder* added two more to them: Which Number was never increased, whatever *St. Ambrose* may say to the contrary, who reckons seven. We see but six *Vestals* on the Medals of *Faustina* and *Lucilia*. *Plutarch*, who lived in *Trajan's* Time, reckons but six. One of them was superior to the rest, and called *Vestalis Maxima*, probably because she was the oldest.

²⁸ The *Roman Laws* permitted the *Vestals* to marry after thirty Years Service. *Prudentius* laughs at a *Vestal* who married very old:

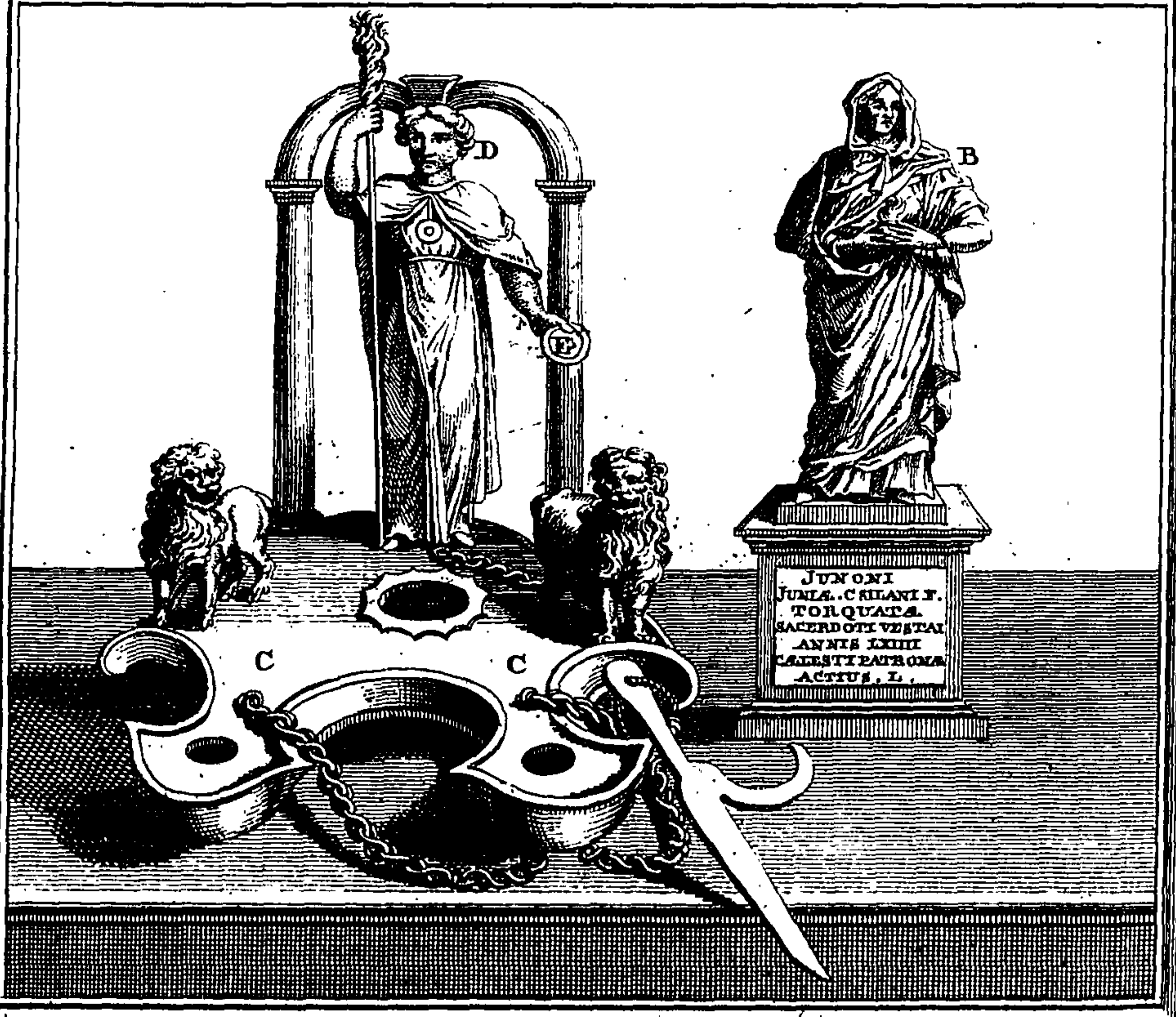
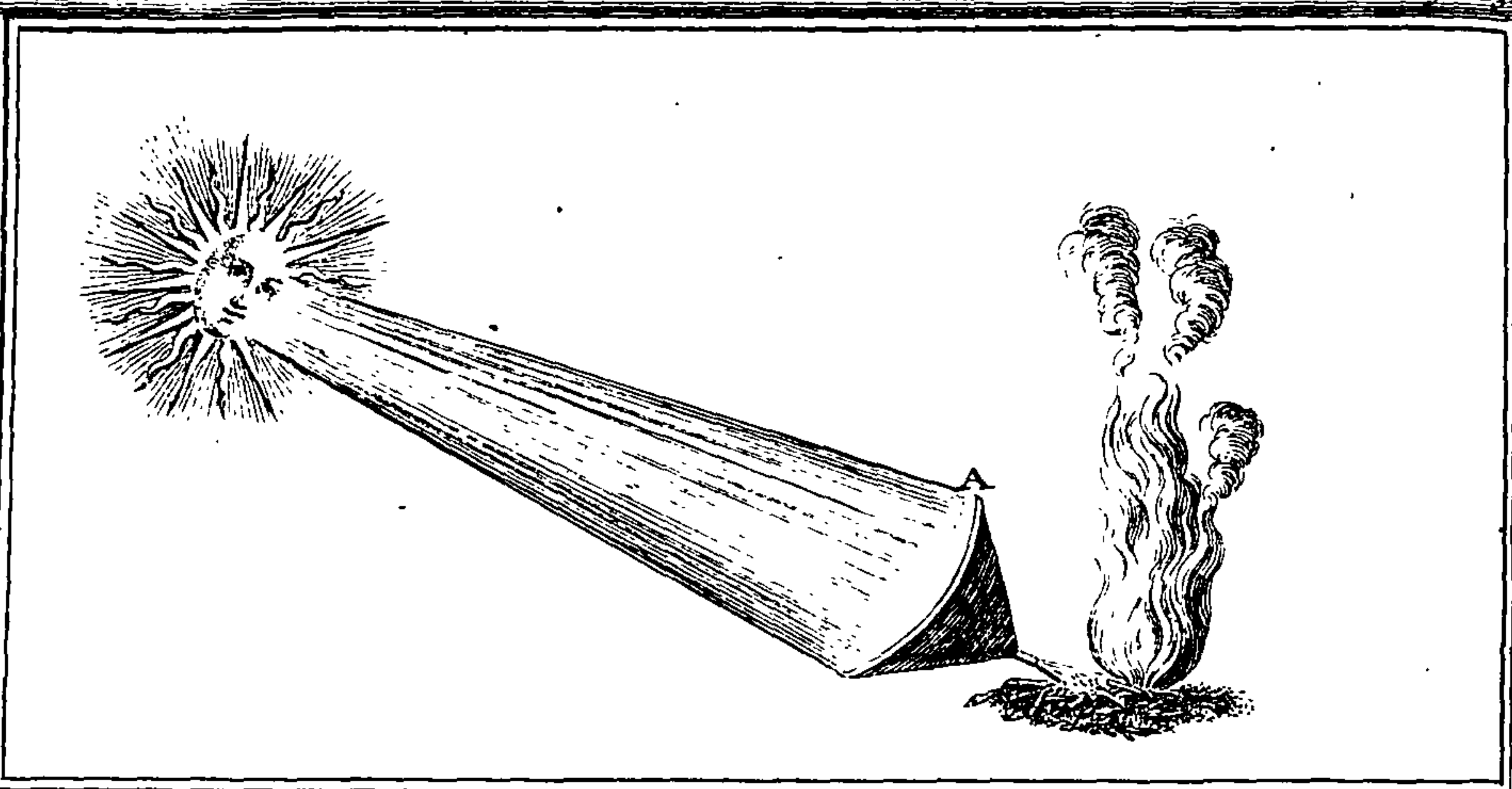
Nubit anus veterana sacro defuncta labore.

But if the Text of *Dion. Hal.* be not corrupted, the Law was not so severe against *Vestals* in *Rome*. They were only obliged to Conincence for five Years, *πενταετούς*, says this Author, speaking of *Rhea Sylvia*. But *J. Lipsius* thinks, with Reason, that it ought to be read, *πεντηκονταετούς*; that is, that they were obliged to continue in the Service of *Vesta* for fifty Years. Thus *Livy*, speaking of the same *Rhea Sylvia*, says she obliged her self to a perpetual Virginity, *Perpetua Virginitate spem paritui ei ademptam*. We here give the Reader the Figure of a *Vestal* of sixty four Years old, from an antique Marble.

²⁹ It is *Plutarch* who gives the *Vestals* *Lictors* so early as *Numa*: But he may be mistaken. *Dion. B. 47.* refers the Custom of causing the *Vestals* to be attended by *Lictors*, to the Time of the *Triumvirate*; and tells us the Occasion of it. A *Vestal*, says he, as she was coming home by Night, was ravished: And then the *Triumvir* thought it proper to order a *Lictor* always to attend them.

³⁰ *Plutarch* adds, that the *Vestal* was obliged to swear that she came thither by Accident, and not designedly; tho' the *Vestals* were not forced to swear before the Judges on any other Occasion. This Privilege of pardoning Criminals was afterwards granted them, by the Edict of a *Prætor*, which, according to *A. Gellius*, had the Force of a Law: And their bare Words were taken in Law-suits, according to *Tacitus*, *Ann. B. 2.*

³¹ We have translated the general Word *οπισθίον*, which *Plutarch* uses in this Place, by *litter*. And indeed, *St. Ambrose*, in his Book against *Symmachus*, mentions the *Vestals* as having *Litters*; *Pompa lecticæ ministrorum circumfusa comitatu*. But *Prudentius* gives them another Sort of Carriage, which he calls *Pilentum*; and *Tacitus* pretends they rode in a Chariot, which he calls *Carpentum*: And



A. A brazen Vase made to collect the rays of \odot Sun, in order to renew the Sacred Fire. B. Vestal, 64 years of Age. C.C. A Lamp consecrated to Vesta. D. An Image of Vesta representing Fire by \odot Burning Torch she has in her hand; and representing the Earth, by the two Lions at her Feet, and the Flower with which she is crowned. E. A Patera, or vessel made to catch the Blood of \odot Victims offered up in Sacrifice.

to enter into the Litters in which they were riding. At what Age soever they were admitted *Vestals*, they were immediately Mistresses of their own Fortunes³², without either Trustee or Guardian. And lastly, they had a Right of making their Wills, even in their Fathers Life-time.

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BUT then, as the Honours done them were great, so their Faults were not suffered to go unpunished³³. The least Levity in them, the smallest Neglects in their Office, were tryed by the *Pontifices*, and at their Command punished with Severity. That Punishment especially, which was inflicted on them for prostituting their Honour, had something in it inexpressibly terrible³⁴. The whole City was in a Consternation at it, and the Sight was indeed very mournful. The Offender was carried in a Litter, swathed so tight as to be deprived of the Use of her Voice, and wrapped up in Cloths cross the *Forum*, and thence thro' the *Colline Gate*, to the Place where she was to be buried alive³⁵. Her Friends and Relations walked before her in Tears, in the same Order as in a Funeral Procession, till they came near to a little Vault, in which she was to end her Days. Care had been taken to set up a little Bed in the Vault, and leave a Lamp burning in it, with a little Provision: And the *Pontifex* read some³⁶ Prayers over her, with a low Voice; but without the Lustrations and other expiatory Ceremonies which were used for the Dead. This done, they let her down into the Vault³⁷, and bricking up the Entrance, covered it with Earth.

To suffer the sacred Fire to go out, was also an unpardonable Piece of Negligence in the *Vestals*³⁸. The whole City was alarmed at it, and thought it foreboded their approaching Ruin. Fresh Fire was brought into the Temple³⁹ of *Vesta*, after many Purifications; and the *Pontifices* examined into the Causes

Dion. Hal.
B. 2. p. 128.

And all these Carriages bore some Resemblance to our Coaches. It sometimes happening that young loose Fellows leaped into the *Roman Ladies* Coaches to insult them; a Law was therefore made, that it should be capital to be guilty of offering such an Indignity to the *Vestals*.

³² If they were but six Years old, says *Sozom.* B. 9. of his *Eccles. Hist.* they had a Right to make their Wills. The Law freed them from all Paternal Jurisdiction. According to *Dio*, B. 55. they enjoyed, from the Moment they were consecrated, all the Privileges of those Mothers of Families, who had born their Husbands three Children.

³³ According to *Livy*, B. 4. and *Seneca*, B. 6. of his *Controversies*, to give themselves loose Airs, to discourse with Men in a tender Manner, to affect too great a Conformity to the World in their Dress, or to make Poems or Verses, were great Faults in *Vestals*. *Seneca* says, a *Vestal* was accused for having made this Verse,

Fœlices Nuptæ! moriar, nisi nubere dulce est.

The *Pontifices* only were their Judges: Nevertheless, in capital Cases they left the secular Judge to pronounce the Sentence. But this was only in the latter Ages.

³⁴ As soon as Sentence of Death was pronounced against the Criminal, the *Pontifex Maximus* degraded her from her Priesthood: And her Slaves were examined by Torture, in order to get more Light into the Crime for which she was condemned. On the Day of Execution, the *Pontifex Maximus*, followed by the other *Pontifices*, went to the Temple of *Vesta*, and there stripped her of her Ornaments, to clothe her in a mourning Habit.

³⁵ *Festus* and *Livy* tell us, that the Place where the *Vestals* were buried, was from thence called *Campus Sceleratus*.

³⁶ According to *Plutarch*, *Quæst. Rom.* the Priests came every Year to the Place appointed for the Punishment of the *Vestals*, and there offered Sacrifices, which was probably to appease the Gods, who were provoked by the Crimes of those who had been condemned.

³⁷ It is very uncertain, whether this Punishment of burying the *Vestals* alive, was appointed so early as *Numa*. It is more probable, it did not take Place till the Reign of *Tarquin the Elder*. Nevertheless, the most antient Law we have against the incestuous *Vestals*, is related by *Festus*, in these Terms: *Probrum Virginis Vestalis ut capite puniretur, vir qui eam incestuavisset, verberibus necaretur*: And this Law seems to have been made by *Numa*. The guilty *Vestal* was, as *Cato* reports, fastened to the Porch of the Temple of *Liberty*, and there burnt to Ashes. But it does not appear by the Law it self, how she was to be put to Death. *Cicero* even says that in *Numa's* Time they were only stoned. *Tarquin the Elder*, who added two *Vestals* to the College, invented the Punishment of burying the guilty *Vestals* alive; but he continued to punish her Accomplice in the Incest, in the same manner as *Numa* had appointed: Which, according to *Zonaras*, was, to fasten him by the Neck to a forked Stake, in the middle of the *Forum*, and beat him to Death.

³⁸ A Law, which we have in *Tully's 2d B. de Legib.* obliged the *Vestals* to keep a perpetual Fire: *Virgines Vestales in urbe custodiunt ignem foci publici sempiternum*. *Festus* adds, that when a *Vestal* suffered it to go out she was punished by the Hands of the *Pontifex*, who, out of Modesty, struck her thro' a Veil. Her Punishment was whipping, and she was treated as a Slave. The six *Vestals* took their Turns of watching and taking Care of the sacred Fire, by Night.

³⁹ This new Fire might be kindled two Ways. 1st. *Festus* says, by rubbing two Pieces of Wood one against another. 2^{dly}. *Plutarch* adds, that the *Vestals* did not light the sacred Fire again with common Fire: They first made use of such a brazen Vessel, as is here represented after *Justus Lipsius*, and afterwards of a burning Glass, which collecting the most pure Rays of the Sun, upon some combustible Matter, put it in a Flame. *Ovid* and *Macrobius* say, that the sacred Fire was renewed every Year on the first of *March*.

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of this wicked Neglect, that it might be punished with Severity. By this Mixture of Honours and Punishments, did *Numa Pompilius* at once settle Order and Regularity among the *Vestals*, and procure them Veneration and Respect in *Rome*.

NUMA.

Dion. Hal.

THE sixth Class of Priests established by *Numa* ⁴⁰ was the *Salii*. Their Origin must be carried up as high as *Evander*, who brought a Company of Musicians from *Arcadia* into *Italy*; the chief of whom was named *Salius*. Their Office at first was only to sing at the Sacrifices: But it was afterwards changed to dancing to the Sound of the Flute, in Honour of the *Genii*, on whose Favour Success in War depended. *Numa Pompilius* took hold of an Opportunity that offered, to re-establish this Company, and make it sacred, by changing it into a religious Order. In the eighth Year of his Reign a Pestilence ravaged *Italy*, and spread it self to *Rome*. Then Fear made the People yet more superstitious, and *Numa* left no Artifice untried, whereby he might improve these favourable Junctures to the Furtherance of his Views with respect to Religion. He caused a Meadow near *Rome*, and a Spring that rose in it, to be consecrated to the *Muses*. At this Spring he ordered the *Vestals* to draw all the Water with which they sprinkled their Sanctuary ⁴¹; and it was believed in the City, that the King came hither to converse with the *Muses*, and the Nymph *Egeria*: Whereas in reality, all the Conversation which he had with them, was allegorical. For he went thither to read; there he composed Books of Morality, Politicks, and Magick, the greatest Part of which he ordered to be buried with him. And it was in these rural Retreats, that he invented a Stratagem whereby to gain still more Authority among his People. He made them believe that a Shield of an extraordinary Make ⁴² fell down from Heaven into his Apartment, and that the Nymph *Egeria* had told him, that the Prosperity of *Rome* depended upon its Preservation. For Fear then that so precious a *Depositum* should be stolen, and that it might be the more difficult to know it, he ordered a skilful Workman, named *Mamurius* ⁴³, to make eleven more exactly like it. Which twelve Shields were hung up in the Temple of *Mars*, and twelve young *Romans* taken out of good Families in *Rome*, were appointed to be the Guardians of them. The Name of *Salii*, which was given them, was antient, and agreeable to their ministerial Offices; for the Descent of the miraculous Shield, to which the stopping of the contagious Distemper was

⁴⁰ What I say here, of these *Salii*, that they had their Rise from *Evander*, who brought them into *Italy*, is a Conjecture well grounded. *Virgil* makes some of these *Salii* to have been with *Evander*, and their Business then was only Musick, and not Dancing: *Tum Salii ad cantum*, says he. And it is well known he does not always speak as a Poet, especially concerning the Antiquities of his own Nation. He often took his Account of them from historical Traditions. Nay, which is more, *Dion. Hal.* says, that *Evander* brought one *Salius* with him out of *Arcadia*. Which gives me room to believe, that the Word *Salire*, had its Origin from *Salius*, the Head of these Singers, who afterwards danced to their Songs. It's true, *Plutarch* contends, that the *Salii* took their Name from the Verb *Salire*; but he says it without Proof. If we would have Recourse to a more distant Origin of these Dances, in which they kept Time on brass Pans, we might say, with *Dion. Hal.* that they came from *Crete*, and were borrowed from the *Curetes*, who were also called *Corybantes*. They might, notwithstanding this, have been brought from *Crete* to *Arcadia*, from whence *Evander* carried them with him into *Italy*.

⁴¹ The Maintenance of the sacred Fire was not the only Business of the *Vestals*; the Care of the Fountain of the *Muses*, which was in the Meadow where *Numa* met the Nymph *Egeria*, was also committed to them. *Symmachus*, B. 1. Let. 14. says, that the *Vestals* had the Care of the Worship of the *Muses*, and of the Fountain dedicated to them: *Etiam Camenarum religio, & sacri fon-*

tis adnectitur. So that the *Vestals* presided over the Worship of the three principal Elements, of which the Globe we inhabit is compounded, viz. Earth, Water and Fire.

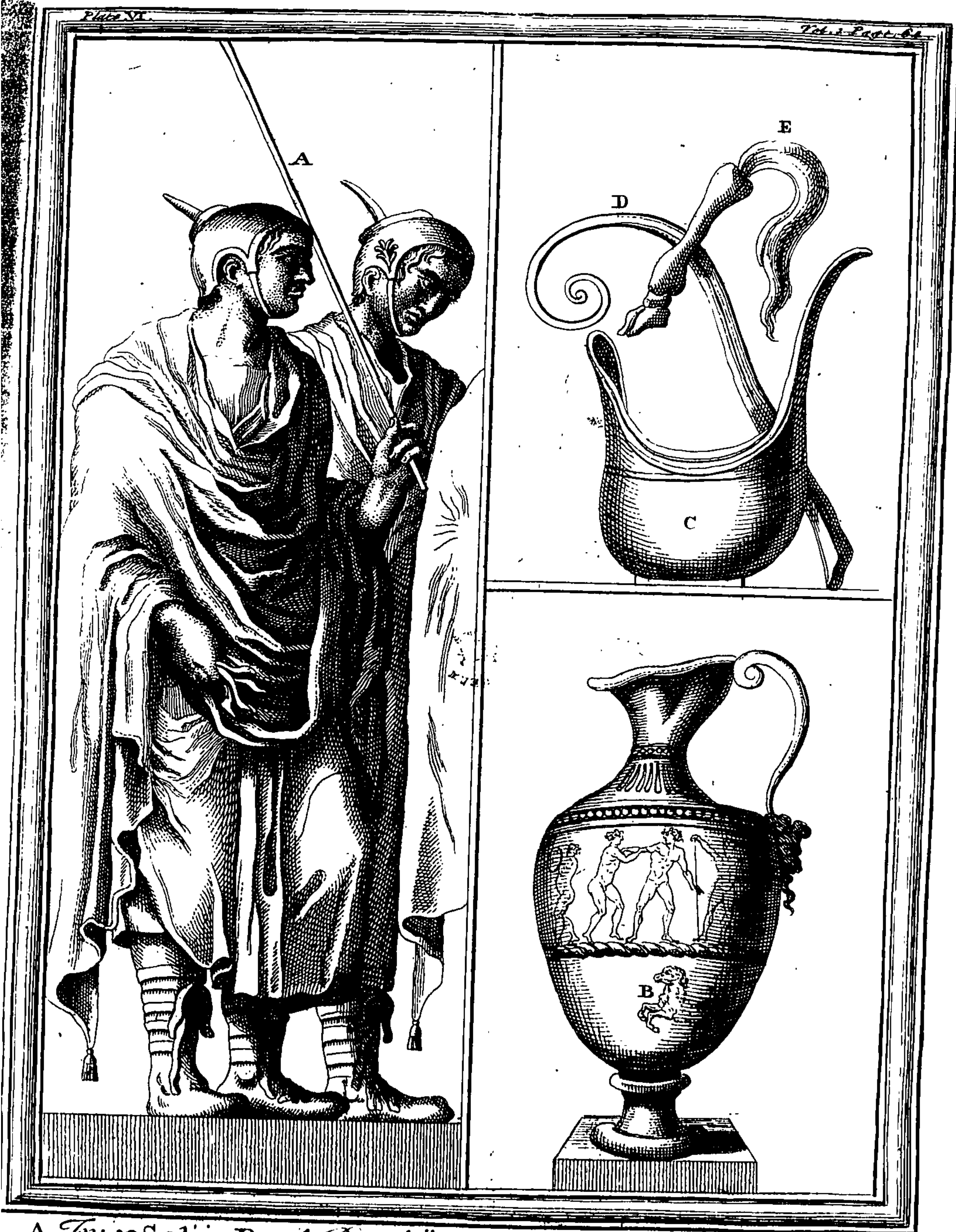
⁴² These Shields were called *Ancilia*: The Origin of which Word is much disputed. *Joh.* the Historian derives it from the Word *ἄγκυρα*, which signifies crooked. These Shields were indeed sloped in a Curve Line, and had neither the oval nor the square Figure of common Shields. Some likewise conjecture that their Name may come from the Word *ἄγκυρα*, which signifies the Elbow, because they were worn on the Arm, and covered the Elbow. *Plutarch* guesses at several other Greek Etymologies: But why must we have Recourse to the Greek, to account for a Word that is purely Latin? If I may be allowed to guess in my Turn, why might not I say, that *Ancilia* comes from a *caelo*, because the Shield was thought to fall down from Heaven?

⁴³ This *Mamurius* made his Name immortal at *Rome*. The only Reward he desired for his Work, was to have his Name inserted for the future in the Songs that were annually composed in Honour of the Festival of the sacred Shields. This *Ovid* tells us in his *Fasti*, in these Words;

*Inde sacerdotes operi promissa vetusto
Præmia persolvunt, Mamuriumque vocant.*

The same Poet gives us an Account of the Fall of the sacred Shield, which is somewhat different from that above.

ascribed,



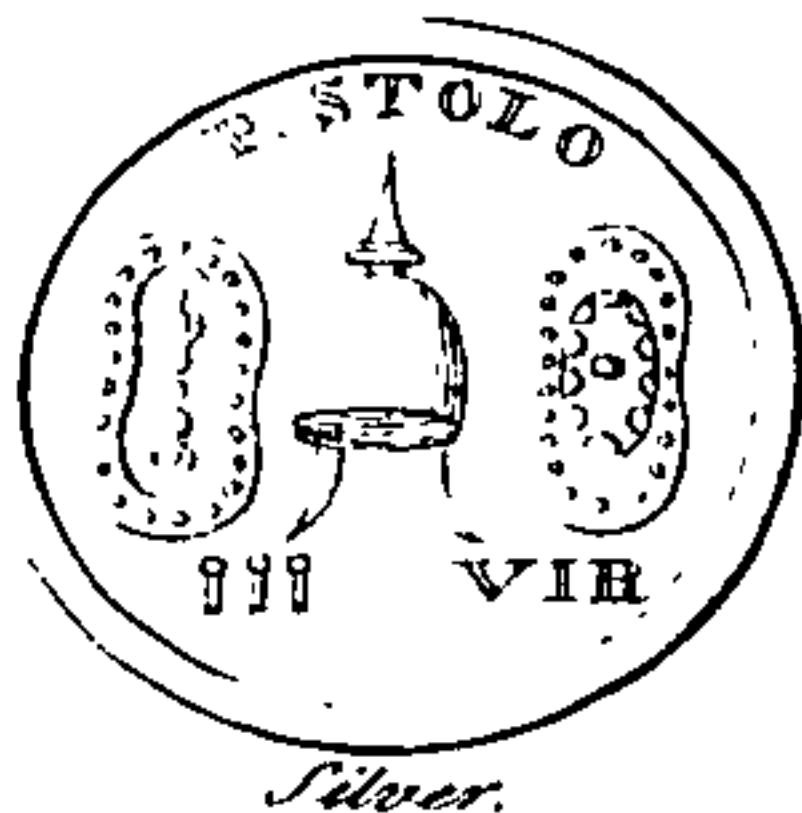
A. Two Salii. B. A Pontifical Vase for Sacrifices. C. A Simpulum, for catching y^e blood of y^e victims. D. The Augural Staff. E. The Sprinkler, for sprinkling y^e Lustral water.

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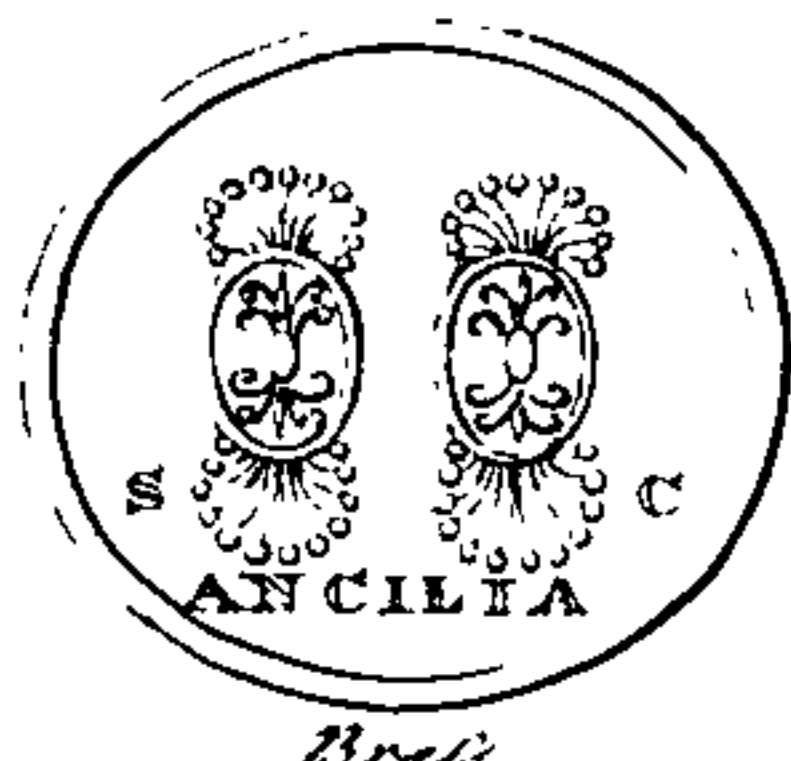
ascribed, was annually celebrated on the first of *March* 44, by publick *Dancings*. The twelve *Salii* then marched out of the Temple in good Order, each carrying one of the sacred Shields on his left Arm 45, and a Javelin in his right Hand. They were dressed in Habits striped with large Purple Stripes, and girded with broad Belts, or rather, adorned with brazen Breast-plates; and wore Helmets, or high Bonnets on their Heads, which terminated in a Point, instead of a Tuft of Feathers. As they marched, sometimes they sung in 46 Confort, and sometimes they danced, to the Sound of Instruments, martial Entries, which they knew how to diversify 47 agreeably enough. Sometimes one only danced, who was called *Præsul* 48, was the Head of the Company, and both led the Dances, and regulated them. Sometimes they all joined together, and diverted the Spectators with their martial Attitudes, and their quick and lively Motions. They were most especially expert in marking the Cadences, by beating Time on their Shields with their Javelins. In the Choice of the *Salii*, *Numa* would have these two Rules observed: 1st. That they should be Natives of *Rome*, and free-born 49. 2^{dly}. That their Fathers and Mothers should be alive. By this Means he made sure of their Fidelity, their Parents being their Security.

Aurel. Victor.

THE seventh Class among this great Number of Men, dedicated to Religion, were the *Feciales*; whose Employment being of Importance to the State, and their Authority great, and for Life, Care was taken to choose them out of the most illustrious Nobility. Whether *Numa* borrowed this Institution from the 50 *Ardeates*, or from the 51 *E-*



Silver.



Brass.

44 The Festival lasted several Days. During which, the first *Romans* were scrupulous of undertaking any serious and important Affair. It was not then lawful for them to marry, or undertake a Journey, or any military Expedition. They thought Actions of this Nature, at a Time dedicated to Religion, so many profane and unlawful Distractions, which would have a fatal Issue; *Quod antiquitus infustum habetur*, says *Suetonius*. In the latter Ages, the *Romans* shook off the Yoke of this Superstition, and became less scrupulous. The *Salii* ended all these Days of Ceremony with Repasts, at which nothing was spared. It is in this Sense that *Tully* uses the Words, *Saliarem in modum conare*, to signify a splendid Entertainment.

45 *Dion. Hal.* represents the *Salii*, with a Lance or Wand in their Hands, a Scymiter at their Sides, and either carrying the mysterious Shields themselves, or making their Slaves carry them. He compares what they wore on their Heads to those Sorts of Tiaras or pointed Hats, which the *Greeks* call *Gurbasia*, and the *Latins*, *Apices*; the Shape of which you have in this Medal. He adds, that their Robes were fastened up by Clasps, that they might dance with the more Freedom and Ease. *Livy* gives the *Salii* only an embroidered Tunick.

46 The *Salii* put into their Songs the Praises of the illustrious *Romans*, and of those to whom they had a mind to do Honour. They sung Hymns in Praise of the Pagan Divinities, and among others of *Mars*, *Minerva*, *Janus*, and *Jupiter Lucetius*; that is to say, the Author of Light. Nor were any of the other Divinities forgotten in these Sorts of Songs, except *Venus*, whose Name it was not lawful for the *Salii* to mention. As they celebrated the several Pagan Gods in their Turns, the Verses they sung on these Festivals were called *Jannalii*, *Junonii*, *Minervii*, &c. from the Name of the Divinity which was the Subject of their Songs. Several of these Hymns were composed by *Numa*; and were preserved to *Tully's* Time. But the Language of them was so obscure, that

according to *Quintilian*, the *Salii* themselves found it difficult to understand them. *Horace* frankly acknowledges, they were a Riddle to him:

*Jam saliare Numæ carmen qui laudat, & illud
Quod mecum ignorat, solus vult scire videri.* Ep. B.2.

The ancient Grammarians were much puzzled about explaining these Pieces of Verses.

47 The *Salii*, that their Dances might be the more graceful, and have the more Variety, had young Girls to dance with them all the time of the Festival; who were called *Virgines Saliaæ*. They were dressed like the *Salii*, only with some little Difference. *Festus* gives them a warlike Habit, such as the *Chlamys*, or *Paludamentum*, of the old *Romans*.

48 Besides the *Præsul*, the *Vates* was also distinguished from the rest. He gave the Key, and led the Musick. The most honourable Function was that of *Great Master* of the College of the *Salii*, who inspected their Conduct. He only had the Right of consecrating, and degrading them, if they behaved themselves ill. *Capitolinus*, speaking of *Mark Antony*, says, *suit in sacerdotio Saliorum & Præsul, & Vates, & Magister, & multos inauguravit, atque exanguravit.*

49 It was necessary to be of a *Patrician* Family, in order to be admitted into the College of the *Salii*. The exact Age of those who were admitted, is not known. It's true, *Marcus Aurelius* was received at eight Years old; but it's probable this was an extraordinary Privilege granted to him only, and no Rule for others.

50 The *Ardeates* inhabited the ancient City of *Ardea*, the Capital of the *Rutuli*, which was thought one of the first Colonies of *Latium*. There is to this Day a little half-ruined Village, three Miles from the Sea, and sixteen from *Rome*, which bears the Name of *Ardea*.

51 The *Equi*, or *Eqnes*, inhabited a little Country in *South-Italy*, which was bounded to the North by the *Sabines* and *Marfi*; to the East, by the *Hernici*; and to the West, and a little Southward, by *Latium*.

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qui in *Italy*, who had a well-constituted Government, is uncertain. But it is at least probable, that he was not so much the Founder as the Restorer of them *Rome*; and a War, with which this pacifick King was threatened by the *Fidenates*, was what occasioned his thinking of this Establishment. Notwithstanding the Revolt of *Fidena*, and the Robberies committed by its Inhabitants, on the *Roman* Lands, *Numa* thought himself concerned to attempt an Accommodation by Treaty, before he had Recourse to Arms. The better therefore to ascertain the Equity of the War he was going to undertake, and the Justice of all such as *Rome* should for the future engage in; he established a Council, and consecrated it by Religion: thereby to give Weight to all his Enterprizes. So that the *Feciales* were in some measure the Arbiters of War and Peace⁵²: Their first Business was to hinder the *Romans* from committing any Hostilities on the Lands of the Nations bordering upon *Rome*, till all Means of an amicable Accommodation had been first tried, and all Hopes of succeeding thereby failed. Their next Office was, to go to the Aggressors, to demand Satisfaction for the Injuries *Rome* had received from them; to give them Satisfaction in all their just Pretensions; to examine into the Causes of the Infractions of Treaties to preserve them inviolate on their Part; to deliver up such as had broken them, into the Hands of the Offended; to maintain the Law of Nations, with respect to the Persons of Ambassadors; to make void Treaties of Peace, if not regularly made; to punish the Officers of the Army, for their Want of Equity, and Fidelity in their Promises; and lastly, to proclaim War against untractable Nations, after they had first denounced the Curses of the Gods against them. And nothing could be more solemn than the Ceremonies used by the *Feciales*, in their Deputations. When one of them had been chosen by the College, under the Name of *Pater Patratus*⁵³, they gave him a magnificent Habit, and made him carry a sort of Sceptre, or *Caduceus*, in his Hand, to distinguish him from his Collegues. In this manner he went out of the City: And when he arrived at the Enemy's Frontiers, he called *Jupiter* and the other Gods to witness, that he came only to demand Justice, in Behalf of the *Roman* People. Then he advanced into the Country of the Aggressors, and took a second Oath, that he would say nothing at the Place where he was deputed to go, but what was true, and demand nothing but what was equitable. He told the first Stranger he met, that he had taken these Oaths, and then went on towards the City, where he was to proclaim War. As he entered it, he repeated the same Oaths at the Gate, in Presence of the Officer who was upon Guard, or at least of some of the Inhabitants. From thence he went on to the Place of publick Concourse, and there declared the Reasons of his coming. This done, he demanded a Conference with the Magistrates: And if they submitted to Reason, and delivered up to him the Persons who had been guilty of the Insult offered to *Rome*, he carried them away with him, and departed in Friendship with the threatened City. If they demanded Time to deliberate, he gave them ten Days; and, when they were expired, ten more; and so on to thirty. But if they refused him the Justice he demanded, in thirty Days, he called the Gods of Heaven and Hell to witness against them; and forthwith declared, that he was going to make his Report at *Rome*, where it would be considered of at Leisure. Upon his Return to the Senate, he declared, that he had performed all the Duties of his Office, and that nothing hindered *Rome* from declaring War⁵⁴; and then was the Time for the Senate to come to a Resolution. But before these Formalities, which were looked on as sacred, had

⁵² We find a Law in *Tully*, which shews the Functions of the *Roman Feciales* in very few Words: *Federum, pacis, belli, induciarum, Oratores Feciales Judices duo sunt, bellaque disceptant*. But tho' *Tully* reduces the *Feciales* to two in Number, it is certain their College consisted of twenty Persons. Perhaps this Law speaks only of the two *Feciales*, who were deputed to go together, and declare War, or conclude a Peace, or settle the Terms of a Truce. But the *Feciales* had not this Authority long. Their Power was reduced to nothing under the Emperors. In the first Ages, the College of the *Feciales* chose its own Members: afterwards, the People assumed to themselves the Right of electing them.

⁵³ No Persons were ever deputed to treat of Peace or War, but such, whose Fathers were living, and who were themselves the Fathers of several Children. And from hence comes the Name of *Patres Patrati*,

i. e. *Fathers in reality*, [or perhaps, *Fathers who had Fathers*] according to *Plutarch*; who adds, that this Law was a Political Invention of *Numa*. This King thought, that a Man who had a Father and Children alive, would be the more inclined to be faithful to his Country, and promote its Interests.

⁵⁴ If the Senate determined to declare War, the *Fecialis* returned to the Enemy's Country; and, in the Presence of three Witnesses, who were arrived at the Age of *Puberty*, declared the Cause of the War. After which he committed the first Act of Hostility, by throwing a bloody Javelin: and at the same time uttered this Form of Words, which *A. Gellius* has preserved: The *Hermondulian* People, and those of that Country, have offered Violence to the *Roman* People, who for that Reason declare War against them. The Name *Hermondulian* is of no determinate Signification, and was then universally applied to all Nations.

been performed, it was neither lawful for King, nor Senate, military Tribunes, nor subaltern Officers, to attempt any thing against the Enemy. In this manner did *Numa*, perhaps a little at the Expence of his own Authority, put a Check to the too great Warmth which the *Romans* had hitherto shewn, in following rather the Suggestions of their Ambition, than the Rules of Equity, in declaring War. It's probable, the *Fidenates* preserved themselves by this means from the Resentment of the *Romans*⁵⁵; and had a Respect for the Piety of King *Numa*.

THE eighth, and most venerable of all the different Bodies consecrated to Religion, was the *Pontifices*⁵⁶. The Origin of their Name is pretty uncertain, but their Functions gave them great Authority in *Rome*. They were at once both the Heads, the Judges, and the Avengers of Religion⁵⁷. All Decisions concerning sacred Ceremonies were within their Province. It belonged to them to establish Laws concerning the Decency of Divine Worship; to cause the antient Customs to be observed; and to prevent the Introduction of foreign Deities, and superstitious Rites. It was their Business to determine Controversies concerning Matters of Religion, as to the Time and Order of Sacrifices, as well publick as private, and concerning the Truth as well as Signification of Prodigies. The *Pontifices* appointed the Funds, for the great Number of Victims which they sacrificed, for the Expences of the Solemnities, and the Decorations of the Temples. They appointed the Festivals, nominated the Temples in which they were to be celebrated, and the Kinds of Oblations that were to be made in them. They determined what Works should be permitted, and what forbidden, on the Festival-Days, both in City and Country. They kept an exact Register of the inferior Priests, and, generally speaking, of all the subordinate Ministers who were employed about the Sacrifices. From their Tribunal were given the Answers to all Doubts concerning Divine Worship, and the Judgments against sacrilegious Persons, and all that broke their Laws. It belonged to them to regulate Funeral-Pomps, and to fix the Time of Mourning; which, generally speaking, was ten Months⁵⁸: And a Widow could not marry again till after that time. The *Pontifices* had likewise a President over them, with the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*. Some say, the King reserved this eminent Function to himself: and others, that he chose to entrust it with *Numa Marcius* his Relation. And afterwards the *Pontifices* became possessed of a Power of filling up the vacant Places in their College⁵⁹, independently of both King and

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& Dio.

⁵⁵ *Dion. Hal.* from whom I have taken this Piece of History, does not say expressly, that the *Fidenates* escaped the War: he only strongly insinuates it in general Terms. According to him, *Numa Pompilius* made no War.

⁵⁶ Most of those who have written on the *Roman* Antiquities, derive the Name of the *Pontifices*, from the *Pontes*, or *Bridges*, the Repair of which were committed to their Care. And indeed the two Words *pontem facere*, which make that of *Pontifex*, seem to imply it. Besides, Bridges were then thought sacred. The most solemn Sacrifices were performed upon them. The Bridge called *Sublicius*, (because of Wood, and built upon Piles) was esteemed particularly sacred. It was said to have been built, pursuant to the Directions of an Oracle, which forbade the Use of Iron in the building it, and commanded that the Parts of it should be joined together with wooden Pins. But *Plutarch* finds fault with this Etymology of the Word *Pontifex*. He says, this Word was in use at *Rome* before there were any Bridges here. This wooden Bridge it self, which was the first that was built at *Rome*, and called *Sublicius*, was of late date, as to be the Work of King *Ancus Marcius*, *Numa's* Grandson: whereas the Word *Pontifex* was in use so early as in *Numa's* Time. *Plutarch* therefore gives another Derivation of the Word *Pontifex*; he derives it from the Word *Potnis*, which, in old *Latin*, signified *powerful*, or *absolute Master*: publess, either because the *Pontifices* were themselves very *powerful* in *Rome*, or because they were the Ministers of the *powerful* Gods. Some Authors, *Quintus Scævola* in particular, derive this Name from the two Words, *potis* and *facere*, understanding by the Word *facere*, to sacrifice Victims. Others again derive it from hence, that the *Pontifices* had

Power to do what they pleased, and their Authority, in Matters of Religion, was boundless. To which *Lucan* seems to allude, when he addresses himself to the *Pontifices*, thus:

Pontifices sacri quibus est permissa potestas.

⁵⁷ From *Numa's* Time, down to the middle of the fifth Century after the Foundation of *Rome*, there were but four *Pontifices*. Afterwards, at the Request of the People, who were desirous of sharing the Honours of the Priesthood with the *Patricians*, four others of *Plebeian* Families were added to them. To these *Sylla* added seven more; so that their Number came up to fifteen. *Tully*, *pro domo sua*, reckons sixteen; and gives the three last the Title of *Pontifices minores*: which diminutive Term *minores* was used, according to some, only to distinguish the *Plebeian Pontifices* from the *Patrician*, who, say they, were called *maiores*. But all things being well considered, it's certain, that as well the *Patrician*, as the *Plebeian Pontifices*, were all called *Pontifices minores*, except the supreme *Pontifex*, who bore the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*. To prevent multiplying of Plates, we have thought proper to join the Symbols of the *Pontificate* and *Augurate* together, as they are represented on Medals, and antient Monuments.

⁵⁸ For this *Ovid* and *Plutarch* are our Vouchers. They say, that the general Time of Mourning, especially for Women who had lost their Husbands, was ten Months. The Reason of which was, that *Romulus's* Year consisted of but ten Months. If a Woman married before the Time of her Mourning was expired, the *Prætor* declared her infamous, unless she had had leave from him.

⁵⁹ It will appear in the latter Ages of the Republick, that the People claimed the Right of chusing the

Year of and People. Whence it is easy to guess with what Earnestness the Honours of the Pontificate were sought⁶⁰; since it freed Men from all Taxes⁶¹, entirely exempted them from Punishment, and made them utterly independent on any other Tribunal.

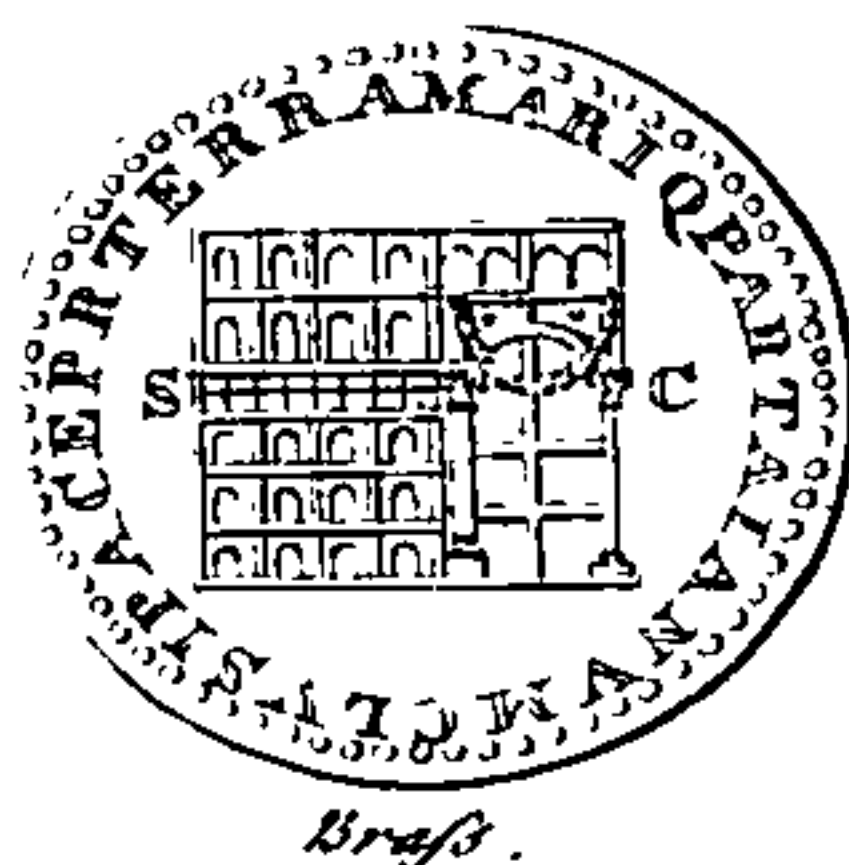
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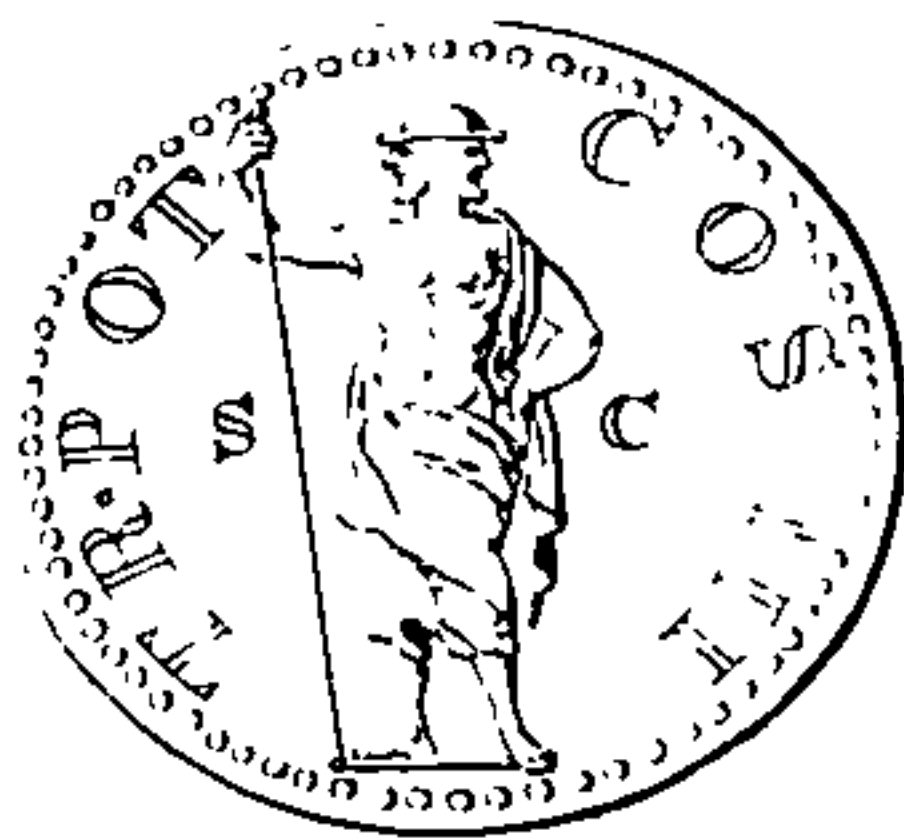
NOR was a Prince, thus diligent and careful in settling Order and Subordination among the several Degrees of the Priesthood, less so in erecting Temples: And he decreed particular Honours to that of⁶² *Janus*, out of politick Views. He thereby intended to put a Check to the too lively Temper of the *Romans*, who often precipitately engaged themselves in Wars, on very slight Occasions. A Temple dedicated to *Janus*, the Symbol of Prudence, which looks backwards and forwards, and considers both the Causes and Consequences of Things, appeared to *Numa* a sufficient Barrier, to stop the over-hasty Hostilities of his People. The Foundations of it were already laid in a Part of the City called *Argiletum*⁶³; and *Numa* commanded, that its Gates should be shut in time of Peace, and opened only when War was going to be declared, and then with great Ceremony. By which Means he gave his People time to recollect themselves, before they gave way to their Passions.

⁶⁴ THE Altar that *Numa* caused to be erected to *Fidelity*, (under the Name of *Bona Fides*) was also another Monument of his Wisdom. He did not think Treaties could be inviolable, unless sanctified by the Religion of an Oath. He therefore made *Fidelity* a Goddess, and decreed her Sacrifices at the publick Expence⁶⁵, tho' her Worship was equally unknown both to the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*. So

that



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the inferior *Pontifices*: for as to the *Pontifex Maximus*, he seems to us to have been always chosen by the People, assembled in their *Comitia*. At least, we find Instances of this kind in *Livy*, especially in B. 25. at the very time when the inferior *Pontifices* were chosen by the Pontifical College. The *Pontifex Maximus* was also generally taken out of the other *Pontifices*. The Emperors assumed this Dignity from *Octavian's* time; and the Christian Emperors continued to bear this Title, down to the Time of *Gratian*.

⁶⁰ The *Pontifices*, especially the *Pontifex Maximus*, partook of the Honours and Privileges of the Magistracy. They sacrificed wearing the *Prætexta*, and with the *Apex*, or *Galerus*, on their Heads.

⁶¹ In *Tully's* time, the *Pontifices* were not absolutely out of the reach of the Power of the People. Of this we have a Proof, in his Oration, *pro domo sua*, where he answers *Clodius* in these Words: *Pontifex non adfuit! Non te pudet, cum apud Pontifices res agatur. Pontificem dicere collegium Pontificum non adfuisse, præsertim cum Tribunus plebis vel denuntiare potueris, vel cogere.*

⁶² *Livy* leaves it uncertain, whether *Numa* built the Temple of *Janus*, or no. *Dion. Hal.* and *Plutarch* say nothing of it. What *Varro* tells us, as quoted by *St. Austin*, is most probable. He says, that *Romulus* caused the first Temple of *Janus*, *Rome* ever saw, to be erected, after the Treaty was made between him, and *Titus Tatius*; and that he gave this God two Faces, to shew, that at *Rome* two Kings reigned at the same time, and two Nations were united, and become one. All *Numa* did, was to make the People reverence the Temple of *Janus*, which was already built. He commanded it to be kept shut in time of Peace, and open in time of War. And one of *Nero's* Medals shews, that this Custom always continued. And we likewise see a *Janus bifrons*, or with two Faces, on one of *Antoninus's* Medals.

⁶³ This Place lay between the great *Circus*, and the Hill *Aventinus*. It was formerly a Wood, which

took its Name from an *Argian*, whom *Evander* caused to be condemned to death, because he would have murdered him. *Evander* built a Tomb for him there, to shew his own Regard and Love for Hospitality, tho' the *Argian* had broken thro' all the Laws of it. This Quarter was afterwards inhabited by Bookfellers; as we learn from *Martial*, who addresses himself thus to his Book:

Argiletanas mavis habitare tabernas.

⁶⁴ *Dion. Hal.* and *Livy* are for me in this, against *Tully*; who pretends, B. 2. de *Nat. Deor.* that *Calpurnius* dedicated the Altar of *Fidelity*. Perhaps he only repaired it. Or perhaps a new one was erected on the *Capitol*, as *Tully* seems to say in his third Book of *Offices*. As for *Numa*, he, according to *Livy*, built his near the Fountain of the *Muses*, in the Valley whither he said he went to converse with the Nymph *Egeria*.

⁶⁵ *Livy* adds, that *Numa* appointed two *Flamines* to preside over the Sacrifices which should be offered in this Temple. He commanded these two Priests to come to it at certain Times, in a Chariot, with an arched Top, and drawn by two Horses. He made it a Law for them to offer Sacrifice with their right Hand wrapped up in a Cloth. He signified by this mysterious Ceremony, that the right Hand is the Symbol or Mark of Faithfulness; and that we can never keep our Word too religiously, when we have once given it. It is probable these were not the *Flamines* already spoken of, who were engaged in the Service of one particular Divinity, and no other. And that therefore *Livy* here means the Priests of the *Curia*, whom *Festus* calls *Flamines Curiales*. As these were, by their Office, to offer Sacrifice in the Name of the People, it was more proper for them, than for any others, to have the Care of preserving the publick Faith. The *Latin Historian* assures us likewise, that *Numa* appointed for particular Sacrifices, certain Quarters of *Rome*, which

that Oaths by the Name of this Goddess became common in *Rome*; and from hence arose a mutual Confidence and Security in Commerce, and in all Conventions, Promises and Contracts whatsoever. In all buying and selling, and other Contracts made without Witnesses, the universal Recourse was to the Altar of *Fidelity*. The People were afraid of being perjured at it; and the Magistrates often settled perplexed Contests, by Oaths which they called *ex fide*: So much Regard had they for this new Deity.

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AND the same Spirit of Equity made *Numa* introduce other Gods also, under the Name ⁶⁶ of *Termini*. In *Romulus's* Time, neither the Lands of each particular *Roman*, nor the *Roman* Territory in general, with respect to the neighbouring Nations, had any settled Limits. The Strong made Encroachments on the Weak without Scruple, and a Recourse to the Judges was too weak a Barrier against Usurpations. But Religion supplied this Defect. *Numa Pompilius* commanded that every one should set Bounds to his Estate: And then Stones dedicated to *Jupiter Terminalis* became venerable throughout the whole Country. To dare to remove or carry away these Boundaries, was Sacrilege. The Prophaner of them was from that Moment devoted to the *Manes* ⁶⁷, and proscribed; and it was lawful for any one to kill him. It was even thought a Sort of Expiation, to rid the Earth of him. And in order to make these Limits yet more inviolable, a Festival was established in Honour of the *Dii Termini*, called *Terminalia* ⁶⁸. The private Proprietors of Lands assembled every Year on the Confines of their Estates, and there made their Offerings; not indeed of bloody Victims, for none such were offered up in *Numa's* Time, but of Milk, and the first Gatherings of their Fruits and Harvest: And the same Honours were paid to the publick *Limits* of the *Roman* State, under the same Name of *Dii Termini*. By this means *Numa* rectified the Disorders that had proceeded from *Romulus's* Ambition. This warlike King was afraid, lest by fixing Bounds to his Dominions, he should have put such Restraints and Shackles upon himself, as he should not be able fairly to shake off. Whereas *Numa* thought it his Duty to confine himself within his *Limits*, which he respected himself, and caused to be respected by his Neighbours. Thus did he make Religion, nay Superstition it self, serviceable to the Purposes of Equity; and only introduce new Kinds of Worship for the sake of the publick Good.

Plutarch.

§. IV. THIS Reformation of Religion was followed by an Improvement of the Laws. In *Numa's* Reign many of the *Romans* wanted Business. *Romulus* had employed them in continual Wars: His Successor was embarrassed with a Soldiery whom the Exercise of Arms had accustomed to plunder, and who were now become idle. He therefore dispersed them abroad in the Countries which his Predecessor had conquered, and left uncultivated; distributing the Lands among them, and making them their Property. By this means the Soldiers still continued to accustom themselves to Labour as before; and their Exercises in Time of Peace were no less laborious than in War. *Numa* therefore thought it advisable to form them into Villages, at certain Distances, and to appoint a Head over each, to visit them: To whom he gave the same Power over them, which the Officers in the Army had over their Soldiers. It was the Business of these Superintendants, to

*Dion. Hal.
B. 2. p. 135.*

which the *Pontifices* called *Argei*; in all Appearance from the Name of *Hercules's* Companions who came with him from *Argos* into *Latium*. And *Varro* reckons up no less than twenty seven Quarters in the City of *Rome*, in which Chapels had been built, that were called *Argei*.

⁶⁶ The *Dii Termini* were invented by *Numa*. They were, in his Time, nothing more than square Stones, or Pots, to which a religious Worship was paid. Afterwards, they were adorned with Statues representing human Figures, were crowned with flowers, and rubbed with Perfumes. *Ovid* speaks of them thus:

*Nam veneror, seu stipes habet desertus in agris,
Seu vetus, in trivio, florida ferta lapis.*

⁶⁷ *Festus* gives us *Numa's* Law, which makes it capital Crime to dishonour the *Dii Termini*; that is, to remove the Land-marks, or Plough beyond

them. *Numa Pompilius statuit eum, says he, qui Terminum exareffet, & ipsum & boves sacros esse.*

⁶⁸ The Festival of the God *Terminus*, was fixed to the End of *February*, because as the Year then began with the first Day of *March*, the End of *February* was the *Terminus*, or End of the Year. This Festival was celebrated in the Country. *Plutarch* says, no Animal was sacrificed to the *Termini* in *Numa's* Time: Which is not at all surprizing, because no bloody Victim was offered up to any God in his Reign. After him, Lambs and Pigs were sacrificed to the *Dii Termini*; according to *Ovid*,

*Spargitur & caso communis Terminus agno
Nec queritur lactens cum sibi porca datur.*

The two Owners of two Fields, divided by a common *Terminus*, crowned the *Terminus* with a common Crown.

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take Care of the Manner in which they cultivated their Lands, and having a watchful Eye over these Husbandmen, to encourage them when diligent, and punish them when slothful. Each of these was to make a Report to the King of the Progress of Agriculture in his District; and according to that he regulated their Punishments, or Rewards. He often advanced the industrious Husbandmen to the first Dignities in the State; and by their OEconomy in the Management of their Farms, judged of their Capacity for publick Affairs: Hence those *Dictators* who were taken from the Plough, to sit at the Helm of Government, in the most difficult Times. Thus were the *Romans* taught to make a just Profit of their Labour, and rather take lawful Usury from the Earth, than aggrandize themselves by Conquests, at the Expence of their Lives, and often at the Expence of Justice.

BUT the Master-piece of *Numa's* Policy, was his Distribution of the Citizens of *Rome* into distinct Bodies of Tradesmen. The City had hitherto been divided into two Factions, occasioned by the Union of the *Sabines* with the first *Romans*: And nothing could be more dangerous than such a Division of it, as it were, into two Bodies of different Nations. Hence arose the Dissentions of the *Interregnum*, and an inexhaustible Source of Discord. *Numa Pompilius* therefore, remedied the Inconveniences of the old Government, by a new Division; and abolished the very Names of *Tatians* and *Romulists*. All the Artists and Tradesmen, of what Nation soever they were, entered into these distinct Bodies, every one according to his Profession. The Musicians had the first Rank; which was, doubtless, because they were made use of in the Offices of Religion, and contributed to the Pomp of the Sacrifices. The Goldsmiths, Carpenters, Curriers, &c. formed particular Companies. The meanest Trades were ranked in different Classes, to whom *Numa* gave Statutes, and granted Privileges: And all had a Right of making By-Laws among themselves, provided they did not turn to the Disadvantage of the Publick. Each of these Communities was permitted to hold Lands, to have a common Treasury, and to commit the Management and Care of it to a common Head, or Syndick; and in short, to become a Sort of little Republick. They had their own Festivals, and particular Sacrifices. By this means, the *Sabines* and *Romans*, when intermixed in the same Societies, became one People; and forgot their antient Partialities, in order to employ their whole Care and Concern for the Interest of that common Body of which each was a Part.

§. V. ANOTHER Thing to which *Numa* applied himself, was to explain or reform the Laws of *Romulus*. Thus as the Founder of *Rome* had given Fathers an unlimited Power over their Children; his Successor set Bounds⁶⁹ to it. He thought it unjust that a married Son should still continue a Slave to his Father; and that the Father should have a Power of disposing of his Life, or selling him, as he pleased. The Woman that married him, said *Numa*, thought her self united to a Free-man; whilst in reality he was no more than a Slave, and dependent on the Humours of his Father. The Severity of the Law was therefore moderated, and it was limited in Point of Time; viz. that the Son should be in the Power of his Father only before Marriage.

It appearing likewise that the *Romans*, before *Numa Pompilius's* Time, carried their Mourning Dresses, ⁷⁰ and their Funeral Poms to Excess: This Prince therefore confined them within their proper Bounds. He forbid the burying or burning any Bodies, within the Walls of *Rome*. He would not suffer Sepulchres to be erected in publick Places. He condemned magnificent Funeral Piles, and the Use of costly Beds ⁷¹, and too rich Perfumes, at Funerals. He forbid the washing the

⁶⁹ *Lipsius* expresses *Numa's* Law in these Terms: *Si filius-familias uxorem duxit, patri vendundi ejus ne ultra jus esto.*

⁷⁰ The Mourning Habits of the *Romans* were black. They might, during the Time of Mourning, lay them aside, on some Occasions; as, when they sacrificed to *Ceres*, or upon the News of some happy and glorious Event to the Republick, or when a Family was honoured with any of the superior Magistracies, or on the Days of a Triumph, and extraordinary Festivals.

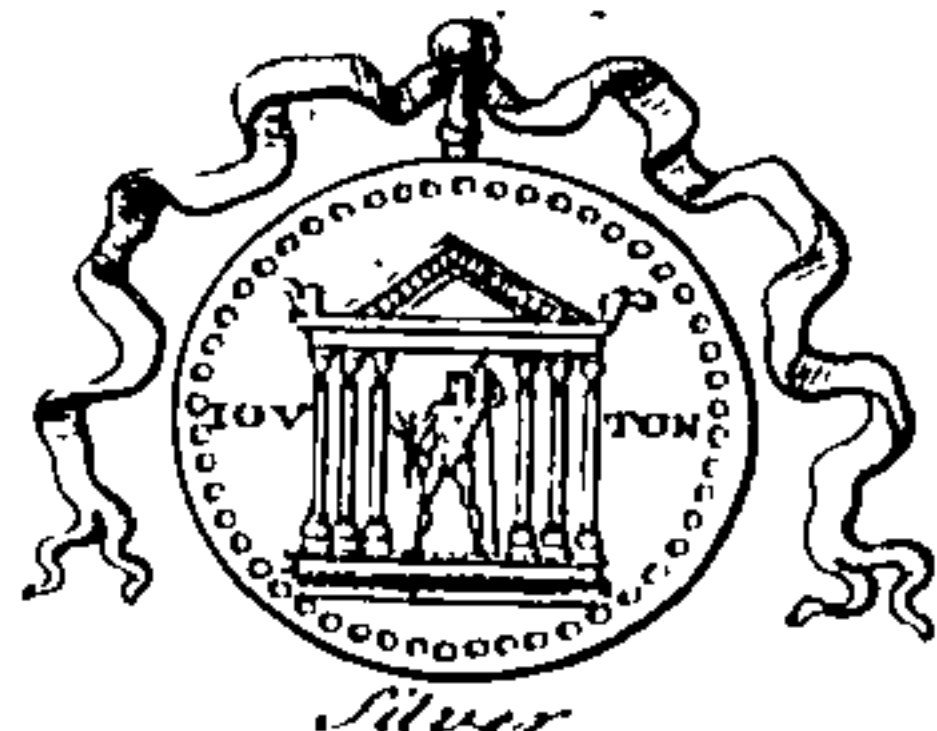
⁷¹ The dead were antiently carried on Funeral-Beds, which were adorned with Flowers and Crowns. And when Luxury prevailed, the *Romans* took a Pride in multiplying these Beds, adorning them in a costly manner, and exposing the Images of the Ancestors of the dead upon them, to make the Procession the more stately and magnificent. We shall have frequent Occasion to mention these Funeral Poms, in the Course of this History.

Bones of the dead with Wine⁷², and made the Train of Mourners that attended them to leave off their Lamentations. He would suffer none of the dead to be adorned with Crowns⁷³, but such as in their Life-time had deserved them. He forbad the Women the mad Custom of tearing their Faces⁷⁴, after the Death of their Children or Husbands: He limited the Time of a decent Mourning to ten Months. And lastly, he commanded, ⁷⁶ that such Persons as were struck dead with Lightning should be buried immediately⁷⁷, and without any Pomp.

AND as the second King of *Rome* had made Religion his main Business, he enacted some Laws concerning it, which subsisted in *Rome*, in Part at least, ever after. *Let none appear, says his Law, in the Presence of the Gods, but with a pure Heart, and sincere Piety. Let none then make a vain Skew and Ostentation of their Riches, but fear lest they should thereby bring on themselves the Vengeance of Heaven. Let no one have particular Gods of his own, or bring new ones into his House, or receive strange ones, unless allowed by Edict. Let every one preserve in his own House the Oratories established by his Fathers, and pay his domestick Gods the Worship that has always been paid them. Let all honour the antient Gods of Heaven, and the Heroes whose Exploits have carried them thither, such as Bacchus, Hercules, Castor, Pollux and Quirinus. Let Altars be erected to the Virtues which carry us up to Heaven; but never to Vices.* He took Care to fix the Festival-days, and to make a List of them, according to the Calendar; and lastly, he determined what Sort of Presents should be offered to the Gods.

NEVERTHELESS, the Reformation of the Civil Laws took up a great Part of *Numa's* Care and Application. In order to maintain the *Roman* Ladies in the Modesty they professed, he forewarned them against the Breaches of it by his Laws. He made Incest a Crime against Religion⁷⁸, the Cognizance and Punishment of which was reserved to the *Pontifices*. He forbad Prostitutes to enter into the Temple of *Juno*. He preserved married Women in the Privileges *Romulus* had given them, but kept them to the Love of Modesty. He separated them from all publick Affairs; insomuch, that a Woman having appear'd in a Court of Justice, and pleaded her own Cause, it was looked on as one of those Prodigies which foreboded Danger to the State, and whose ill Omen ought to be averted⁷⁹ by Expiations. It's true, he permitted Husbands to lend out their Wives, after they had had Children by them. It was a Sort of temporary Divorce, in Favour of those whose

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⁷² *Numa* abolished the Custom of extinguishing the Fire of the Funeral Pile, in which a dead Body had been burnt, and of washing the Bones, with Wine. The Law run thus: *Vino rogum ne respergito.*

⁷³ The Law was this: *Coronas nisi virtute paratas, non imposito.*

⁷⁴ This mad Custom had prevailed a long time in *Italy*. *Numa* banished it by this Law: *Mulieres genas ne carpunto.* For so it ought to be read; and not, *radunto.*

⁷⁵ We have nothing to add to what has been already said, of mourning no longer than ten Months, but the Law it self. Which was as follows: *Ultra decimum mensem luctum ne protrahito.*

⁷⁶ *Sextus Pompeius* gives us this Law of *Numa's* in these Terms: *Si hominem fulmen occisit, ne supra genua tollito.* The Lawgiver forbids any Person to take up upon his Knees, a Man killed with Lightning, in order to bury him. And another Law forbids the performing any Obsequies for him: *Ei iusta fieri nulla oportet.*

⁷⁷ Persons struck with Lightning were under a sort of Reprobation. Their Clothes could be no longer used, and the Place which was struck with it, was to be walled in. The *Augurs* appointed this Place for the Burial of all such as were Thunder-struck. In After-times the *Romans* erected an Altar in Honour to *Jupiter Fulgurator*, or the Thunder-striking *Jupiter*. *Deo Fulguratori aram & locum hunc religiosum ex Aruspicum Sententia, Quin. Pub. Front. posuit,* are the Words of an antient Inscription. On one of *Adrian's* Medals there is a Thundering *Jupiter*, with this Inscription, *Jovi Tonanti.*

⁷⁸ The Law was this; *Incestum Pontifices supplicio supremo sanciunt.*

⁷⁹ Expiations were made by offering up the Victims called *Piaculares Hostiae*, to appease the Wrath of the Gods. Water, and Branches of Laurel and Olive, were likewise used in them, for Aspersions: And sometimes Sulphur was burnt in them. This was the manner of purifying any thing that was polluted.

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Wives were barren; but the first Husbands still continued to have their former Power over them, and could call them home, and send them back again, or lend them to others, as they pleased. However, the Conduct of the *Roman* Ladies in domestick Life was so blameless, that there was not, for a great while together, any one Instance of a real Divorce. Their Daughters were married very young. The Intention of the Lawgiver was to accustom them early to their Husband's Yoke, before Age had made them feel their Passions, or they were capable of rambling Inclinations. The Women who died big with Child, could neither be burned or buried, till they had been cut open to save their Children⁸⁰: And to disobey this Law, was to be guilty of Homicide. Wilful Murders, as well as Crimes of State, were punished in the same manner as Parricide⁸¹. These Sorts of Crimes were first tried⁸² by the *Duumviri*; but there lay an Appeal from their Sentence. The Punishment inflicted on such as were found guilty of them, was to be hanged on a Tree, after having been bastinado'd either in the City, or without the Walls.

§. VI. THUS every thing being regulated in *Rome*, except the Calendar, the King undertook the Reformation of that too: And if he did not bring it to its utmost Perfection, he at least purged it of its grossest Faults.

THE Year appears to have consisted, before *Numa Pompilius*, of but 304 Days; which is neither agreeable to the Solar nor Lunar Year. The King therefore did his utmost to make the Year agree with the Courses both of the Sun and Moon at the same time: And took this Method in order to it. He knew the Lunar Year consisted of 354 Days, and he made his to consist of 355: Which additional Day was given to it out of Superstition; *Numa* being persuaded that the Gods were pleased with odd Numbers⁸³. And upon the same Principle, when he had added the Months of *January* and *February* to the old Year, which consisted of only ten Months, he appointed that the Days of each Month, instead of being undetermined in Point of Number, as formerly, should now consist either of 29 Days, or 31. *February* only consisted of 28; and it was therefore looked on as a fatal Month, and consecrated to the infernal Gods, who were thought to be pleased with even Numbers. *Numa* appointed likewise, that the Year, which before begun with the Month of *March*, should henceforwards begin with that of *January*. And after he had in some measure regulated his Year by the Course of the Moon, he took what Care he could to make it agree with that of the Sun. He was not ignorant that the Course of the Sun took up about eleven Days more than that of the Moon: And therefore he appointed that every two Years an intercalary Month of 22 Days should be added to the rest; which Month the *Romans* called *Mercidinus*⁸⁴. And as he was satisfied that

80 The Law was as follows: *Mulierem, si pragnans mortua fuerit, nisi exciso partu, ne humato. Qui secus faxit, quasi spem animantis peremerit, ita esto, &c.* We are indebted to *Justus Lipsius* for collecting the greatest Part of these Laws.

81 *Sextus Pompeius* has preserved this Law in these Terms: *Si quis hominem liberom dolo sciens morti duit, parricida esto.* And it enjoins, that some Punishment should be inflicted even on involuntary Homicides; for it adds, *Si quis imprudens, tum in concione, pro capite occisi & natis ejus, arctem offerto.*

82 This Law, and some others likewise, were probably made as early as in *Romulus's* time; tho' they are generally placed among those of *Numa*. It was this; *Duumviri judicent. Si a Duumviris provocarit, provocatione certato. Si vincent caput obnubito, infelici arbore recte suspendito, verberato vel intra pomerium, vel extra pomerium.* This Punishment was inflicted on State-Criminals, against whom the following Law was made: *Si quis adversus rempublicam faciendo, Regis Magistratusve Populive Majestatem hostili animo laedat, perduellis esto.* These *Duumviri* were two Magistrates, to whom belonged the Cognizance of capital Crimes.

83 This whimsical Notion was built on the most chimerical Foundation. The Pagans looked

on an even Number, as the Symbol of Division, because it could be divided into two equal Parts: whereas an odd Number was, for the contrary Reason, the Symbol of Concord. This Prejudice gave Birth to a thousand superstitious Practices, some of which are continued even among those whom Reason, enlightened by Religion, ought to have undeceived. This Superstition came originally from the *Egyptians*.

84 *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Julius Caesar*, calls this Month *Mercedonius*. And *Festus* tells us of certain Days, which he calls *Mercedonios Dies*, because they were the Time appointed for the Payment of Workmen and Domesticks. The Intercalary Month began the Day after the *Terminalia*. And as *Numa's* Year, which consisted of 355 Days, must necessarily end a Day later than the *Greek* Year, which consisted of but 354 Days: that therefore the Beginnings of both might, after a certain Time, meet in the same Point, *Numa*, according to some Authors, ordered that the Intercalations in eight Years should consist only of 82 Days, instead of 90, according to the *Greeks*. So that the first Intercalation consisted of 22 Days, the second of 23, the third of 22, and the last of 15. By this means, the *Romans* recovered the eight Days the *Greeks* had gotten of them, in eight Years. A little

the solar Year consisted of three hundred sixty-five Days and six Hours, and that these six Hours made a whole Day, in four Years; he therefore commanded that the Month *Mercedinus* should every four Years, at the beginning of the fifth, consist of twenty-three Days. Thus did this learned Prince remedy the Disorders of the Calendar, as far as he could, and put it into a Condition of more easily admitting of new Corrections.

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§.VII. AND now between forty-two and forty-three Years being already past, since *Numa* had filled the *Roman* Throne, Peace and Agriculture had settled Tranquillity and Plenty in *Rome*. No Declaration of War had obliged the *Romans* to open the Gates of *Janus's* Temple, since it had been built; which was in the first Year of *Numa's* Reign. This pacifick King became the Arbiter of all the Differences among his Neighbours: and his Virtues seemed to have communicated themselves to all the Nations round about *Rome*. They became in love with Justice, and made it a Law to themselves, not to disturb that Tranquillity, which this equitable, and moderate Prince had procured his Subjects. Upon the Credit of publick Faith, mutually given, all *Italy* tasted the Sweets of Hospitality, and a reciprocal Commerce: And *Numa* seemed to be the main Spring of the Happiness of all these Countries.

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As to the *Romans* themselves, Peace had so softened their warlike Temper, that it might be literally said of them, that their Weapons of War were changed into Instruments of Husbandry. No intestine Seditions, no ambitious Desires of the Throne, nor Attempts upon it, nor so much as any Murmurs against the Person, or Administration of the King, appeared among them. And *Numa's* Happiness would have been compleat, had he had a Son to succeed him. Though some Authors have given him four, which they say were afterwards the Stocks of four illustrious *Roman* Families; yet it is most probable that he had only one Daughter, named *Pompilia*. She is said to have been born to him of a second Wife, named *Lucretia*, whom he married after he was upon the Throne. The young *Pompilia* married *Martius* her Relation, by whom she had *Ancus Martius*, the fourth King of the *Romans*. And it's probable *Rome* would even then have given the Grandchild his Grandfather's Sceptre, if he had been at Age to hold it. But he was only five Years old, at the Death of *Numa*; who fell into a bodily Decay, which wore him out, without lessening the Vigour of his Mind, between the eighty-second and eighty-third Years of his Age, and after he had reigned about forty-three Years⁸⁵. The *Romans* lamented him as sincerely, as if every Man had lost his own Father: and the Concourse of Strangers to *Rome*, to celebrate his Obsequies, was exceeding great. They brought Perfumes and Crowns out of their own Countries, to be used at his Funeral. *Numa* had forbidden them to burn his Body; they therefore put it into a Stone-Coffin, and buried it in a Stone-Tomb; and, by his own Order, buried the greatest Part of the Books he had written, in the same Sepulchre with him. In consequence of the Law he had made⁸⁶, that none should be buried within the City, he himself chose a Burial-place beyond the *Tyber*, at the Foot of the Hill *Janiculus*: and thither he was carried on the Shoulders of his Senators,

Plutar.

*Gnaeus
Gellius.*

the Astronomy is sufficient to shew, that *Numa's* Year could not agree with the Courses of the Sun and Moon. The exact Period of each Revolution of the Sun and Moon was not then known. There would have been a Difference of several Days, between 19 Solar Years, which make 6939 Days, 18 Hours, and 235 Moons, which make 6939 Days, 16 Hours, 32 Minutes, and upwards: Tho' according to the exactest Calculations, that Difference should be no more than one Hour and almost an half. We must not here conceal a Passage in *Tully*, B. 2. *De Leg.* which may admit of some Difficulty. We have observed, that *Numa* changed the Order of the Months established by *Romulus*, so that *January* and *February* became the two first Months in the Year: This *Tully* seems to contradict, when he says, *Februario autem Mense qui tunc extremus anni mensis erat, mortuis parentari voluerunt*. But, besides that *Plutarch* is our Voucher for what we have borrowed from him, it may be observed, that immediately after the Correction, *January* and *February* were the two last Months, till *Numa* thought fit to place them

in the beginning of the new Year. Besides, the ancient Authors have not told us of any Person but *Numa*, who ordered this Transposition. *Livy* writes, that *Numa* first instituted the Days the *Romans* called *Fasti* and *Nefasti*. *Macrobius*, B. 1. distinguishes three sorts of Days, which he calls *Festi*, *Profesti*, and *Intercisi*. The first were consecrated to the Worship of the Gods; the second set apart for publick and private Business; the last were divided between both. But of this by the by: we shall speak more particularly of this Distinction of Days among the *Romans*, in another Place.

85 *Dion. Hal.* *Livy*, and *Plutarch* agree, in making *Numa* reign forty-three Years: whose Opinion ought to over-balance that of *Entropius*, *Eusebius*, and *Cassiodorus*, who allow him to have reigned but forty-one Years.

86 This was one of *Numa's* funerary Laws, which runs thus, *Hominem mortuum in Urbe ne sepelito, neve urito; in locove publico sepulchrum fieri ne quid juris esto.*

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and followed with the Cries and Lamentations of all his People. Such is the Lot of good Princes; who being Lovers of Peace and the publick Good, carry the Hearts of all their Subjects along with them. *Romulus* had been placed among the immortal Gods; but *Numa* chose rather to make Gods, while he was alive, than to increase the Number of them after his Death. Nevertheless, it may be said, that he acted against his own Sentiments in the Religion he established at *Rome*. He had discovered the only true God, and yet caused several to be worshipped. And for this Reason, the Books he had written, and ordered to be buried with him, when found again after his Death, were burned, by a Decree of the Senate. He therein explained his Reasons for the Novelties he had introduced into the *Roman* Worship. We are indebted to *Varro* for this Account, and it is too considerable to be passed over in Silence.

*Varro, apud
S. August. lib.
7. de Civit.
Dei, cap. 24.*

ONE Terentius, says he, had a Piece of Ground near the Janiculus: and a Husbandman of his, one Day accidentally running his Plough over *Numa's* Tomb, turned up some of that Legislator's Books; wherein he gave his Reasons for establishing the Religion of the Romans upon the Foot on which he left it. The Husbandman carried these Books to the Prætor of *Rome*, and the Prætor to the Senate; who, when they had read his frivolous Reasons for his religious Establishments, agreed, that the Books should be destroyed according to *Numa's* Intentions: and it was accordingly decreed, that the Prætor should throw them into the Fire. *St. Austin* thinks there were some Footsteps of Magick in these Books; of which *Numa* had in his Life-time been suspected. And may it not be likewise supposed, that they contained *Numa's* Motives to tolerate a Plurality of Gods in *Rome*, tho' convinced in himself, that One only ought to be worshipped? Without doubt, the same political Considerations which engaged him to maintain Idolatry, might likewise engage the Senators to destroy those Monuments, which might have conduced to the Suppression of it. At least, an antient Author assures us, that *Numa's* Motives for forming the *Roman* Religion, were found, by the Books that were dug up, to be very trivial ones.

Aurel. Viæ.

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*Dion. Hal.
B. 3. p. 136.*

§. VIII. THE Death of *Numa* threw *Rome* back into the same Condition, in which it had been upon the Loss of *Romulus*. The Senate possessed themselves of the Royal Authority, during the *Inter-regnum*, and set up the same sort of Government, they had formerly instituted during the necessary Interval, between the Death of the first King, and the Choice of his Successor. The only Difference was, that the second *Inter-regnum* was not so long as the first; because the *Romans* were not now obliged to go out of *Rome* for a Sovereign, agreeable to all Parties. *Numa Pompilius* had purged *Rome* of the Factions that infected her. The People, to whom was given the Power of electing a new King, assembled by the Consent and Authority of the Senate, who reserved to themselves the Power of confirming the Choice that should be made: And it does not appear, that they were in any Suspense between different Competitors, or that they cast their Eyes on any other but *Tullus Hostilius*. They found sufficient Qualities in him, to render him worthy of the Crown. His Family was originally of *Medulia*, a City of *Latium*, (founded formerly by the *Albans*) which had submitted to the *Roman* Government, and was become a *Roman* Colony.

HOSTUS, Grandfather of him whom the *Romans* chose to be their third King, had come to *Rome* about four Years after its Foundation, and had brought thither the great Possessions he had at *Medulia*. Here he had married the Daughter of that famous⁸⁷ *Hersilia*, who, tho' a *Sabine*, had signalized her Attachment

⁸⁷ *Macrobins* (*Saturnal. B. 1.*) differs a little from *Dion. Hal.* in the Account he gives us of the Descent of *Tullus Hostilius*. *Macrobins's* Words are these: *Vetustatis peritissimi referunt, in raptu Sabinarum mulierum nomine Hersiliam, dum filie adhereret, simul raptam. Quam cum Romulus Hosto cuidam, ex agro Latino, qui in azylum ejus confugerat, virtute conspicuo, uxorem dedisset, natum ex ea puerum, antequam ulla Sabinarum partum ederet, eumque, quod primus esset in hostico procreatus, Hostum Hostilium fuisse vocitatum, & eundem a Romulo bulli aureâ, & prætextæ insignibus honoratum. Is enim cum raptas ad consolandum vocasset, sponondisse fertur, se ejus infanti, quæ prima civem*

Romanum esset enixa, illustre munus daturum. From these Words, we infer several things, which are not mentioned in the Historians we have. 1st, Their Ambiguity leaves us uncertain, whether *Hersilia* herself, or her Daughter, married *Hostus*, and was Grandmother to King *Tullus Hostilius*. 2^{dly}, This Passage shews, that *Hostus Hostilius*, the Father of *Tullus*, was the first Child that was born in *Rome* of a *Sabine* Woman, after the famous Rape, by which the City was peopled. 3^{dly}, We are here told the Origin of the Jewel called *Bulla*, and the Robe *Prætexta*, which was a Mark of Distinction for the Children of the *Patricians*.

to *Rome*, and reconciled the *Sabines*, to whom she owed her Birth, to the *Romans*, whose Government she loved. And *Hostus* had recommended himself under *Romulus*, by his Exploits in the Wars with the *Sabines* and the *Fidenates*. He was the first who entered the Breach at the taking of *Fidena*, and received a mural Crown⁸⁸ of *Romulus* as his Reward. But in the second Battel with the *Sabines*, he fell; and his Death put the *Romans* into a Consternation, and caused their Flight. Nevertheless, so much had he signalized his Courage, that the Memory of it was preserved by an Inscription on a Pillar, erected on the Field of Battel. As for *Hostus Hostilius*, the Son of the brave *Hostus*, and Father of *Tullus Hostilius*, we don't find that he had any other Merit, than that of transmitting to his Posterity the Rank and Prerogatives which his Father had acquired for him. But *Tullus Hostilius* himself, who gained the Suffrages of *Rome*, appeared to have all those Qualifications for the Throne, which could be desired in a Successor to *Numa*.

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Plin. B. 16.
ch. 14.

Aurel. Vict.
Dion. Hal.
ibid.

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THE Ambition and martial Ardour of the *Romans* had only lain dormant in a pacifick Reign. A King, who they thought must love War, was therefore agreeable to the Taste of a People, who had been kept unactive, against their Inclination. Both the Remembrance of his Grandfather *Hostilius*, who was one of the Heroes of the rising City, and his own Merit, spoke in his Favour. The People were sensible, that *Tullus* only wanted Opportunities to shew his Valour; and therefore they, when assembled by Order of the Senate, chose him for their King. The Senators and *Augurs* confirmed the Election, and *Tullus* ascended the Throne.

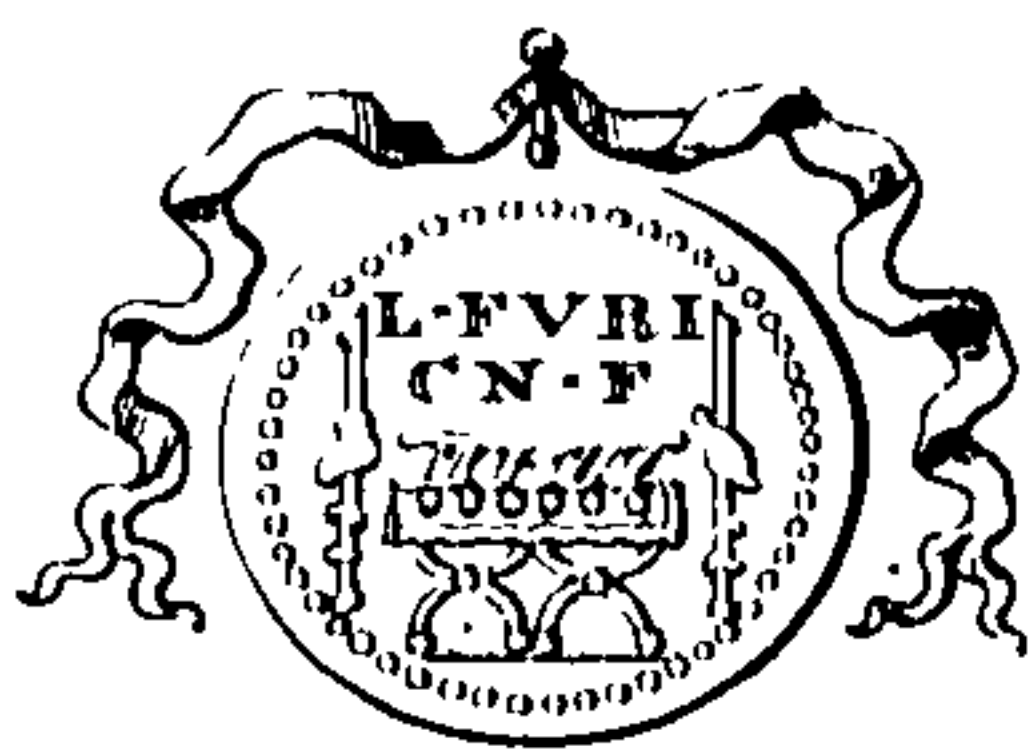
What some Historians say of *Tullus's* Education, has scarce any Appearance of Truth. They pretend, that he was brought up in Woods, in a rustick manner, and there kept Sheep as a common Shepherd. But if we judge of this Story, by the Manners which then prevailed, it is not at all credible, that *Hostus Hostilius*, the first and wealthiest of the *Roman Patricians*, should so far debase the Nobility of his Son, as to reduce him to the Offices of a Slave.

Val. Max. B.
3. ch. 4.

WHEN he came to the Throne, as he had Riches enough in his own Patrimony, he neglected the ancient Demesnes of the two Kings his Predecessors, and distributed certain Portions of Land, (which *Romulus* had conquered, and which *Numa* had reserved the Property of, for the Uses of Religion) among the most indigent of the People. Though that wise King had sent a great Number of idle Persons out of the City into the Country to cultivate it; there yet remained Multitudes of Hirelings, who were obliged to work for other People: and these had no Houses to dwell in. *Tullus* therefore applied his own Revenues to the Expences of Religion, and the Maintenance of his Household; and divided the Lands appropriated to the Crown among all those, who had none of their own. By which Marks of Disinterestedness, he signalized the Beginnings of his Reign, and gained the Affections of the People, who from that Time were attached to his Interests.

Dion. Hal.
B. 3. p. 137.

It is pretended indeed, that this was the first Prince, who introduced any sort of Magnificence among the Kings of *Rome*: and that he first used those *Curule Chairs*⁸⁹, which served afterwards in the Time of the Republick, to distinguish



SILVER.

⁸⁸ This was the Reward appointed by the General, for him who first scaled the Walls of a besieged City. In wealthy Times, the mural Crown was made of pure Gold; but that with which *Hostus Hostilius* was honoured by *Romulus*, was not so. Pliny speaks thus of it; 16. 4. *Romulus frondea coronavit Hostum Hostilium, quod Fidenam primus*

⁸⁹ These Chairs were first brought into Use, either by *Numa*, or *Tullus Hostilius*, or *Tarquin the Elder*; but by which of the three, the Latin Authors are not agreed. *Livy* assures us, that *Numa* granted the Honour of the *Curule Chair* to the Pontifex Maximus. *Macrobius* thinks *Tullus Hostilius* first used it. *Florus* contends, that they were brought

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guish the chief Magistrates: To which it is added, that he distinguished himself from the *Patricians* by an embroidered Habit, and appointed Foot-Guards to go before him, with Axes and Fasces in their Hands. But I am of opinion, that he only revived these Attendants on Majesty, which *Romulus* had introduced before him, and *Numa Pompilius* had, out of Modesty, suppressed.

TULLUS found in himself a greater Inclination to follow the Steps of *Romulus*, than those of *Numa*. He was of a lively Disposition, and enterprising Genius. Nevertheless, the Laws established by his Predecessor laid some Restraint upon his Valour. He dared not yet break through the Barriers, which the rigid Equity of *Pompilius* had crected against the military Enterprizes of the *Romans*. He therefore waited till a favourable Opportunity should offer to open the Temple of *Janus*, and give him a Pretence for beginning a War. And *Alba* first gave him the following just Cause to turn against her his natural Fire and Impetuosity, which wanted an Opportunity to exert itself.

§.IX. *CÆLIUS*, or, as others call him, *Cælius*, or, according to *Livy*, *Clitius*⁹¹, was at the Head of Affairs in *Alba*; and the Jealousy he had long harboured against *Rome*, was too strong to be abated by the Moderation of the pacifick *Numa*. He continually reproached himself with his Slothfulness, in not opposing the increasing Grandeur of a Colony, which the Conquests of *Romulus*, and the universal Love, which *Numa* had acquired, had made superior to all the Cities in *Italy*. He had more savage Boldness than Prudence: but the *Albans*, his Subjects, being not so inveterate against the *Roman* Colony, as himself; he did not attempt to draw them into a War by Means of Persuasion; but provoked the *Romans* by unauthorized Acts of Hostility. He promised Impunity to an indigent Populace, whom he armed against *Rome*, and sent out to spoil the *Roman* Lands. *Cælius* foresaw that a young King would ill brook the Incursions of his Neighbours into his Country, and would repel Force by Force. Besides, he promised himself, that his *Albans* would, without enquiring nicely, who were the first Authors of the Rupture, be very ready to revenge with their Arms the Insults which the *Romans* would in their turn offer them. And his Project succeeded. Some hired *Albans* spoiled the *Roman* Lands, and the injured *Romans* made Reprisals, and ravaged the Country of the *Albans*. Several Skirmishes happened between the two Bands of Robbers, and the Blood spilt in them sharpened their mutual Hatred. *Cælius* thought this a favourable Opportunity to exasperate his People against the *Romans*: and therefore, in a publick Assembly, he excited both their Rage and thcir Revenge. He exaggerated the Losses *Alba* had suffered by the *Romans*: He made both the Wounded, and the Relations of such as had lost their Lives or Liberties in Battel, appear, and make their Complaints: And he concluded from the Whole, that it was necessary to send Deputies to *Rome*, to demand Satisfaction, and to declare War, if it were refused. This last

to *Rome* from *Hetruria* by *Tarquin the Elder*. However, all three agree, that this sort of Throne was borrowed from the *Hetrurians*, as well as the other Marks of Distinction, which were annexed to the Royal Dignity by the Kings of *Rome*. The *Curule Chair* was, in Form, very like the little Chairs without Backs, which we call *Folding Chairs*: as appears from the Medals. It's probable, the first Kings had the *Curule Chairs* made without those Ornaments which Luxury afterwards added to them. They were not adorned with Ivory; for whence should the *Romans* then have had it? They had then no settled Commerce with Foreigners.

⁹⁰ This Robe was adorned with Variety of Figures in Gold, which gave it the Name of *Toga picta*, to distinguish it from the *Prætexta*, and the common *Toga*. In the first Ages of *Rome*, they who enjoyed the Honours of a Triumph, wore a plain purple Robe, if we believe *Festus*. In After-times, the Generals, to heighten the Pomp of their Triumphs, appeared in a Robe embroidered with Gold, or a golden Tissue: which, according to some Authors, especially *Pliny*, was borrowed from the *Hetrurians* by *Tullus Hostilius*. But *Macrobius*, *Dion. Hal.* and *Florus*, contend, that *Tarquin the Elder*

first appeared in this stately Habit, which was from that time one of the principal Ornaments worn by the Kings of *Rome*. Unless, in the Case of Triumphs, no *Roman* Citizen was suffered to wear this Robe. But *Paulus Æmilius*, and *Pompey*, were, by an extraordinary Privilege, excepted. In latter Ages, after the Republick had become a Monarchy, the *Consuls* wore this embroidered Robe on certain Days of Ceremony.

⁹¹ *M. le Clerc*, in his Notes upon *Livy*, says it is strange that *Romulus* did not succeed his Grandfather *Numitor* in the Throne of *Alba*, to which he was the sole Heir. He says, he is surpris'd at the Silence of the Historians, on so important an Article. But he needed only to have opened *Plutarch*, and he would there have found, that after the Death of *Numitor*, *Romulus* chose to live in *Rome*, which he had founded, and contented himself with naming a *Dictator* for the *Albans*, with some sort of Dependence upon himself. When *Romulus* himself was dead without Children, the *Albans*, who saw the Posterity of their antient Kings utterly extinct, had a Right of chusing their own Sovereigns, independently of *Rome*: and of these *Cælius* was one.

Proceeding of *Cælius* was agreeable to the Laws of Confederacy, which *Romulus* had settled between the *Romans* and *Albans*. They had agreed never to declare War with one another, till the Reparation of the Damages sustained on either Side, had first been demanded in a friendly manner. But *Cælius's* Aim was to prevent an Embassy from *Tullus*, by sending one to him; and thereby to throw all the blame upon him, if he refused the Reparations demanded. Accordingly, he hastened the Departure of his Deputies, who actually arrived at *Rome*, before *Tullus* had thought of sending away his. The young King was not aware of *Cælius's* Artifice, till after the Arrival of the *Alban* Ambassadors at *Rome*: But then he became artful in his Turn. He made Use of several Pretences to defer giving them Audience; and, that they might be agreeably amused at *Rome*, took Care to provide them an hospitable and engaging Reception, in Houses where they were so charmed with their Entertainment, that they neither cared to stir abroad, nor had any Uneasiness about these Delays. In the mean time the *Roman* Ambassadors set out for *Alba*, with Orders to press the immediate Conclusion of the Affair, without Delay. One of the *Feciales* was at the Head of the Deputation; and the Ambassadors setting out from *Rome* before Sun-rising, came to *Alba* the same Morning. They met *Cælius* in the midst of the *Forum*, and demanded Satisfaction of him for the Injuries *Rome* had received from the *Albans*. To which Demand the *Alban* King did not vouchsafe to give an Answer; but said, *I have already prevented the Romans, by an Embassy; I have executed the Treaties, and I declare War with you.* The *Fecialis* only asked him, Whether that King, of the two, who first refused to hear the other's Complaints, was to be thought guilty of the first Breach of the Treaties? and upon *Cælius's* replying, *Without doubt*; called the Gods, who were Guardians of the Treaties between the two Nations, to witness, That the *Romans* had been first refused their Demands, and that they might therefore declare War, without any Offence to Religion: After which Protestations he instantly set out for *Rome*.

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HE no sooner arrived there, than *Tullus* received the *Alban* Deputies in an engaging manner, at an Entertainment, to which he had invited them; and then enquired into the Design of their Embassy. They civilly made long Excuses for the disagreeable Commission with which they were charged; and declared that they had accepted it contrary to their Inclinations, and were very sorry to find themselves obliged to demand Satisfaction of him, and to declare War, in case of a Refusal. To which *Tullus* replied, *Go, tell your King, I leave it to the Gods to punish him who first breaks the Treaties. May they cause all the horrible Effects of a bloody War to fall upon his Head!* Thus did *Numa's* Successor reduce that Sincerity and Fidelity which his Predecessor had laboured to establish in *Rome*, to bare Appearances.

Liv. B. 1. c. 22.

THE *Roman Fecialis* had given *Cælius* but thirty Days Space, before the War was to begin: And these were employed on both Sides, in making Preparations, and getting Succours from their Allies. At length, both Armies took the Field; *Cælius* pitched his Camp forty *Stadia** from *Rome*, and fortified it with a good Ditch, which continued long after, and always bore *Cælius's* Name; that is, was called *Fossa Cluilia*.

Dion. Hal.
B. 3. p. 139.
* Five Miles,
according to
Livy.

As for *Tullus*, he posted his *Romans* on an advantageous Ground, nearer his Capital. Both Parties seemed either mutually to respect or to fear each other. And perhaps the antient Union which had always been between the two Nations, might make the War in which they were going to engage, to be considered rather as a civil War than a foreign one: It was *Trojan* Blood against *Trojan* Blood. But however that was, the impetuous Ardour which made both Armies in Love with fighting, was cooled on a sudden, when they came in Sight of each other. Neither Party thought of any thing but intrenching themselves. Neither the *Albans* marched out of their Camp to attack the *Romans*, nor did the *Roman* Cavalry come to any Skirmishes with the *Alban*; and at length *Cælius's* Delay to enter upon Action raised Murmurs among his People. They looked on him as the Author of the War; and his present Inactivity made his first Motions ineffectual. The Shame therefore of their Reproaches made him resolve at last to offer the *Romans* Battle, and to attack them in their Entrenchments, if they re-

Liv. B. 1. c. 23.

Dion. Hal. ib.

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HE was found in the Morning lying dead in his Tent, in the midst of the Camp and with his Guards about him. This sudden Accident furnished Matter for many Speculations; and the rather, because no Marks of a violent Death were found on his Body. It did not appear, either that the Sword, a Rope, or Poison had put an End to his Days. So signal a Punishment was therefore imputed to the Anger of the Gods. *Celius*, said they, *had begun an unjust and unnecessary War. He had armed the Mother against the Daughter. Whereas the Metropolis*⁹² *ought to use a Colony that came out of her own Bosom, with Tenderness. The Gods have therefore revenged it.* They who were for a War with the Romans, suspected those of the contrary Party; and imputed the Death of the King to a subtle Poison which the Friends of Rome had found Means to convey into his Veins. But others pretended, that *Celius* shortened his Life with his own Hands; and that Despair of Success made him prefer present Death to an inglorious Life. Whilst the Opinions of Men of better Sense were less refined, and more just; they thought it was a common Accident that brought *Celius* to his End.

† Others call him *Suffetius*.
Livy, *ibid*.

Dion. Hal.
B. 3. p. 140.

§. X. THE Place of *Alban* General was immediately conferred on *Metius* † *Fuffetius*, by the Army, which saluted him Dictator: That is, in my Opinion, he was at first entrusted with the Government of *Alba*, only during the present War. His Hatred to the *Roman* Name, was what raised him to this first Station, rather than his Experience in Arms, or his Skill in the Management of Affairs. He had been one of the Promoters of the Difference between the two Nations. But as soon as he became the Head of the *Albans*, he entered into his Predecessor's Views: The Danger of a Battle terrified him; he therefore deferred it from Day to Day. Which Backwardness proceeded partly from the Division of his Army, those of the better Sort being against the War with the *Romans*; and partly from his Fear of the neighbouring Cities. The *Fidenates* and *Veientes*, whom *Romulus* had formerly brought under the *Roman* Yoke, were indeed very watchful of the Moment when the Battle should be begun between the two contending Nations; and founded Hopes of recovering their Liberty, on the Slaughter which might happen on both Sides. Their Cities were great and populous. Tho' *Romulus* had carried Part of their Inhabitants to *Rome*, and had distributed some of their Lands among his *Romans*, they were nevertheless now grown rich and populous again, under the pacifick Reign of *Numa*. The *Fidenates* and *Veientes* therefore conspired secretly with the neighbouring Nations, and drew Troops together into their Cities, to be ready on Occasion. The Plot was fully formed, and their Design was to watch the Time of the Engagement, and to fall unexpectedly upon both Conquerors and Conquered, and force them to a fresh Battle with them. Nor was the Execution of this Enterprize difficult; for *Fidena* was but two or three Hours March from the two Camps. Besides, Spies were placed upon the Mountains, who were to give the *Fidenates* Notice of the beginning of the Action, by Signals; and they were determined to make Havock of both Armies without Distinction, when furiously engaged in Battle. But *Fuffetius's* Delays gave time for the Discovery of the Intrigues of these secret Enemies. Whether out of the Hopes of a Reward, or out of Ill-will to the principal Authors of the Design, or out of Fear of the usual Consequences of an ill-concerted Enterprize; whatever the Motive was, *Fuffetius* had Notice of the Design of the *Fidenates* by Letter, an Express being sent to him on purpose to inform him of it. His Uneasiness at it still encreased his Delays; and he now thought of nothing but finding an Opportunity of coming to a Conference with the King of the *Romans*, and changing the Preparations of War into a sincere Reconciliation. To which the *Romans* were not averse: For their Friends in *Fidena* had informed them likewise of the Conspiracy of their Governours against *Rome*.

IN the mean time, *Fuffetius* marched out of his Entrenchments; and *Tullus* refused not to go and meet an Enemy, who took the first Step towards breaking

⁹² The Word *Metropolis*, in *Greek*, signifies a Mother-City, which has given Birth to other Cities. In this Sense *Dion. Hal.* gives the Name of *Metropolis* to the City of *Alba*, of which *Rome* was but a Colony.

the antient Treaties. But he was surprized to find, that instead of desiring to give Battle, the *Alban* Dictator demanded an Interview. The Place of the Conference was in the middle Space between the two Camps, and at the Head of the two Armies. Both Parties brought only such Persons to it, as were Men of Wisdom and Gravity, and not capable of clogging the Proposals of Peace. After reciprocal Salutations, and mutual Protestations of as perfect a Friendship, as if it had never been interrupted, *Fuffetius* spoke thus:

CÆLIUS, whom you have looked on as the first Author of the War, and You, Sir, on your Part, have mutually charged each other with Depredations, and Refusals of Satisfaction. But let us honestly confess, was not the Ambition of both Nations, the first Cause of our Dissentions? And if then I endeavour to put an End to them, don't imagine, that I am forced to it, either by the Fear of your Arms, or the ill State of our Affairs. Hitherto no Misfortunes have weakened us—No; but I, as soon as the Death of *Cælius* had put me at the Head of our Armies, considered how frivolous the Complaints were that had disunited us. I conceived, that slight Discontents ought not to divide Nations, which Blood, Affinity, and the Faith of Treaties had united. And judging of your Sentiments by my own, I deferred Hostilities, and kept my Troops within their Entrenchments. I likewise flattered my self, that you might perhaps take the first Steps towards a necessary Accommodation, and the Colony abate a little of her Pride, in order to make Advances towards her Metropolis. But now, the Snares laid by common Enemies, of which you are not ignorant, make me lay aside all Formalities. The Heads of the *Fidenates* and *Veientes* have equally conspired the Ruin of both our States, and are now watching to take Advantage of the Weakness to which a Battle will necessarily reduce the two Armies. Besides, the *Fidenates* and *Veientes*, are a Part of the *Hetrurian* Body, and you know how formidable that is both by Sea and Land. Let us therefore find out some Method of Accommodation, which may put an honourable End to our Quarrels, without weakning too much our two Cities, who have quarrelled only about the Loss of a few Cattle. *Fuffetius* then produced the Letters he had received from *Fidena*, and called Witnesses, who attested the Conspiracy of the *Veientes* and *Fidenates*. *Tullus* acknowledged, that he had kept himself within his Camp, without undertaking any thing, on that very Account; contented to end the Quarrel without fighting; and lastly, agreed, that it would be necessary, after a Reconciliation was made, to join the *Roman* and *Alban* Forces together, and turn them unanimously against the common Enemy: Nay, he even excused himself for having suffered the *Albans* to make the first Advances towards a Peace. We were not, said he, the Aggressors, and it therefore would not have been regular in us to have prevented you. But I join with you in the same Views of Reconciliation; and I readily forget the Injuries we have received from the *Albans*. *Cælius* has been sufficiently punished for them; and the Gods have revenged our Quarrel. But in order to make that Union perpetual, which otherwise cannot fail of being broken, through a Love of Dominion, let us see which of our two Cities ought for the future to give Law to the other. The present Business is not to palliate our mutual Hatred, or defer its Effects, but to root it out. The true Causes of it have been our Prosperity, and your Jealousy. Indeed, I hope, this Prosperity will for the future be common to both; and that when we become one People, we shall have the same Mind, and the same Heart. But how shall this be brought about? By Promises, by mutual Writings, or by Oaths? These are but weak Restraints upon human Passions. The one only Expedient that remains, is, that all the *Albans*, or at least the most considerable Families of them, remove to *Rome*. And this is not in it self dishonourable. The *Sabines* and some of the *Hetrurians* have thought it no Dishonour to become Citizens of the new Colony. But if notwithstanding this, your Love for the Houses and Household-Gods of your Fathers, will not suffer you to leave your own City; yet why may we not establish a common Council for both Cities, which shall govern the two Nations when become one, under the Direction of that Sovereign, of the two, who shall be able to contribute most to the publick Good?

FUFFETIUS listened to the *Roman's* Proposals, and demanded Time to deliberate upon them. He took aside and consulted those whom he had brought with him; and all concluded, that it was by no means proper to abandon their Country,

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B. 3. p. 142,
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try, and desert a City founded by their Forefathers, whose Posterity had now inhabited and adorned it for near five Centuries. But the re-uniting the two People into one, under the same Government, still leaving both *Alba* and *Rome* to subsist, they thought a reasonable Proposal. The only remaining Difficulty was, which of the two Cities should have Dominion over the other. *Fuffetius* therefore, returning to the Conference, spoke thus in Favour of *Alba*. *It is not natural, that the Metropolis should be subject to a Colony, which owed its Original to her. When Fathers obey their Children, then will the Albans be subject to the Romans. But as long as the Laws of Nature, and the Rights of Nations shall subsist, so long shall Alba have a Superiority over Rome. Nor is this all. We yet preserve the Purity of our Descent. No Mixture of foreign Nations with us, has corrupted the Latin and Trojan Blood, which were mixed soon after Æneas's Landing. Alba has in her no confused Mixture of Hetrurians, Sabines, and Fugitives, who have introduced their own Customs into her, and who divide her Senate into different Factions. The same Blood, and the same Spirit, run thro' the whole Body. Besides, a long Space of Time since the Foundation of our City, has embellished it, and made it commodious; whereas Rome, on the contrary, wants the Labours of many Years to bring it to the Perfection of a Capital.*

Dion. Hal.
B. 3. p. 148.

WHEN *Fuffetius* had ended his Discourse, *Tullus* made this Reply: *If a Metropolis ought always to retain a Superiority over the Colonies it has sent out, in vain would Lacedæmon have pretended to any Dominion over the Doræ, from whom she was descended. But to use a nearer Example, and bring the Matter home: You sprang from Lavinium, as we from you: Ought we both therefore to be subject to that City? You say we have corrupted the Nobility of our Origin, by a Mixture of Strangers and Fugitives: But for this we have Athens for a Precedent. And is that any Stain to the Glory of a City, which has gained the Superiority in Greece? We don't annex the Honours of the Magistracy and the Government, to bare Mixture of Blood, which often degenerates, but to personal Virtue. And as for the Multitude of these Strangers and Fugitives whom you despise, it is to them, we are indebted for putting the Counsels of the Wise in Execution. It is by them that we have made our selves great. It is by them that we have become formidable to our Neighbours. Valour in Battle, and Number of Troops, are what have enabled us to extend our Dominion far. Our Strength has arisen from those very Unions you find Fault with. In short, the Difference between you and us is this; Alba, from being great, is in Length of Time fallen to Decay; and Rome, little in her Origin, has by continual Additions from the Beginning, been made great. And as to the Factions you reproach us with, they don't at all affect the Vitals of the State. They proceed from a laudable Emulation, who shall become most useful to his Country. There is no room here for Ostentation: The Fact speaks. How could a rising City have arrived at so high a Pitch of Glory and Power, in the Space of eighty three Years, if Wisdom had not presided in her Councils, and Bravery been conspicuous in her Battles? Nevertheless Rome, notwithstanding her just Pretences, is willing to submit her Fate to the Gods, and leave it to them to determine, whether she shall give Laws to Alba, or Alba to her. Greece, as well as some barbarous Nations, had formerly a Custom of ending their Contests with the Blood of a small Number of chosen Citizens. Let us take the same Method for Peace. Let a single Combat between *Fuffetius* and me, determine the Fortune of the two Nations. We ought to expose our selves to any Danger, for the publick Good, since we are the Persons whom the Publick have both enriched and raised to be the Defenders of their Glory.*

FUFFETIUS was not brave; or perhaps was afraid of entering the Lists with *Tullus*: And he therefore brought several prudential Reasons, to prove that it would be better to choose three Champions out of each Camp, whose Swords should determine the Contests of the two Cities, than to hazard the Lives of the Generals. Which Proposal was accepted, and the two Chiefs retired into their Entrenchments.

§. XI. As soon as the Design, and the Conditions of the Union of *Alba* and *Rome* were known in the two Armies, there was on both Sides a strong Emulation who should be chosen, to assert the Glory of his City with his Blood. They who were distinguished by their Nobility, contended for the Preference before those who had

signalized

signalized themselves by their Dexterity, or Strength, in fighting. And while the Choice of the Champions was yet in Suspence, *Fuffetius* cast his Eyes upon three *Albans*, who were equally remarkable for both. *Dionysius Halicarnassens*⁹³ is the Historian, who, if we may believe some learned Men, makes their Birth to have had something wonderful in it. He is said to give this Account of it: *Sequinius*, an illustrious Citizen of *Alba*, had two Daughters; one he married to *Curiatius*, a Citizen of *Alba*; and the other to *Horatius*, an illustrious Citizen of *Rome*. These two Women, being both with child at the same time, were brought to Bed both on the same Day, each of three Male Children. But may it not nevertheless be believed, that the three Brothers, on each Side, came into the World at three different Births? However, this at least is certain, that the three *Curiatii* at *Alba*, and three *Horatii* at *Rome*, were the Children of two Sisters. They were in the Flower of their Age, and did Honour to their respective Cities, by their handsome Appearance and Courage. The *Alban* General cast his Eyes therefore on the three *Curiatii*, and communicated his Thought to the King of *Rome*, exhorting him to pitch upon the three *Horatii*. By this means, said he, we shall put an end to the Contentions of our Men of Valour, who dispute the Honour of the Choice. Fate will appear to have brought three Champions on a Side into the World, on purpose to determine the Fate of their Countries with their Swords. *Tullus* did not apprehend that the Heroes proposed would make any Objection, but those of Blood and Friendship, which had always strictly united the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*: and as to this *Fuffetius* encouraged him. *I have*, said he, *already proposed the Combat to the Curiatii; in whom the Love of Glory, and their Country, has gained the Ascendant over the most tender Friendships. They are therefore an Example to the Horatii, not to scruple the breaking those Bonds, by which Nature and Education have so strictly united them.*

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NEVERTHELESS, as the *Romans* appear even then to have had more Humanity than their Neighbours; *Tullus* found at first some Reluctance in the *Horatii*, at taking Arms against their Relations. And as he would lay no Restraint upon them, he declared he would leave them entirely at their Liberty, either to refuse the Offer their Country made them, or to lend their Hands, to eternize her Glory. The three young Heroes answered, that their Love of their Country was well known; but they had a Father too, and could not dispose of their own Lives, without his Consent, from whom they had received them. Old *Horatius* was full of that *Roman* Virtue, which had indeed something rough in it, but had not stifled all Sense of Humanity in him. Not but he had several Reasons to fear a Combat, wherein much of the Blood of his Family would be spilt: and as an additional Matter of Concern, one of his Daughters was betrothed to one of the *Curiatii*. But notwithstanding all this, the Love of his Country got the better of his Reluctance. He left his Children to their own Choice: and when he understood, that they, following the Example of the *Curiatii*, preferred a glorious Death, or important Victory, to an inglorious Life; he, lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, and embracing his Sons, cried out, *I am a happy Father*; and then commanded them to declare his Consent to the King.

TEN Days were spent thus, in these Negotiations: and a Suspension of Arms had kept both *Romans* and *Albans* from Action. But now the Combat of the *Horatii* and *Curiatii* being proclaimed in both Camps, all *Rome* and *Alba* came out to be Witnesses of it. *Fuffetius* led the *Curiatii*, and *Tullus* the *Horatii*. As they passed, the People strewed the Way with Flowers, and put Crowns of Flowers on their Heads. They were looked upon by all as Victims, which had voluntarily devoted themselves to their Country.

⁹³ *Dion. Hal.* is represented as saying, that the Mothers of the *Horatii* at *Rome*, and the *Curiatii* at *Alba*, who were Sisters, were delivered of three Sons each, on the same Day, and at the same Birth. But I am inclined to believe this Historian thought otherwise. Would it not be more natural to say, that the Mothers of the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*, had each three Children one after another, and at different Births; since, according to *Dion. Hal.* himself, when they came to the Battel, the

eldest of the *Curiatii* chose out the eldest of the *Horatii* for his Adversary; and so likewise of the others, according to their Age? He therefore plainly supposes they were not all of the same Age. If we follow this Opinion, we shall avoid one Contradiction; but then, as will hereafter appear, this will lead us into another. The best Way therefore is to understand this Difference of their Ages, of the Order in which the Laws placed Twins.

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A great Plain, containing about three or four *Stadia*, and lying between the Entrenchments of the *Romans* and *Albans*, had been chosen for the Place of Engagement. The two Kings therefore advanced to the middle of it, conducted by their *Feciales*. *Tullus* had not yet named a *Pater Patratus*, that is, a sort of Plenipotentiary for the Ceremonies of the Treaty, according to *Numa's* Regulations: but *Fuffetius*, on his Part, brought both his Plenipotentiaries and his Sacrificers with him.

THE Form of this Treaty, which seems to have been the first *Rome* ever made, escaped the Injuries of Time, till *Livy's* Days: He gives us the following Account of it; and it served as a Pattern for the greatest Part of the Treaties which were ever after made by the *Romans*.

FIRST, one of the College of the *Feciales*, named *Marcus Valerius*, demanded of King *Tullus*, *Whether he gave him Orders to conclude a Peace with the Pater Patratus of the Albans?* The King answered, *He did.* Give me then, replied the *Fecialis*, the Sign of my Commission: which Sign was to be Vervein plucked up out of the Earth by the Roots. *Yes*, answered the King, *bring me some that is pure, and has not been applied to profane Uses.* At these Words, the *Fecialis* went to gather some Vervein on a little Hill, brought it, and went on thus: *Do you then appoint me to be Fecialis and Plenipotentiary of Rome to the Albans, and engage to protect my Equipage and Retinue?* *Yes*, replied the King, *unless it be to the Prejudice of my Interests, and those of the Roman People:* And then *Valerius* the *Fecialis* appointed *Spurius Fufius* to be *Pater* ⁹⁴ *Patratus* of the Treaty, by crowning him with the Vervein. His Office, as such, was to pronounce aloud the Words of the Oath, in the Name of the *Roman* King and People, and to repeat the whole Form of the Treaty.

AFTER this Ceremonial, which passed only among the *Romans*, the new *Pater Patratus* read the Articles of the Convention in the Presence of the *Albans*: and then expressed himself thus: ⁹⁵ *Be thou, great Jupiter, regardful of the Conditions of our Treaties; and do thou, Pater Patratus of the Albans, attend to them. Thou hast doubtless understood them clearly from one End to the other, without Evasion or Deceit, as they are here set down on the Wax, and as I have just now read them. The Roman People engage themselves never to be the first Breakers of them. If they should violate them by publick Authority, and by Fraud, may Jupiter at that Instant strike them, as I shall now strike this Victim! May thy Punishment, great Jupiter! be as severe, as thy Power is formidable.* At which Words, he struck the Sow ⁹⁶, that was to be offered up in Sacrifice, in Confirmation of the Treaty, a great Blow on the Head with a Flint. The *Albans* also took their Oaths, and offered their Sacrifices: after which, nothing was thought of but the Success of the Combat between the six Champions.

Dion. Hal.
B. 3. p. 154.

§.XII. THE *Horatii* and *Curiatii* employed the Attention of both Camps. They were all six armed like Men determined to kill or be killed: They advanced with a slow Pace each towards his Rival; but before they stained the Ground with their Blood, they watered it with their Tears.

AT the Instant, when the People expected to see them engage, they quitted their Arms, which they committed to the Care of their Esquires, and ran to embrace one another. Though Rivals, yet they treated one another with all the Marks of the most tender Friendship: And these sincere Embraces raised a Murmuring in the two Camps. At the Sight of the Combatants Tears, none could restrain their own. Was it necessary, said the People on both Sides, that our

⁹⁴ We have already spoken of the Sense the *Roman* Historians affix to the Terms *Pater Patratus*. *Plutarch* differs from them, when he says, the Head of the Deputation was called *Pater Patratus*, a *patrando jurejurando*, from the Oaths he was obliged to take to attest the Justice of his Demands. So that a Man's being *Pater Patratus*, did not always imply his having Children and a Father alive; for then, according to the *Grammarians*, he ought to have been called *Pater Patrimus*. *Festus* thinks the *Pater Patratus* was so called, because, by virtue of his Commission, he acted as a (*Pater Patrie*) Father of his Country.

⁹⁵ The following Form of Words, which *Festus* has preserved, does not exactly agree in Sense with that above. *Silicem tenebant juraturi per Jupiterem, hec verba dicentes; si sciens fallo, tum me, Dux, salva urbe arceque, bonis ejiciat, ut ego lapidem.*

⁹⁶ It was customary among the antient Pagans to ratify and confirm the Faith of Treaties, by offering up a Sow to *Jupiter*. As we read in *Livy*.

*Posito certamine Reges
Stabant & iussa jungebant fœdera porci.*

Generals should engage so near and so affectionate Relations, to take away one another's Lives? If there were a Necessity for one of the two Cities to be superior to the other; yet why might not this Glory be purchased without the Expence of so much Blood, out of one Family?

NEVERTHELESS the Tenderneſs and Embraces of the young Heroes did not abate their Courage.

EACH of them returned to his Arms, and choſe his Adverſary. The eldeſt of the *Horatii* fought the eldeſt of the *Curiatii*, and the other two choſe their Adverſaries in the ſame manner, according to their Age. The Noiſe of their Arms was already heard at a great diſtance: and the People from both Camps could ſee their Swords glitter, tho' they could not diſtinguiſh on whom the Strokes fell; for the Diſtance between the Spectators and Combatants was great.

BOTH Parties were alike uneaſy: they equally hoped to gain the Superiority, and feared to loſe it. One while they perceived that their Champions made their Adverſaries give way, and preſently after that they retreated themſelves: and the Air rung with a confuſed Mixture of Shouts and Acclamations from both Camps, as either of them appeared to have the Advantage: Whiſt the Combatants quickened their Courage, by conſidering the Importance of the Interests they were ſupporting. They looked upon themſelves as the Men who were to give Dominion or bring Slavery to their Country. Their Skill and their Armour made the Combat laſt long, before Fortune declared herſelf in favour of either Nation; till at length the eldeſt of the *Alban* Brothers preſſed his Antagoniſt ⁹⁷ with ſuch Fury, that he both gave, and received ſeveral Wounds: and the eldeſt of the *Horatii*, whom he wounded in the Groin with his Sword, fell. At ſight of this, the *Albans* triumphed, and their joyful Acclamations threw the *Roman* Camp into a Conſternation: which was yet much increaſed, when they ſaw the ſecond *Horatius*, run through by another of the *Curiatii*, die upon the Body of his Brother. For then the Fear of the *Romans* was almoſt changed into Deſpair.

NEVERTHELESS, the *Curiatius*, who had juſt conquered his Adverſary, was wounded in the Ham, by the *Horatius* whom he had killed: So that, the laſt of the three *Roman* Brothers was the only Perſon not wounded, while the *Albans* were all ſo: which was ſome Remains of Hope for *Rome*. Then the young Hero, who deſpaired of being able to ſuſtain the Attack of the three Brothers together, made uſe of a Stratagem to ſeparate them: He fled; and bore the Hootings and Reproaches of his Countrymen. The three *Curiatii* purſued him ⁹⁸, but at unequal Diſtances, as their Wounds made them more or leſs unfit for running. Then *Horatius* turned and fell upon him who purſued him cloſeſt; and the *Albans* excited the wounded Brothers to fly to his Aſſiſtance: but their Strength failed them, and the nimbleſt of the *Curiatii* was already ſlain. Then *Horatius*, without Loſs of Time, ran to the ſecond *Curiatius*; and at one great Stroke with his Sword, cut off his Arm, and then ran him through the Body.

THE Deſeat of the third was eaſy; it could not be called a Combat. *Horatius* looked on the laſt of the *Curiatii* as a Viſtim he could without Difficulty offer up to the *Manes* of his Brethren. *Curiatius*, on the other Hand, being wounded, and ſupporting himſelf with Difficulty upon his Buckler, ſeemed to offer himſelf voluntarily to Death: whiſt the young Conqueror cries out, *To the Glory of Rome I ſacrifice thee*, ſtriking him on the Throat; and, big with his Victory, ſeizes the Spoils of the Conquered. It is eaſy to judge what Acclamations the *Romans* made in honour of the Hero, who gained them a Glory, which had hung ſo long in Suſpence.

⁹⁷ In our Relation of the Battel between the three *Horatii*, and the three *Curiatii*, we have ſometimes borrowed Circumſtances from *Livy*, and ſometimes from *Dion. Hal.*; but oftner from the *Latin* than the *Greek* Hiſtorian. We are of *Livy's* Opinion, as to the Number of the *Curiatii* who periſhed in the firſt Encounter. *Dion. Hal.* pretends, that one of the *Horatii* was killed at firſt, together with one of the *Curiatii*; ſo that there were but two *Curiatii* left to encounter the *Horatius* who was Conqueror. But all the *Latins* contradict him in this: and we have therefore followed

the greateſt Number. Tho', after all, the *Latins* may poſſibly have copied after one another; and the *Greek* Writer may have written after more antient and faithful Memoirs than the *Latins*. At leaſt, we thought not proper entirely to omit this Account of *Dion. Halicarnanſſens*, tho' we have not inſerted it in the Body of the Hiſtory.

⁹⁸ He, who was wounded in the Ham, did not leave the Field of Battel. *Dion. Hal.* ſays, the *Alban*, tho' wounded, ſupported himſelf by his Shield, and crawled along, with difficulty, to fight the laſt *Horatius*.

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*Livy, B. 1.
ch. 25.*

*Liv. B. 1.
ibid.
Dion. Hal.
p. 156.*

*Dion. Hal.
B. 3. p. 156.*

*Livy, B. 1.
ibid.*

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THE *Albans* and *Romans* buried their Dead⁹⁹, but with very different Thoughts. The former looked on themselves as an enslaved People, the latter as the Nation which was become Mistress. And accordingly, *Fuffetius* acknowledged the Superiority of his Conquerors on the Field of Battel. *What are your Commands, Sir?* said he to *Tullus*, saluting him as his Master. To which the King of the *Romans* replied, *Nothing but to keep your Infantry in a readiness to march, at my Command, if I make War with the Veientes*¹⁰⁰.

AND now the Glory of the young *Horatius* was but too shining: He would scarce have remembred he was a Man, if Heaven had not moderated his Joy, by an Accident that interrupted it. He returned to *Rome* at the Head of the Army, and his Return had the Air of a Triumph; for his Shoulders were laden with the Spoils of the three *Curatii*. The Conqueror was already drawing near to the Gate *Capena*, when he perceived his Sister at a distance. This was the marriageable young Woman, who had been betrothed to one of the *Curatii*. People were surprized to see her in the midst of the Croud alone, without her Mother: but *Horatius* put the best Construction upon so uncommon an Indecency, and attributed it to her Impatience of seeing a victorious Brother: Whereas, she meant nothing less. *Horatia* had stolen from home, through an impatient Desire of having some News of her Lover. Her Passion made her forget her Brother's Danger, and engrossed all her Concern to her dear *Curatius*: So that she neglected to enquire after her Brother, and was only solicitous to know the Fate of him who was to have been her Husband. And as soon as she had learned that he was dead, she ran out of the City like one mad: and it was not in her Nurse's Power, who called her back, to stop her.

Dion. Hal.
B. 3. p. 157.

THERE she saw her Brother adorned with the Crown, which the King had put upon his Head: And when she beheld the military¹⁰¹ Robe of her Lover, which she and her Mother had wrought with their own Hands, stained with the Blood of her dear *Curatius*, she untied her Head-dress, let her Hair loose about her Shoulders, rent her Clothes, smote upon her Breast, and in a sorrowful Tone repeated the Name *Curatius*: which filled all about her with Terror. And then attacking her Brother himself, she said, *Barbarian! how could'st thou dip thy Hands in the Blood of thy Relations, even of those Curatii, whom thou hast so often called thy Brothers? How could'st thou rob me of an Husband I so tenderly loved?*

Livy, B. 1.
ch. 26.

HORATIUS still breathed Blood, as being yet warm with that Day's Slaughter: *Go*, said he to his Sister, *go to thy Lover, unnatural Creature! Is it thus thou forgettest thy dead Brothers, thy living Brother, and thy Country? Thus let every Roman perish, who laments the Loss of an Enemy of Rome.* At which Words, he stabbed her with his Sword, and went home to his Father.

Dion. Hal.
B. 3. p. 158.

THE Crime was thought heinous, by the King and Senate, but the Merit of the late Victory lessened the Horror of it. And old *Horatius*, seemed of all others to be least affected with the Death of his Daughter, and the Loss of his two Sons. The Love of their Country had then the Ascendant, in *Roman* Breasts, over natural Affections. He approved of the Murder of *Horatia*; and congratulated his Son upon it. He would not even attend his Daughter's Funeral, or suffer her to be buried in the Sepulchre of her Family. Forgetting all domestick Misfortunes, out of Regard to the Interests of *Rome*, he gave a great Entertainment the same Day, and crowning himself with Flowers, offered Victims on the Altars. Such was the Rigour of the *Roman* Virtue in these early Times. By means of these Sentiments, how barbarous soever they may appear to be, we shall soon see *Rome* arrive at such a Pitch of Grandeur, as will raise our Admiration.

IN the mean time, whilst *Alba* was in Consternation and Mourning, *Tullus*

⁹⁹ In *Livy's* Time, the Tombs of the *Horatii* and *Curatii* were to be seen, on the very Places where each of them lost his Life.

¹⁰⁰ *Dion. Hal.* adds, that the *Albans*, afflicted by the Death of the three *Curatii*, openly condemned the Conduct of their General; and, giving themselves up to Grief all the Night, refused to take even necessary Refreshments: but *Tullus Hostilius* comforted them the next Day, and encouraged them, by promising them that he would impose no-

thing upon them, contrary to the Terms of the old Alliance.

¹⁰¹ This military Robe is called by *Livy*, *Paludamentum*; which was a warlike Habit among the *Romans*. We shall both speak, and give the Figure of it, in its proper Place. According to *Dion. Hal.* *Horatius's* Sister did not take notice of a military Cloak, but a Tunick of different Colours, which she had worked with her own Hands, and given to him who was to have been her Husband.

Hostilius received the Honours of a Triumph at *Rome* ¹⁰². And when he returned home, he saw the young *Horatius* brought by some illustrious Citizens to his Tribunal, to take his Trial there. The Murder of *Horatia* was notorious, for which they demanded Justice. *Nothing*, said they, *can be more pernicious, than to abate the Rigour of the Laws, in favour of Conquerors.* The Law was indeed exprets against the Person accused: It said, that *no one should kill any Person whatsoever, who had not been condemned.* And therefore, said they, *what have we not to fear from the Vengeance of the Gods, if once the Violation of the Laws be countenanced by Impunity?* *Tullus* was divided between his Regard for the Services of the young *Horatius*, and the Respect he owed to the Laws, as the Avenger of them. And to extricate himself out of this Difficulty, ¹⁰³ and avoid the Odium of a Judgment so contrary to his Inclination, he found out the Expedient of turning the Cause into a State-Crime, the Cognizance of which did not belong to him. He consulted the People, and then said, *I appoint two* ¹⁰⁴ *Commissioners* *, *who shall judge Horatius as a State-Criminal.* And this Determination was agreeable to the Law, which runs thus: *Let two Commissioners be appointed to judge of State-Crimes. If the Criminal appeal from the Sentence of the two Commissioners, let his Appeal be received. And if their Sentence be confirmed, let him be blindfolded, and hanged upon a Tree that he may there be strangled, or let him be whipped, either within or without the Walls of Rome.* It's probable this Act of *Horatius* was considered as a State-Crime, either because he had shed his Sister's Blood in the King's Presence, and in the Sight of the People when assembled; or because he personally assumed to himself a Right of punishing the Guilty; which was usurping the Authority of the Sovereign.

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Duumviri.

THESE Commissioners, called *Duumviri*, could only judge of the *Fact*, and not of the *Right* of the Accused. And as the Murder had been publick, Sentence was pronounced, without Delay, in these Words: *Horatius we judge you to be guilty of High Treason. Lictors, let his Hands be tied.* But as soon as Judgment was given, the Criminal, who was already in the Executioner's Hands, appealed from it to the People: And this he did at the Instigation of *Tullus*, who laboured to deliver him. Whence it is evident, that the Kings of *Rome* were not then in Possession of a Power of pardoning, at least State-Criminals.

THE Cause of the unfortunate *Horatius* was therefore pleaded before the People, that is, before the Assembly of the *Roman Curiae*; and this is said to have been the first capital Case that came before them. This Court had an unlimited Power, and could equally judge of *Fact* and *Right*, in all Causes. It was therefore a Point much laboured in Favour of *Horatius*, to prove that *Horatia* had been justly put to Death by him: Old *Horatius* especially wept aloud, and at the same time loudly proclaimed the Sense of the Laws.

Dion. Hal.
B. 3. p. 159.

OUR Lawgivers, said he, *have given Fathers a sovereign Power over the Lives of their Children. I am therefore the first Judge of them in my own Family. And if my Determination may take place, my Son Horatius had a Right of purging my*

Liv. B. 1. c. 26.

¹⁰² We have not any Account of this Triumph of *Tullus Hostilius* in the *Fasti Capitolini*: Time has left no Footsteps of it in them. *Dion. Hal.* is the only one, who tells us he triumphed three times; once over the *Albans*, a second time over the *Fidenates*, and a third over the *Sabines*. And his Testimony is more to be relied on than that of *Macrobius*, who, B. 1. acknowledges indeed that he triumphed three times; but contends, that the two first times were over the *Albans*, and the third over the *Sabines*; without mentioning the *Fidenates*. *Virgil* contents himself with saying, *Tullus* revived the Use of Triumphs, without telling us how often he triumphed, or over what People,

Residue movebit
Tullus in arma viros, & jam desueta triumpho
Alatuna

After all, it is yet uncertain, whether *Tullus Hostilius* triumphed over the *Albans*, immediately after the Victory of the young *Horatius*, or after the Destruction of *Alba*, which happened at some Distance of Time from it. Let not the Reader therefore

charge us with an Anachronism, concerning so doubtful an Event.

¹⁰³ *Dion. Hal.*'s Account of this Matter is different from this. According to him, the chief Men in *Rome* accused young *Horatius*, before the King, of having been guilty of Parricide. They quoted the Laws which forbad Violence, and at the same time brought Instances of the Vengeance of the Gods against several Cities which had let these Sorts of Crimes go unpunished. But old *Horatius*, who defended his Son with Warmth, insisted that the Cognizance of this Affair should be reserved to him; since as a Father he was the natural Judge of his Children. The King, after having been much in doubt what Method to take, referred the Cause to the Judgment of the People, who shewed Favour to the Murderer, and acquitted him.

¹⁰⁴ These *Duumviri*, of whom we have spoken already, were Delegates in extraordinary Cases, which concerned capital Crimes. Their Authority expired as soon as Judgment was given: And they sometimes acted under the Name of *Questors*, as well as that of *Duumviri*.

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Family of the ill Blood that infected it. Among the brave and generous Citizens which I have given Rome, there was found a Fury, whose Sentiments were pernicious to the Publick. She was an Offender, and my Son made use of my Right to punish her; of which I make no Complaint. So far am I from decreeing him Punishment as a Criminal in the Case, that I owe him Rewards for his Zeal. It is a double Triumph to me, to have both overcome the Curiatii, and to have delivered Rome from an ungrateful Creature, whose Heart was not Roman. And can you then tie this same Conqueror to the fatal Tree, whom you have just seen marching in Triumph amidst your Acclamations? Could the most barbarous Alban bear this Sight? Shall those Hands which brought Safety to his Country, be tied by the common Hangman? Shall the Head of the Deliverer of Rome be covered with the Veil of a Criminal? Will you fix the Tree, on which he is to expire, in the midst of the Trophies he has won from the Enemy? Shall he be whipped without the Walls, near the Tombs of the Curiatii? In what Place soever you fix the Scene of his Punishment, you will there find Monuments of his Glory.

Dion. Hal. lib.

Liv. B. I. c. 26.
Dion. Hal. lib.

THE Judges were sensibly affected with the Tears of the Father, and the Services of the Son. They thought it unworthy of them to punish the Hero as an Homicide, who had exposed his Life for his Country's Sake; and to reward the Superiority he had gained them over *Alba*, with an ignominious Death. The domestick Sentence which the Father pronounced against his Daughter, in favour of his Son, had great Weight with them. They were affected with the Condition to which they were going to reduce that Family to whom they were indebted for the most noble Prerogative of their City. They therefore saved the Life of young *Horatius*; but the Austerity of the Judges at that time would not suffer them to let him go utterly unpunished. They commuted the Punishment of Death, for that of an ignominious Ceremony. They made him pass under the ¹⁰⁵ Yoke: Which was a sort of Insult to which those Prisoners of War were exposed, who had willingly given up their Arms. They erected two Pieces of Timber, over which they laid a third, like a Door-case. The Conqueror of the *Curiatii* was therefore treated as a cowardly Captive, and was forced to endure this Yoke; or in other Words, to pass under it bare-headed. And after they had satisfied Men by this Example of Severity, *Tullus* commanded that the Gods should be appeased, who were provoked by this Violation of the Laws. And accordingly, no kind of Expiation was omitted ¹⁰⁶, to appease them. All Sorts of Lustrations, customary for those who had been guilty of Homicide through Inconsideration or Carelessness, were used on this Occasion. Nor was this all: The *Pontifices* erected two Altars, one to *Juno*, who presided over the Union of Brothers and Sisters, and the other to *Janus* ¹⁰⁷. They repeated the Names of the three *Curiatii*, whilst they were offering Sacrifices to appease their *Manes*: And the Place where the Ceremony was performed ¹⁰⁸, was ever after looked on as consecrated Ground. These Altars, and this Yoke ¹⁰⁹, under which they made the Criminal pass, were carefully preserved, and were all remaining in the Time of *Augustus*. And besides all this, it was further commanded, that the Thing

¹⁰⁵ This humbling Ceremony was required by the *Romans*, of those Enemies who surrendered their Arms, and submitted to the Power of the Conquerors. After which, they had the Liberty of returning to their own Country. The King's Design in reducing the young *Horatius* to this ignominious Condition, was to make the Criminal sensible, that, according to the Customs of the *Romans*, he deserved the Fate and Punishment of a Slave. After a Criminal was once declared guilty of High Treason, and an Enemy to his Country, his Name was struck out of the Number of Citizens, and he was looked on as a Slave delivered up to the Rigour of the Laws. This was their Way of proceeding against the Citizens who had betrayed the Interests of their Country.

¹⁰⁶ The Worship of false Gods did not destroy the Notions of a Providence. The Pagans were always persuaded, that the Gods were the Avengers of Crimes. This Prepossession, which arises from the purest Light of Reason, subsisted in the midst of the Darkness of Paganism. Hence came

the offering up of Victims and expiatory Sacrifices, to appease the Wrath of the Gods, and regain their Favour. The guilty Person was also thought excluded from Society, till he had purified himself according to the Rites of Paganism.

¹⁰⁷ *Dion. Hal.* says, the *Janus*, to whom the Altar had been erected, was called *Curiatius*, from the Name of the three *Curiatii*, who were killed in the Fight. This *Janus* was probably one of those *Genii*, whose Business was to watch over the Preservation of Men from the Moment of their Births. The Divinities which protected Women, were in like manner called *Junones*. *Pliny* mentions them *B. 11. Appositos sibi statim ab ortu custodes credebant quos viri genios, femine Junones vocabant.*

¹⁰⁸ This Place, according to *Dion. Hal.* was a Street that led down from the Street *Carine*, to the *Cyprian* or the *Good Street*.

¹⁰⁹ The *Romans* called this Yoke *Sororium Tergillum*. Thus *Horatius's* Pillar continued at *Rome*, in *Livy's* Time, under the Name of *Pila Horatii*.

Should

should be annually commemorated by Victims offered up on these Altars. And the Priest who was to perform this solemn Rite, was ever after to be one of the Family of the *Horatii*.

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SUCH were the Monuments of the *Roman* Severity; which seem to have exceeded those whereby the *Romans* signalized their Gratitude. They only erected a square Pillar to the ¹¹⁰ Conqueror, in the midst of the *Forum*, on which were hung the Spoils of the three *Curatii*; and on which they continued to hang till Time and Rust made them fall to Pieces. And for the unfortunate *Horatia* they built a Stone Tomb on the same Place in which she was killed: At first indeed, old *Horatius* had refused to contribute towards the Burial of his Daughter, and the People only covered her Body with an Heap of Stones, confusedly thrown together.

§. XIII. BUT to return, *Tullus* suspended the Effects of his Revenge upon the rebellious *Fidenates*, a whole Year. They had formerly been subdued by *Romulus*, but they now pretended, that their Engagements to Servitude died with their Conqueror. The last Treason, which they had plotted equally against the *Albans* and *Romans*, had made a deep Impression on *Tullus's* Mind; and he therefore prepared for making War with them: But the Laws of *Numa* obliged him to observe all the prescribed Forms, before he came to an open Rupture. So that he cited them to appear before the Senate, to give an Account of their artful Conduct at the Time when Battle was ready to be given to the *Albans*. But they, who knew themselves to be guilty of the Treason, refused to come and make that Submission at *Rome*, which, they said, derogated from their Liberty.

Dion. Hal.
B. 3. p. 260.

It is likewise said, that *Fuffetius* was the Author of their Revolt, and that he found Means to stir them up, by his Emissaries, to shake off the *Roman* Yoke. He had drawn upon himself the Hatred and Reproaches of the *Albans*, by having made the Fate of his Country to depend on the Combat between the three *Curatii* and the three *Horatii*. For *Alba* turned the ill Success of that wise Counsel against him; and the weak *Dictator* endeavoured to remove the Reproaches and Discontents which it had brought upon him, by Craft and Treachery. He made the *Fidenates* and *Veientes* hope, that if they entered into a secret League with him against *Rome*, he would join with them, in order to extirpate a new and imperious Colony, which made it her Glory to reduce her Neighbours to Slavery. He promised them that he would declare himself an Enemy to the *Romans* at a proper Time, and would then separate himself from them when they depended most upon him.

UPON these Hopes, the *Fidenates* and *Veientes* openly took up Arms against the *Romans*. The two rebellious Cities raised Troops by publick Edicts, and depending on the Defection of the *Albans*, took the Field. The *Romans*, on their Side, assembled their Allies together, and among others, ordered *Fuffetius* to lead that Army to the Assistance of *Rome*, which the common Enemy had laid Snares to destroy. *Tullus* had a Heart full of that Openness, and *Roman* Generosity, which usually keeps Men from being upon their Guard against Treasons. He had no just Cause to be apprehensive of the Treachery of this new Subject; or to suspect that he would make Use of the same Artifice, in Conjunction with the *Fidenates*, from which he had just before preserved both *Alba* and *Rome*.

AND now, the *Roman* Army was already in the Field; it had already passed *the Anio*, and encamped in the Plains which are watered by that River, before it falls into *the Tyber*; and the *Alban* Forces had joined those of *Rome*. The *Veientes*, on the other hand, had crossed the *Tyber*, and joined the *Fidenates*. All the Armies were already in Sight of one another. The *Fidenates*, who were posted in the left Wing, extended themselves to the Hills; the *Veientes*, who were to engage in the right Wing, had the River in Flank: And *Tullus* disposed the Order of the Battle which he made Preparations to give the next Day, in this manner. He chose to fight the *Veientes* himself, and to face them on the Side of the River; he set *Fuffetius* and his Troops against the *Fidenates*, at the Foot of the Hills: And the

Liv. B. 1. c. 27.

¹¹⁰ According to the Testimony of *Dion. Hal.* the *Romans*, in order to immortalize the Glory of the Conqueror, made a Law, which continued to be in Force in this Historian's Time; whereby any

Family in which three Male Children were born at a Birth, was entitled to the Privilege of having them brought up, to the Age of *Puberty*, at the publick Expence.

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King of *Rome*, incapable of Suspicions, communicated all these his Designs to the *Alban* General, and greatly caressed him. But the Traitor made no other Use of this, than to give the Enemies of *Rome* such Intelligence as must be of Service to them: And the Evening before the Battle, *Fuffetius*, thinking it proper to communicate the criminal Resolution he had taken, to the principal Commanders in his Army, bespoke them thus.

I trust my own Life, and the Recovery of our Liberty, to your Discretion and Counsels. It will be wholly in your Power, either to destroy me, by betraying my Secret, or to deliver your selves from Slavery, by putting my Design in Execution. Rome is an imperious Mistress to us. Personally speaking indeed, I have less Reason than any Body to complain of her. Under the Name of a Dictator, she last left me an almost regal Authority in Alba. But you are mere Subalterns; and I cannot relish the Pleasure of seeing my self distinguished among you, as long as I am obeyed only by Slaves. I have long sought Means to deliver us from this dishonourable Yoke; and Fortune at length offers it to us, in this wish'd-for Moment. I am the Man who stirred up the Veientes and Fidenates against the Romans. Tho' in Appearance an Ally to Rome, I am come hither rather to destroy, than assist her. The Plot, which I have laid with so much Secrecy that Tullus has not been able to get the least Hint of it, is advantageous to us in more Instances than one. If we pursue it, the Fidenates and Veientes will bear the whole Burden of the Battle; and upon them only will lie all the Dangers and Labour of recovering our common Liberty: Whilst we will continue unactive till Fortune has shewn us which Army is like to get the Day, and then we will fall upon the Romans, if they are worsted, or on their Enemies, if the Disadvantage is with them. By this means, we shall, without any Hazard, share the Glory and Favour of the Conquerors, which ever Side proves victorious. And my being posted by Tullus, in the right Wing of his Army, favours my Design: for as we, by this means, face the Fidenates, our Orders are to engage them at the Foot of the Hills. As soon then as the Signal is given for the first Attack, we will by degrees gain the rising Grounds, and leave the Plain open for the Fidenates to take the Romans in Flank, and surround them. And when our Defection shall have struck Fear and Discouragement into Tullus's Army, we will then come down from our Hills, and fall upon it, will strew the Plain with Roman Carcasses, and will in one Day destroy all the Forces of a Colony which ought to obey those to whom she presumes to give Law.

THIS Design of *Fuffetius* was universally approved; all present bound themselves by Oath to keep the Secret, and execute his Orders. In the mean time, both Armies, at Sun-rising, marched out of their Camps. The *Romans* drew up in the Manner *Tullus* had appointed the Evening before: And the *Albans* were posted at the Foot of the Hills, over against the *Fidenates*. And when the Troops on both Sides were in Motion, and were come within reach of one another, then *Fuffetius* was seen to draw back, and gain the rising Ground, leaving the Place he was posted in open to the Army of the *Fidenates*. A *Roman* Trooper therefore instantly rode away to *Tullus*, to inform him of the unexpected Motion of the *Albans*; and gave him Reason to fear the Approaches of the *Fidenates*, who were already advancing to surround him. But *Tullus*, tho' seized with Terror, knew how to dissemble it: He silently made ¹¹¹ a Vow to increase the College of the Priests with twelve *Salii*, and to build a Temple to *Fear* and *Pale-ness*: And then cried out with a loud Voice, which was heard at a great Distance among his Battalions, and even among the Enemies, *Courage, Friends, we have conquered! It is by my Orders that the Albans are possessing themselves of the Hills; from whence they are likewise, by my Orders, to fall down upon the Enemy.* The Confidence of the King inspired his Troops with Courage; he commanded the Cavalry to carry their Lances high, to conceal the Defection of the *Albans* from his Infantry; and the General's Presence of Mind secured the Victory to his *Romans*. The *Fidenates* and *Veientes*, on the other hand, grew distrustful of the *Alban*: They thought his Inaction was suspicious. And thus the

Livy, ibid.

*Dion. Hal. B. 3.
p. 165. and
Livy, ibid.*

¹¹¹ The *Salii* instituted by *Numa*, had their Temple on the Hill *Palatinus*: Whence they were called *Salii Palatini*. Those created by *Tullus Hostilius*, were called *Salii Collini*, and *Salii Agonenses*,

because they had a Chapel peculiar to themselves on the Hill *Collinus*, or *Agonalis*: Which, as we have observed in another Place, were the Names of the Hill since called *Quirinalis*.

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Discouragement one Army was under, and the Valour of the other decided the Day. The *Roman* Cavalry broke through the *Fidenates*, routed them, and made them fly towards *Fidena*, which was at no great distance. But *Tullus* did not lose Time in pursuing them: he returned upon the *Veientes*, who were in equal Contention, at the Defeat and Desertion of their Allies. They did not long sustain the Attack of the *Roman* Legions: being broken in all Parts, they dispersed themselves: Some few, whose Strength would give them leave, swam cross the *Tyber*: but the greatest Part of them either perished in the Waters, or lost their Lives on the Banks of the River. *Rome* had, to that time, never gained a more complete Victory.

THE Conquerors were already employed in plundering the Camp of the Conquered, when *Fuffetius* quitted his Retreat. They saw him come down like a Torrent, on the small Remains of the *Veientes* and dispersed *Fidenates*: whereby he meant to signalize his Zeal in favour of the Victorious. And *Tullus*, who knew his Treachery, restrained his own Resentments. Without making any stir in publick, he gave Orders to *Fuffetius* to pursue a small Number of Fugitives, who could not gain the Walls of *Fidena*. His Obedience was ready: from a bare Spectator of the Fight, he became an Actor in it. They saw him cut some of those his miserable Allies in pieces, whose Revolt he had stirred up, and of whose Destruction he had himself been the Cause. And *Tullus* for the present let the Traytor please himself with the Fancy, that his Treachery was undiscovered. The Interview between the two Chiefs was spent in mutual Congratulations upon the Exploits of the Day: and a solemn Sacrifice was appointed for the Day following.

In the mean time, *Tullus* examined those *Veientes* and *Fidenates* whom he had taken in the Battel, about the Authors of their Revolt: and they accused *Fuffetius*. When therefore the King had sufficient Proof of his Defection, he returned secretly by Night to *Rome*. There he reported to the Senators the Crime the *Alban* General had been guilty of; and concerted with them the proper Manner of humbling *Alba*, punishing the General, and putting the Accomplices of his Treason to Death. This done, he returned to his Camp, before Break of Day; instantly detached young *Horatius*, who had conquered the three *Albans*, with a chosen Body of Horse and Foot; and commanded him to go to the condemned City. *Alba*, who knew nothing either of the Plots of her Dictator, or the severe Sentence *Rome* had pronounced against her, was of course unguarded against the *Romans*; and received them as became a City allied and subject to them. But how great must the Surprize of the *Albans* have been, when *Horatius* declared to them the Orders he came to execute; which were, to overturn the City, and spare neither private nor publick Building, except the Temples. As for the Inhabitants, he told them, they had leave to carry Furniture, and other Effects, to *Rome*: which made the common People rejoice, that they were going to live there; whilst the Rich only were grieved to leave the convenient Houses they had inherited from their Ancestors. However, Discipline was exactly preserved in the Demolition of the City. No Footsteps of Robbery or Plunder were to be seen. A silent Silence and Tears were then the only Refuge of these unfortunate Citizens, who, at their Departure, saw their native City buried in a Cloud of Dust, which rose from its Ruins.

AND whilst *Horatius* was thus destroying *Alba*, *Tullus* was considering how to punish the *Alban* General. He thought he might use Dissimulation with a Traytor: and therefore caressed him now more than ever. After he had commended his Exploits, he engaged him to give him a List of those Officers in his Army who had distinguished themselves in the Battel. He told him his Design was to reward their Valour; but the Reward he had in Reserve for them, was Death. He rightly judged, that *Fuffetius* would put only such into his List of brave Officers, as were accomplices in his Treason.

It was even then an established Custom for the *Roman* Generals to hang up their Troops after a Victory. *Tullus* appointed the two Bodies of the *Roman* and *Alban* Armies, to attend him that very Day: and commanded, that, contrary to Custom, all should come to the Assembly without their Arms. *Fuffetius* continued in his Security, even whilst at the Foot of the Tribune,

Dion. Hal.
B. 3. p. 166.

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from which the King was to make his Speech to his Soldiers. It was likewise customary, in this sort of Ceremonies, to make use of an Herald, to call the Officers by Name, and to place them in order round about the Eminence, from whence the General harangued them. *Fuffetius* then, and his Accomplices were first called, and took the first Ranks: and they thought themselves honoured by the Deference that was paid to their Nation. When they were placed, they were surrounded on all Sides by the *Roman* Legions; who had Orders, to bring their Swords to the Assembly hid under their Clothes, not to shew them but at the Signal agreed on; and then instantly to make such use of them as they should be directed.

Dion. Hal.
B. 3. p. 167.
& Livy, B. 1.
c. 28.

ALL things being thus regulated, the King immediately ascended the *Tribune*; and his Speech is differently related by Historians: But we shall extract only such Parts of it, as appear to us, to be most worthy of the wise and generous *Tullus*. If ever, said he, we had reason to give thanks to the immortal Gods, if I ever ought to congratulate my illustrious Romans on their Valour, it is after the Battle which has now signalized your Arms. Through the Assistance of Heaven and your Bravery, we have revenged ourselves on the *Fidcnates* and their Allies. These indeed were open Enemies, from whom we had nothing to fear, but what is common in War. But we were not aware that Jealousy had raised up other secret ones, who were the more formidable, as they concealed themselves under the Mask of Friendship. It was by secret Plots with the Enemies of the Roman Name, and artful Contrivances to leave us defenceless in time of the greatest Danger, that they purposed to destroy us. And what had we done to them, to deserve their Hatred? They were left to their antient Government, and scarce felt that we were their Masters. We bought the Dominion over them at the Expence of Roman Blood, and yet by our Moderation alleviated the Weight of it. What Returns have they made us! You are not to imagine, that it was by my Orders that *Fuffetius* retired to the Mountains. No, we suffered you to believe it, in order to keep you from being discouraged: But his Inaction proceeded only from his own corrupt Heart. It was concerted for our Destruction: and if the Project had succeeded, there had been an end of Rome: She had lost the Glory and Conquests of so many Years, in one Day. Yes, Traitor! 'twas you who withdrew your Troops from the Battle; 'twas you who lighted up the Fire we have just now extinguished; 'twas you who broke the sacred Bands of the Treaty that united us. But these Reproaches are not intended to affect equally all the *Alban* Legions. Several of them were drawn in by the Example of their General, without knowing his Design: And I know how to distinguish between the Innocent and the Guilty, and to proportion the Punishment to the Crime. All the *Albans* shall not lose their Lives, but all shall remove to Rome: there, as they become Inhabitants of the same City with us, they will lay aside that Hatred for the Roman Name, when within our Walls, which their Continuance at *Alba* nourishes in their Hearts.

Dion. Hal.
B. 3. p. 171.

AT these Words the *Albans* were in commotion, and rose up in a Tumult to run to Arms. But their Efforts were in vain, through the King's Precaution. He gave the Signal, and the *Romans* who surrounded them instantly drew their Swords, and silenced their Menaces. *Fuffetius* was the only one who continued his seditious Clamours: but the King made him hold his peace, and pronounced Sentence of Death upon him, in these Words: Were you capable of changing, and was there any room to hope, that you would become of a peaceable Disposition, and observe our Contracts, I would spare your Life. But since your restless Spirit appears to be incorrigible, Die; and be an Example to warn Men from breaking through the Engagements, which Religion has made sacred. You divided your Heart between our Enemies and us: let your Body therefore be now divided into two Parts, and be torn in pieces by two Chariots.

Dion. Hal.
B. 3. ibid.

FUFFETIUS would, upon this, have made some resistance against the Soldiers who seized him: but he only increased his Punishment, by the Blow they gave him¹¹². They tied him with Straps to two Chariots, drawn by Horses

¹¹² *Dion. Hal.* says, that *Fuffetius*, before he was off his Clothes, and beat him with Rods, till he was rent in pieces, was seized by the *Lictors*; who tore was all over bloody.

his Arms to one, and his Legs to the other: and he was torn asunder in a Moment. His Accomplices were all put to the Sword: and the rest of the *Alban* Soldiers were carried to *Rome*, where they intermixed with the *Alban* Citizens, who were transplanted thither at the same time, and enjoyed all the Privileges of Citizens of *Rome*.

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§. XIV. BUT this new Increase of Inhabitants obliged *Tullus* to enlarge the Limits of *Rome*. The Hill *Cælius*¹¹³ had already begun to be inhabited: and it was then made populous with that Multitude of *Albans*, who left their own demolished Walls. *Tullus* used his utmost Care to alleviate the Uneasiness of their Removal. He built Houses for the poorest, at his own Expence; and he distributed some Lands among the Hircings, who were obliged to work for the Citizens, for Wages. As for the noble Families of these ancient *Albans*, several of which were descended from the *Trojans*, he gave them a Place in the Senate¹¹⁴. Historians mention six, which were ever after *Patrician*, viz. the *Julian*, *Quintian*, *Servilian*, *Geganian*, *Curiacian*, and *Clælian*. But though the Hill *Cælius* was, generally speaking, appointed for the *Albans*, the King nevertheless gave them leave to settle in the other Quarters of the City: And he himself fixed his Seat among them¹¹⁵. As *Romulus* had had his Palace on the Hill *Palatinus*, and *Numa* his in the *Roman Forum*, or Market-Place; *Tullus* built his upon the Hill *Cælius*: And by his Benefactions he gained the Hearts of his new Citizens. He raised a great Number of them to the Rank of *Roman*¹¹⁷ Knights, whom he divided into ten Companies: and the rest of the Soldiers he admitted into the ancient Tribes, and incorporated them with the *Curie*. In short, he left the *Albans* no room to regret the Loss of their ancient Habitations. Thus perished that illustrious City, which was built by *Iulus*, the Son of *Æneas* and *Creüsa*: after it had lasted within thirteen Years of five Centuries. *Alba* had also sent out thirty Colonies, which all settled in the Country of the *Latins*. But her Ruin was now completed; there never after appeared any Remains of her, besides her Temples.

Dion. Hal.
B. 3.

THIS had been a very happy Campaign for the *Romans*: *Alba* was destroyed, and the *Fidenates* had been beaten. Nevertheless *Fidena* persevered in her Revolt. *Rome* had not sufficiently revenged herself, as long as the *Fidenates* continued to have an Asylum within their Walls, and Riches enough to hire Troops in their Neighbourhood, and buy Provisions to maintain them. The Victory was hitherto but begun; which made *Tullus* impatient to complete it. He spent all the Winter in making Preparations for War, and early in the Spring took the Field. It's true, *Fidena* began then to be sensible of the Terror which *Rome* spread among her Neighbours: No Nation dared declare themselves her Enemies, by a publick Decree. The *Fidenates* were therefore forced to content themselves without any other Auxiliaries, than a Gang of Mercenaries, who sold them their Services. Nevertheless, this did not much abate their Boldness: they were not afraid to march out of their City, and offer the *Romans* Battel. It's true, they waited for them under their Walls, that they might have a Retreat in case of Misfortune: And it was a wise Precaution. Being repulsed and beaten, they retired within the Gates of *Fi-*

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¹¹³ *Strabo* thought *Ancus Martius* made the Hill *Cælius* a Part of the City of *Rome*. *Tacitus* says, this Addition was no made till the Reign of *Tarquinius the Elder*. But the Opinion of *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* ought to be preferred.

¹¹⁴ *Livy* and *Varro* tell us, that *Tullus Hostilius* fixed the Assemblies of the Senate in a Temple built, as *Donatus* conjectures, in the *Forum*. This Edifice was consecrated by the *Augurs*, and afterwards bore the Name of *Curia Hostilia*.

¹¹⁵ *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* both say, that the *Julian* Family came to *Rome* after the Destruction of *Alba*: but it is somewhat difficult to give them credit. It is certain, even from these two Authors themselves, that one *Julius*, surnamed *Proculus*, came to dwell there with *Romulus*, from the Beginning of the Foundations of the City: And in this Passage of *Livy*, instead of *Julia*, was formerly read *Tullia*.

But this does not solve the Difficulty, since *Dion. Hal.* indisputably writes *Julia*. We must therefore

say, that *Julius Proculus* was the only Person of all the *Julian* Family, who came to *Rome* with *Romulus*; and that the rest of that illustrious House continued at *Alba*, till it was destroyed; and did not come to *Rome* till the Reign of *Tullus Hostilius*.

¹¹⁶ This Palace of *Tullus Hostilius* was also called *Curia Hostilia*. Whether this was different from his first Palace, is, in the Judgment of some Authors, uncertain. We think we ought to receive the Opinion of the Majority of Writers, who distinguish them one from the other. At least, it's certain, that *Tullus Hostilius* fixed his Habitation in the *Forum*, before he dwelt upon the Hill *Cælius*.

¹¹⁷ *Livy* says, *decem turmas ex Albanis legit*. So that, reckoning thirty Soldiers to every Company, *Tullus Hostilius* doubled the *Roman* Cavalry, by joining three hundred more Horse to the three Centurie, or hundreds, *Romulus* had established, under the Names of *Ramnenses*, *Tatienses*, and *Luceres*.

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dena, which they immediately shut, with a Resolution to hold out a Siege. But the King of *Rome* contented himself with blockading it, and surrounding it with a large Ditch, to cut off all Succours and Provisions from it. In short, he reduced the *Fidenates* to so great Extremities, that they surrendered at Discretion: and then he exercised the Power he acquired by this Victory with Moderation. He took off only the principal Heads of the Revolt; and suffered the rest of the Citizens to live in their own City, and under the same Form of Government as before, only in Dependence upon *Rome*. As for himself, so complete a Victory over the *Fidenates* was recompensed with the Honours of a Triumph, which were decreed King *Tullus* on this Occasion; and the Spoils of the conquered Enemies were carried as Trophies.

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§. XV. As *Rome* was now enlarged by one half, since the Destruction of *Alba*, and the Settlement of the *Albans* within her Walls: she would no longer bear, with her former Patience, the Injuries that were offered her, by the proudest and most powerful of her Neighbours. The *Sabines* were, next to the *Hetrurians*, the most numerous and most formidable of all the Nations about *Rome*. These *Romulus* had indeed partly subdued, and some of them had voluntarily consented to follow *Titus Tatius*, one of their Kings, and settle at *Rome*. *Numa*, who was taken from their Nation to govern *Rome*, had also in his Life-time gained the Respect of his Countrymen. But when he was dead, they despised a Colony which was much inferior to them in Number, and had been enervated by a long Peace: and they therefore were the Aggressors. The Account which History gives us of the Grounds of their Quarrels, is as follows.

Dion. Hal.
B. 3. p. 173.

At the Foot of Mount *Soracte* ¹¹⁸, upon the Banks of the *Tyber*, stood a Temple consecrated to the Goddess *Feronia* ¹¹⁹: It's probable, that *Flora* or *Proserpine* was worshiped under that Name, when she gathered Flowers with her Companions, before she was carried off by *Pluto*. This Temple had always been frequented, and the Goddess worshiped, both by the *Sabines* and *Latins*. People came thither from all Parts; some to pay their Vows to the Goddess, and others on account of a Fair kept there, at which abundance of Merchandize was sold. Among the rest, some of the most illustrious *Romans* had been here the preceding Years, and had been insulted by the *Sabines*. They had robbed them of their Money, kept them in Captivity, and had refused to set them at Liberty when demanded by their Country: *The Romans*, said they, *used us in this manner, when they opened an Asylum for our Fugitives, and peopled their City with them. This is only a Reprisal, which is consistent with Equity, and agreeable to the Laws of Nations.*

Livy, B. 1.
ch. 30.

BUT the *Romans* were no longer disposed to bear the Affronts of their Neighbours, after the *Albans* had joined them. They now demanded the Prisoners, Sword in Hand. The *Sabines*, on their part, sought for Succours among their Neighbours; but the *Veientes* dreaded the Fate of the *Fidenates*: and the *Sabines* were therefore left to depend on their own Valour only.

It's true, some Remains of Hatred against *Rome* among the *Italians* procured the *Sabines* some Volunteers; and they hired a small Number of Troops out of the neighbouring Countries: with which Reinforcements they kept themselves upon the defensive. *Tullus* was beforehand with them, appeared first in the Field, and ravaged their Lands. At length so bloody a Battel was

¹¹⁸ Mount *Soracte* is, in the Ecclesiastical State, twenty-six Miles North of *Rome*. It is now called *Monte Sansylvestro*. *Varro* assures us, that in his time there was a Spring upon this Mountain, which bubbled up at the Rising of the Sun, and the Water of which was thought mortal to Birds.

¹¹⁹ The Pagans gave *Feronia* the Superintendence over Forests, Gardens, and Orchards. They had built a Temple to her at the Foot of Mount *Soracte*. Upon the Mountain was a little Grove consecrated to this Goddess. *Cluverius* reckons up three Cities in *Italy*, which bore this Name. The first was situated in the Country of the *Volscei*, near the Marsh *Pontina*, three Miles from *Terracina*: In the Neighbourhood is a Lake now called, in the Language of the Country, *Lago di Feronia*. The second stood upon the Shores of the *Tyrrhenian*

Sea, in the Territory of *Luna*, fourteen Miles from *Lucca*, where now stands *Pietra Santa*, which belongs to the Great Duke of *Tuscany*. The third was near Mount *Soracte* upon the Banks of the *Tyber*, and was famous for a Concourse of People, who came to pay their Homage, and make their Offerings in the Temple dedicated to *Feronia*, in the same Place where now stands *Fiano*. The Freed-men paid a particular Worship to this Goddess, as has been observed above. The Grove of *Feronia*, or *Lucus Feronia*, was watered with a Spring, which Superstition had consecrated to this Divinity. Travellers used to wash their Face and Hands in it: as *Horace* did.

Ora manusque tua lavimus Feronia lymphis.

Sat. 5. B. 1.
fought

fought upon the Confines of the *Sabine's* Country, at a Forest called *the Malefactor's* ¹²⁰ *Forest*; that both Nations, affrighted with the Numbers of their Slain, retired into their own Countries, and attempted nothing more that Campaign.

§. XVI. But tho' the Animosity between the two Nations was a little abated, by their mutual Losses, yet was it not extinguished. The War was renewed the Year following, with more Fury than before.

THE two Armies met near *Eretum* ¹²¹, a City an hundred and seven *Stadia* distant from *Rome*: Where they fought a Battle, in which the Valour of both Parties kept the Victory long in Suspence. The Slaughter was great on both Sides: And in this Distress *Tullus* had Recourse to the Gods. He implored the Assistance of *Saturn*, and his Wife *Ops*, and vowed ¹²² to institute a Festival to them on the same Day; which was always afterwards celebrated ¹²³ at *Rome*, after Harvest. Religion, whose Power over the Hearts of Men is well known, excited the Confidence and Bravery of the *Romans*. They fell furiously upon their Enemies, who were already harassed with a long Engagement; and Victory declared for *Tullus*, at Sun-set. Then the *Sabines*, brave as they were, fled towards their Entrenchments. The Night coming on, hindered the *Romans* from pursuing them; but they took a great Number of Prisoners, about the Ditches of the Camp. In short, they continued the Fight, even in the dark, with a Valour equal to their Reputation; and made themselves Masters of the Enemy's Entrenchments, in spite of their Resistance.

¹²⁴ By so compleat a Victory, the Lands of the *Sabines* became also exposed to the Pillage of the *Roman* Legions. All the Enemy's Country was immediately left defenceless, and the *Sabine* Armies appeared no more against the Conquerors. The Conquered had therefore no other Refuge but to implore the Clemency of the King: And *Tullus*, whose bare Name made them tremble, granted them a Peace, but upon his own Terms. The Captives carried away from *Feronia* were taken out of their Hands; they were obliged to restore all Deserters; the *Romans* computed the Mischief the *Sabines* might have done upon their Lands, and made them give an Equivalent for the Crop they had taken away, in Money. The Senate at self prescribed the Conditions of the Treaty: And they were written upon Pe-

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¹²⁰ *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* give this Forest the Name of *Sylva Malitiosa*, or *Malitiosorum*, *κακουργων*; which was plainly so called, because it served for a Retreat for Robbers.

¹²¹ *Eretum* was a City of the *Sabines*, beyond *Fauna*, at a very little Distance from the *Tyber*. *Stephanus Servius* and the *Roman* Itineraries, place it in the *Salarian* Way, upon a high Hill, now known by the Name of *Monte rotundo*. *Dion. Hal.* is inconsistent with himself about it: for after he has reckoned, in his 3d Book, that *Eretum* was 107 *Stadia*, that is, about thirteen Miles from *Rome*; he lengthens the Distance, in his 6th Book, to 140 *Stadia*. This City, according to *Solinus*, was built by the *Greeks*, who gave it the Name of *Eretum*, from the *Greek* Word *ἑρεα*, *Juno*, to whom it was consecrated.

¹²² According to *Dion. Hal.* *Tullus*, in the Heat of this Battle, made a Vow to double the Number of the *Salii*, thereby to engage the Gods in his Favour. But which shall we believe, the *Greek* Historian, or *Livy*? The latter relates this as a Circumstance of that Battle in which *Puffetius* betrayed the *Roman* Army, when he left the Field of Battle, to gain the Heights, with his Troops. And indeed, the Occasion of making this Vow, is better contrived, and seems to be of more Consequence, as stated by *Livy*.

¹²³ These Festivals of *Saturn*, and *Ops*, or *Rhea*, were kept at *Rome*, in the Month of *December*, under the Name of *Saturnalia*, and *Opalia*. They, properly speaking, were but one and the same Solemnity, continued for several Days together. The Festival appropriated to *Saturn*, was fixed to the 16th of the Calends of *January*; and that of *Ops*, which was likewise a Part of the *Saturnalia*, to the 14th. It is surprizing that *Macrobins* should go far

to search for the Origin of these two Festivals. *Dion. Hal.* attributes them to *Tullus Hostilius's* Vow. Because all the Fruits of the Earth were gathered in in *December*, the *Romans* therefore fixed the Festival of these Deities in that Month, one of which represented the Heavens, and the other the Earth, to whose united Influences and Power all Fruits owe their Production. These Festivals were celebrated with mutual Entertainments; the Slaves themselves eat at their Masters Tables. Which was not only to reward them for their Labours in cultivating the Earth, and gathering the Fruits of it, but likewise to renew the Remembrance of the golden Age, in which all Men were equal. So that Servants had at this time a Right of being served by their Masters, wearing their Clothes, and reproving them for their Faults. In this Sense we are to understand *Horace's* applying himself to his Servant,

— — — — — *Age, libertate Decembri,*
(Quando ita majores voluerunt) utere: narra.

Sat. 7. B. 2.

¹²⁴ We have omitted one Battle, which *Dion. Hal.* says *Tullus Hostilius* fought with the *Sabines*. He makes so little Difference between the first and third Battle, which he alone mentions, that I had Reason to believe it was the same. Nay more; the Honours of the Triumph were, according to this Author himself, granted to *Tullus* after his second Battle with the *Sabines*. Is not there then some Reason to presume that the *Sabine* War was thought ended? So that this third Battle, of which *Livy* says nothing, seems to be superfluous in the *Greek* Author, whom we therefore leave in this Case, contrary to our usual Method.

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deftals which were erected in the holy Places, as eternal Monuments of the Superiority of *Rome*. A third Triumph which was decreed the victorious King on this Occasion, raised him to the highest Pitch of Glory: He was henceforward looked on as another *Romulus*.

§. XVII. BUT all this did not satisfy *Tullus* and his Senate; the Destruction of *Alba*, and the Re-union of that Metropolis with the *Roman* State, made them think of making new Pretensions.

It has been already observed, that *Alba* sent out thirty Colonies, and that all the Cities, which were scattered about in *Latium*, were dependant upon her, while she subsisted. The Senate therefore thought of uniting to the *Roman* State, those Cities which had been dependant on a Capital which now belonged to *Rome*. *Tullus* sent Deputies to them, to convince them of his Right of Conquest; and summoned them to submit to the Laws of *Rome*, and follow the Fortune of their Metropolis. *There are*, said these Deputies to them, *but two Ways of getting Dominion; one by Force of Arms, the other by voluntary Cession. As to the first, Alba, on whom you depended, being overcome and subdued, belongs to us: And the same Fortune of Arms which has subjected her, has brought you under Subjection to our Laws. And as to the second, the Albans being now become Members of the Roman State, have voluntarily transferred to us, the Rights they at any time had over you. You are therefore become Roman, both by the Necessity of a just Conquest, and by a free Cession of your Lands.*

To this, every particular City did not give the *Roman* Envoys a separate Answer: It was in a general Assembly of the *Latin* Nation, that they determined to shake off the *Roman* Yoke. This Resolution was taken at ¹²⁵ *Ferentinum*. The *Latins* there chose two Generals, to whom they gave a full Power of declaring War, or concluding a Peace, as they should think fit. One of them, who was of the City of *Cora* ¹²⁶, was called *Ancus Publicius*; the other, who was of *Latvinium*, was named *Spucius Vecilius*.

HOWEVER, the *Romans* understood their own Interests too well, to reduce a People to Extremities, whom they looked on as Part of their State. They therefore did not attack them in the new Way of coming to pitch'd Battles, or besieging or demolishing Cities. They contented themselves with making War upon the *Latins* after *Romulus's* first Method. The *Roman* Legions entered *Latium* in the Time of Harvest, disturbed the Husbandmen, and did their Enemies some Mischief. After these Excursions, they returned to *Rome*, and sent back the Prisoners they had taken, or exchanged them. *Medulia* alone, which had joined the *Romans* in *Romulus's* Time, and whose Inconstancy had drawn her into the Party of the *Latin* Cities, was besieged and taken by King *Tullus*; and, as was then thought, put out of a Condition of ever taking up Arms again.

§. XVIII. THUS ended Dissentions, which had lasted five Years: but which had rather amused *Rome*, than disturbed her. Nevertheless, some Years after, the *Sabines* thought themselves in a Condition to revenge their Quarrel upon *Rome*, and repair their Losses. They therefore spread themselves in little Bodies, all over the *Roman* State: And as they met with but little Resistance, their Presumption made them believe they might go on to *Rome* it self, and lay Siege to it. They depended upon the Defection of the *Latin* Cities: But not one of them joined them. *Tullus* had wisely made a Truce with them. Nay, he increased his Army with a great Number of these new Allies, and marched against the *Sabines*: And one single Battle, fought near *the Malefactor's Forest*, made them once more sensible of the Superiority of *Rome*. Their Army was broken by the *Roman* Cavalry, and the Fugitives being pursued even to their Camp, were forced to abandon it to the Conqueror, who plundered it, and returned to *Rome* laden with Spoil.

¹²⁵ The *Ferentinum* here spoken of was in *Latium*, near *Monte Albano*, in the same Place where *Marino* now stands, which is a small City in the *Ecclesiastical State*. We can yet trace its Antiquity! the rich Ruins of several antient Monuments testify the Grandeur of this antient *Ferentinum*. Here the *Latins*, after the Destruction of *Alba*, used to hold their General Assembly when they wanted to deliberate on the Interests of their Nation. In the same Place was a Grove, which *Livy* called *Lucus Fe-*

rentina. It was watered with a Rivulet which gave *Ferentinum* the Name of *Caput aque Ferentinae*. It was in great Esteem among the *Latins*, agreeably to the Superstition of the Antients, who consecrated Groves and Springs.

¹²⁶ *Cora* was a City of the *Volsci*, between *Sigonia* and *Pometia*. It was built by *Dardanus*, if we may believe *Pliny*: But the most common Opinion is, that it was founded by the *Greeks*, under the Care of *Coras* and *Catillus*.

TULLUS

§. XIX. *TULLUS HOSTILIUS* advanced in Years; and as he grew old, fell into a Weakness incident to old Kings. His Devotion to the Gods degenerated into Superstition, and his Religion sunk into a shameful Credulity. Sometimes they told him that it rained Stones upon the Hill of *Alba*; sometimes, that a Voice from Heaven was heard there, which commanded the *Albans* to resume their religious Ceremonies, and the antient Rites of their Sacrifices. Whereas, these Stones which it had rained, were probably nothing but Hail of an extraordinary Size, which was hardened into Icicles; and this Voice from Heaven was, doubtless, no more than that of a Man hid in a Wood that was planted on the Top of the Hill. It was pretended, that the *Albans* needed a Reformation in Matters of Religion. It may be, likewise, that they had then left their own Ceremonies, to confine themselves to those of the *Romans*; or perhaps that Grief and Uneasiness had made several of them very indolent, as to the Worship of their Gods. However it was, the good King gave an easy Belief to these Prodigies. He appointed expiatory Sacrifices for nine Days; either because the Voice from the Hill had commanded that Number, or because the *Augurs* had enjoined it. At least, it afterwards became a Custom to employ nine Days in appeasing Heaven, as oft as Men were alarmed with Prodigies of this Kind.

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§. XX. BUT old Age had not yet given *Tullus* a Dislike for Battles; nor had the Plague which had fallen upon *Rome* abated his warlike Temper. He was persuaded that nothing contributed more to the Health of the *Roman* Youth than the bringing them out of the City, and leading them into the Field. And he had continued to habituate them to fatiguing Exercises, if a very long and very tedious Sickness had not made him incapable of Action. But at last, his Strength of Mind and Body failed him all at once. This warlike Prince, who in his Youth would have thought it a Dishonour to have appeared zealous for the Ceremonies of the publick Worship, ran all the Lengths of every the least-countenanced Superstition. He is said to have studied Magick in *Numa's* Books; and it is pretended, that the ill Performance of the Operations of a magical Enchantment, was the Cause of his Death. Historians give us different Accounts of it; and we will therefore relate it with all the different Circumstances they have mentioned.

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THE Art of raising the Devil, under the Name of *Jupiter Elicius*¹²⁷, was, say they, known in *Italy*, from the Times of the old Kings of the *Aborigines*. We are assured, that *Faunus* and *Picus* practised it in their Time; and that, by their Enchantments, they forced this pretended Divinity to appear to them by the Side of a Spring in *Italy*, and were by him enabled to raise a Storm of Thunder and Lightning, when they pleased.

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Ann. B. 5.

THE Tradition of this Sorcery was continued down to *Numa Pompilius's* Time; or at least it's certain, he, in his Life-time, erected an Altar to *Jupiter Elicius*, on the Hill *Aventinus*. And for fear the manner of calling up this *Jupiter*, and bringing him upon Earth, should be forgotten at *Rome*, *Numa* set it down in a Book, which he transmitted to his Successors.

THIS Book *Tullus* is said to have made his Study, and to have hid himself in a private Place, in order to perform this magical Sacrifice; in finishing which, he committed some of the Rules prescribed by *Numa*. And at this, say they, the enraged God, instead of appearing before the King, who called him up, set his Palace on Fire with Lightning. In short, *Tullus*, the Queen his Wife, and their Children, were all consumed together in the Flames.

Liv. B. 1. c. 31.

BUT other Historians, and they more in Number, banish out of the Story all those wonderful Incidents, which some Writers have put into their Relations of this tragical Event. These say, that *Tullus* perished by the Ambition and Sword

Dion. Hal.
B. 3. p. 176.

¹²⁷ Ovid acknowledges, that the Antients had the Secret of making *Jupiter* appear to them, doubtless by Thunder; and that he was for this Reason called *Jupiter Elicius*. His Words are,

*Eliciat celo te, Jupiter! unde minores
Nunc quoque te celebrant, Eliciumque vocant.*

What *Arnobius* relates of the Artifice *Numa* made use of to discover the Secret of making Lightning in the Air, which they called *Jovem Elicere*, is a mere Fable. He says, that the second King of

Rome hid a Dozen young bold and strong Fellows in a Wood, where *Faunus* and *Picus* used to appear; that these young Men carried Chains thither with them, to bind these two Divinities when they should appear; and that the King commanded them to force the Secret of making Thunder out of *Picus* and *Faunus*, when they had them in their Chains. The Project accordingly succeeded, and *Numa* learned the Magick Secret. *Tullus Hostilius* perished, says he, for not practising it in due Form and Manner.

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STILIUS.
Plutarch.

of *Ancus Martius*, who succeeded him. *Numa* was Grandfather, by the Mother's Side to this *Roman Patrician*, who was the Son of *Pompilia*, the Daughter of that second King of *Rome*, by a second Venter. But *Ancus* saw his Hopes of the Throne begin to vanish. Old *Tullus* had Children, on whom the *Romans* might naturally enough cast their Eyes, to raise them to their Father's Dignity.

HE therefore watched an Opportunity of destroying *Tullus* and all his Posterity together: and in order to this, found Means to bring the most intimate Confidant the old King had, into his Measures. This Man gave *Ancus* Notice, that it was now a proper Time to attempt what he pleased, and that he might find all the Royal Family assembled together in a private Place, and without Guards. *Tullus Hostilius* was indeed getting ready to offer a domestick Sacrifice in a secret Part of his Palace, at which none were to be admitted, but his Wife, Children, and a few Confidants: And *Ancus* seized this Opportunity, which Fortune offered him, of ascending the Throne. He went to the Place of the Sacrifice with a Company of Conspirators, and there slew *Tullus* and all his Family. Then he set fire to the Palace; and by that means there remained not the least Footstep of his Crime. And then he spread abroad the Report of the Lightning which was said to be drawn down from Heaven, by a magical Sacrifice, made to call up *Jupiter Elicius*.

NEVERTHELESS, this Account did not appear probable to *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*: Would *Ancus Martius*, says he, have ventured to commit Parricide at an absolute Uncertainty? He was not sure, continues he, that the Choice of the Romans would infallibly fall upon him. Besides, how could he conceal so notorious a Murder, which could not, doubtless, have been committed, without the Assistance of many Accomplices, who would have betrayed the Secret? These, and some other more frivolous Reasons, incline that Historian to believe, that *Tullus* had drawn down the Wrath of Heaven upon himself, and his Children, by going into the Superstitions of Magick.

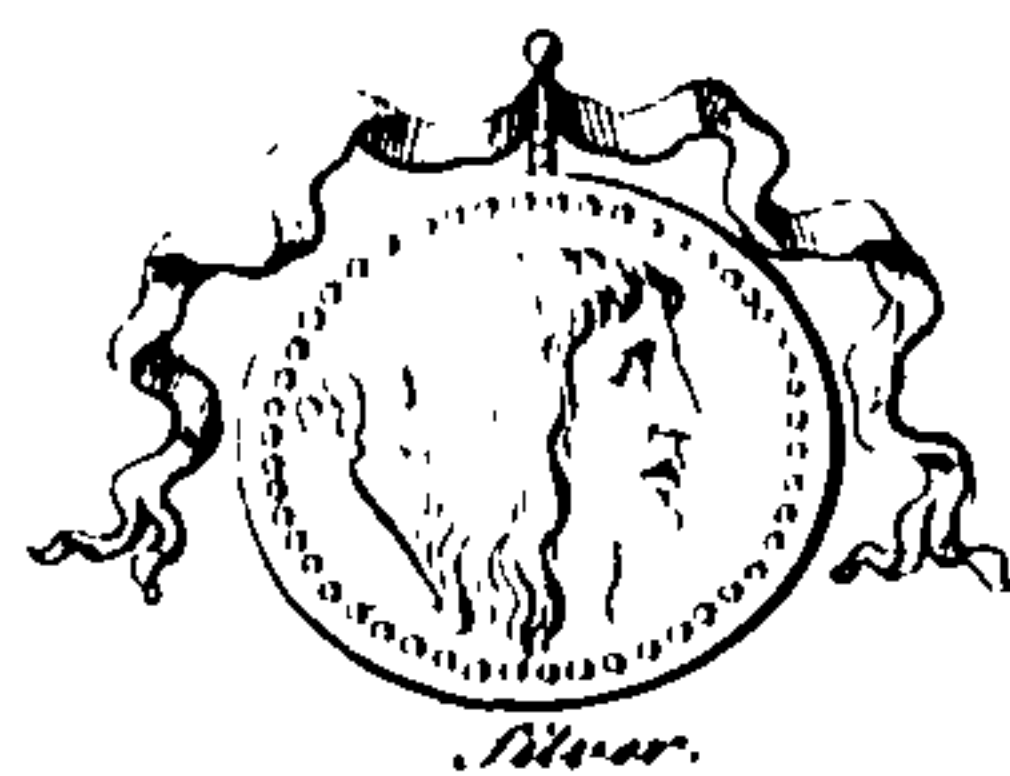
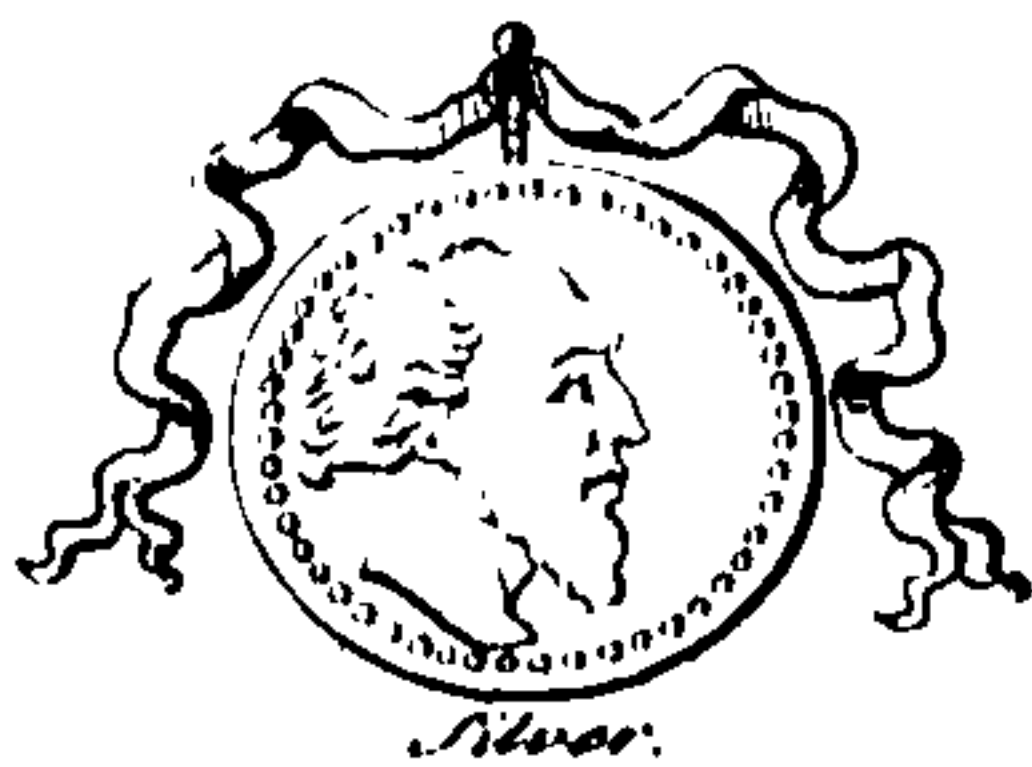
TULLUS, who was more inclined to the Business of War, than that of Peace, left few new Laws behind him. The only one mentioned is, that whenever three Male Children should for the future be born at a Birth, they should, in Memory of the *Horatii*, be brought up at the publick Expence.

THOUGH the last Years of *Tullus* be allowed to have cast some Stains upon his Memory; yet, upon the whole, it must be granted that few Kings have surpassed him in Courage. *Romulus* had first tried the *Roman* Valour, *Numa* had abated it, and *Tullus* revived and perfected it. He was the first, who restrained himself a little by the Rules of War, and confined it within juster Bounds. He had one Fault, which was, that he was never expeditious enough to prevent the Enemy. He thought himself so sure of Victory, that he scorned to prepare himself beforehand for the Battel. But in the Action, his Want of Precaution was supplied by his Presence of Mind.

In short ¹²⁸, by a continual Succession of Victories and Triumphs throughout the thirty-two Years of his Reign, he put the *Roman* State into a Condition of giving Law to the neighbouring Nations.

¹²⁸ Antiquaries have preserved several Medals, which testify that the Name and Family of King *Hostilius* continued very long after him. In one of them we see a Head with the Hair standing an end; by which, as a learned Man conjectures, the Coiner intended to represent Fear, as he did in the

Palenest; in Memory of *Hostilius's* Vow, to build a Temple to these two Divinities. On the Reverse of a third Medal, is a winged Victory, carrying a Trophy, which represents the Triumphs of the King.



T H E

Roman History.

B O O K III.

§.1. **T**HE *Romans* continued to adhere stedfastly to the Laws they at first made, in relation to their Government. From the Decease of *Romulus*, they had established an *Interregnum* after the Death of each King. The Senators took their Turns in enjoying the Honours, performing the Offices, and charging themselves with the Cares, of the regal Power and Authority, till the Election of a Successor. And this antient Regulation was not departed from in the present Instance.

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WE find no mention in History, either of the Obsequies the Senate decreed for *Tullus*, or of the Place of his Burial: Doubtless, because he was looked upon as a Man struck by the Gods, and therefore no Regard or Honour was paid to his Ashes, which were, probably, mixed and confounded with those of his House. In the mean time the Senate gave Orders for assembling the *Roman* People, to proceed to the Election of a new King. Nobility of Descent, and personal Qualities spoke in favour of *Ancus Marcius*: And it must be supposed, that he was not so much as suspected of having made any Attempt upon the late King's Life. The *Romans* considered him as a Man of an antient Family, which was originally *Sabine*, and made illustrious by King *Numa*, who was his Grandfather by the Mother's Side.

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ANOTHER *Marcus*, Grandfather by the Father's Side to him, on whom the *Romans* began to cast their Eyes, had been the first Man who made any Impressions on *Numa's* Obstinacy, when he refused to leave his Solitude for the Government of *Rome*. He likewise followed his Relation thither, had a Seat in the Senate, and was made the first *Pontifex Maximus*. At the time of *Tullus Hostilius's* Election, this first *Marcus* had been the most warm and active of any of his Competitors; and killed himself out of Vexation and Grief at the Preference which the *Roman* People had given to another, to his Prejudice. This *Marcus* had a Son, who added to his own Name, the *Prænomen* of *Numa*, and was made ¹ *Prefect* of *Rome*, in the preceding Reign. He married *Pomilia* the Daughter of *Numa Pompilius*, and from this Match came *Ancus Marcius*, the fourth King of the *Romans*.

Plut. Life of
Numa.

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In short, the *Roman Curie* elected him unanimously, and their Choice was confirmed by the Senate. As the ² *Prænomena* among the *Romans* were then some-

¹ This sort of Magistracy was not common in *Rome*. It was arbitrary, and only temporary. When the Kings or *Consuls* were obliged to attend the Army, they sometimes created a *Prefect* or Governor of *Rome* during their Absence. In one of *Romulus's* Wars, he, according to *Tacitus*, committed the Government of the City to one *Denter*. *Tullus Hostilius* gave the same Commission to *Numa Marcius*, the Father of *Ancus Marcius*. But we must not confound this transient Commission with an Office which was instituted, under the same name, by *Octavius Augustus*, and with which that Emperor honoured *Mecenas*. From that time, this Office became common, and permanent: and as the duties of it were very honourable, it had great Privileges annexed to it.

² Every *Roman* had ordinarily three, and sometimes four Names. The first was called *Præno-*

men, the second *Nomen*, the third *Cognomen*, and the fourth *Aggnomen*. The *Nomen* shewed the Family from which he was descended; the *Prænomen* and *Cognomen* were often Nick-names, taken from the Circumstances of the Person's Birth, or his Defects, or his bodily Qualities. And the last Names were to some Titles of Honour, as those of *Africanus*, *Germanicus*, &c. Thus the Prince of the *Roman* Orators was called *Marcus Tullius Cicero*. The *Prænomen Marcus* signified that he was born in the Month of *March*. His *Nomen*, or Name *Tullius*, was that of his Family; and his *Cognomen*, or Sir-name *Cicero*, denoted the Mark or Wart he had in his Face, which was like a *Petch*, called *Cicer*. *Valerius* assures us, that *Ancus Martius* had his Name of *Ancus* only from the Greek Word *ἀγκών*, because he had not the free Use of one of his *Elbows*.

Year of R O M E times a kind of Nick-names, borrowed from something peculiar to the Person, *Marcus* might possibly have the *Prænomen* of *Ancus*, from his having a crooked Arm; which is the proper Signification of this *Latin* Word.

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CXVII.
ANCUS
MARCIVS.

§. II. THE first Inclination of the new King, was to restore the Government of *Rome* to that Form and Condition in which his Grandfather *Numa* had settled it. Immediately, therefore, after his Election, he assembled the People, and addressed himself to them in this manner.

Dion. Hal.
B. 3. p. 177.

IF the Plague, or other Diseases, made the City desolate in the preceding Reign, if even the Throne itself has been intoxicated, it is to be ascribed to a Neglect of the Worship of the Gods. The Weakness and Decays of the late King, under the Pressures and Infirmities of old Age, were at once both the Effect and Cause of his Disregard of those sacred Ceremonies which his Predecessor had established. The Love of Religion and the Laws was lost amidst the tumultuous Hurry and Confusions of War. We, upon a Return to our former warlike Dispositions, have again had recourse to Robberies, as the proper Means of growing rich, and have satisfied our Avarice by Rapines and Injustice. What then is become of the Plan which *Numa* formed? His Design was, that we should apply ourselves to Husbandry with Diligence, and should take our Usury and Profits only from our Lands. Why do we neglect our Cattel? War indeed deprived us of the Means of supporting them: but let Peace now restore them. This Discourse made an Impression upon the People; who all hoped for a Reign of Peace and Tranquillity, made happy by a Moderation of Desires, and not interrupted by Ambition.

ACCORDINGLY, *Ancus* sent back the Husbandmen, who were become Soldiers, to their Farms. He encouraged the skilful Farmers by Commendations; and punished those as unworthy Citizens, who neglected the Cultivation of their Lands.

Dion. Hal.
B. 3. p. 178.

FROM the Reformation of the Labours of the People, *Ancus* turned his Care and Application to the Re-establishment of the Worship of the Gods. He assembled the *Pontifices*, received from them the Laws and Ceremonies *Numa* had appointed, transcribed them on Boards of Oak, (for it was not yet customary to write them on Brass;) and lastly, proposed them to the Publick, who were proper Judges of the Omissions or Alterations the *Pontifices* had made, or might make in them. By this means he re-established the neglected Sacrifices, and restored Religion to its former Majesty.

BUT *Ancus* was not pacifick by Inclination. The Example of his Grandfather *Numa* had indeed had great Force in softening him, and influenced him more than his own natural Temper. But, at the bottom, he loved War; and had no dislike to the Honours of a Triumph. His seeming Inclination to follow *Numa's* Example in every thing, was not natural. Nevertheless, it made him be loved by his *Romans*, and despised by Foreigners. The first who took advantage of the publick Prejudices against him, were the *Latins*, who had been brought into Subjection to *Rome*, by a Treaty with *Tullus*. They shook off the Yoke of the *Romans*, committed Hostilities in their Territories, and pretended that their Obligations to obey *Rome*, died with *Tullus*. So that, all the Answer they would give to the Complaints made to them of their Breaches of publick Faith, was, *We have to do with a lazy unactive King, who will spend his whole Time in building Temples, and waiting at the Altars.* But the *Latins* found to their Cost, that they had been mistaken in the Opinion they had formed of the new King. *Ancus Marcus* seems to have partaken both of the Spirit of *Romulus* and that of *Numa*. Like the latter, he dedicated the first Years of his Reign to Works of Peace; and like the former, employed the last Years of it in War.

Livy, B. 1.
ch. 32.

3 *Plutarch*, in his Account of the Funeral Procession the *Romans* made for *Numa*, relates, that there were two Stone-Coffins buried at the Foot of the Hill *Janiculus*. In one of which was the Body of the deceased King; in the other, the Books he had written with his own Hand. And this, says our Author, was done by *Numa's* own Appointment. In his Life-time, he contented himself with explaining the Sense of these Books to the

Priests and *Pontifices*: and he thought it not decent to transmit those Writings to the Vulgar, which contained the Secrets of Religion: which, if true, we must necessarily conclude from thence, that the *Pontifices* only gave *Ancus* a written Summary of the Laws which they had received from *Numa's* Mouth, or which *Numa* himself had given them in Writing.

He observed indeed, that in the present Circumstances, it was necessary to revive the Maxims of *Tullus*, and that he should never be able to enjoy a safe and lasting Peace, otherwise than by repelling Injuries by Force.

§. III. *ANCUS* therefore resolved on making War with the *Latins*: and out of respect to the Laws of *Numa*, omitted no Ceremony in declaring it, which that Lawgiver had appointed.

A *Fecialis* was deputed to go to the *Latins*: who no sooner arrived in the Territories of that People, to whom he was sent to demand Satisfaction, but, having a Bonnet or Cap on his Head, which terminated in a Point on which were Tufts of Wool; he cried out, *Great Jupiter, and ye Confines of the Latin Nation, hearken to Justice. I come hither with a Deputation from the Roman People, in all the legal Forms, and I demand, that Credit be given to what I say.* After which formal Declaration, he laid open the Causes of his Complaints, and the Reason of his Demands; and then, after having called *Jupiter* to witness, that what he said was true, he added these Words: *If I have unjustly, and without reason, here publicly laid open the Pretensions of Rome, grant, great God, that I may never return again to my own Country.* And after his Demands had been rejected, he added yet further: *O Jupiter, Juno, thou Romulus, and all ye Gods of Heaven, of Earth, and of Hell; hearken! I call you all to witness, that the Latins are unjust. We will therefore enter into Deliberations at Rome, on the proper Means of obliging them to give us just Satisfaction.*

No sooner was the *Fecialis* returned, but the King referred the Affair to the Senate: which he did in the Form prescribed by *Numa*, addressing himself to every particular Senator, in these very Words: *Say, what think you of the Refusal which the Pater Patratus, and whole Nation of the Latins have given the Pater Patratus of the Romans, of restoring and granting us what we demanded of them?* To which every Senator gave this Answer: *Let us again demand our Rights by a just and lawful War: This is the Opinion for which I declare myself.* And when the greatest Part of the Senators had declared their Opinions in this manner, the War was considered as unanimously concluded on. Then the *Fecialis* went to the Confines of the Enemy's Country, carrying in his Hand a Javelin, which was either headed with Iron, or burnt at the End, and dipped in Blood. When he came to the Territory of the *Latins*, he pronounced the following prescribed Form of Words, in the Presence of at least three Persons, of a competent Age. *On account of the Damages which the Latin Nation has done the Roman People, and in obedience to a Decree made by the Senate and People of Rome, importing, that a War should be entered into with the Latins; I, a Roman Fecialis, declare it and begin it.* At which Words, he threw a Dart upon the Enemy's Lands. All this Ceremonial had been instituted by *Numa*; tho' that Prince, who was never engaged in any War, had never put it in practice: And *Tullus*, who was active, and very expeditious in his Undertakings, did not confine himself to these tedious Formalities. But *Ancus Marcius* established the Use of them; and from his Time they were always practised in declaring the Wars, into which the *Romans* entered. And it ought here to be observed, that at that Time, the *Kings* themselves neither made use of their Names or Authority in Treaties: we find nobody mentioned in them, but the Senate and the People.

As soon as the War had been declared, the *Roman* Army took the Field, under the Command of *Ancus*. We don't find that any of the *Kings* eased himself of the Care of heading Armies, by committing it to Generals: this was an Office peculiar to themselves. When *Ancus* took his leave of the City, he left the Administration of holy Things to the *Pontifices* and other Priests. His Army entirely consisted of new-raised Troops; for the new King employed none of those who had served under *Tullus*. With these new Forces he came and encamped before

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ANCUS
MARCIVS.
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Livy, *ibid.*

4 Some think that *Ancus Marcius* drew up the Law concerning the *Feciales*, which we have already mentioned, and is in *Tully's* second Book *de Legibus*: and that *Numa* only pronounced it by Word of Mouth. It runs thus: *Fœderum, pacis, belli,*

induciarum, Feciales, Oratores, Judicesque sunt, bella disceptant. We have taken our Account of the Ceremonies the *Romans* used in declaring War with any Nation, from *Livy*, B. I. and from *Aulus Gellius*, B. 16.

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CXVII.

ANCUS
MARCIVS.
Dion. Hal.
B. 3. *ibid.*

*Politorium*⁵, a *Latin* City, which he found unprovided, and surprised it before the other *Latins* could throw any Succours into it. By what means he became Master of it, is very uncertain; some say by Storm, others by Capitulation. However, he signalized his Moderation in the midst of his Victory; by not taking away the Life of one single Person. He only transplanted the Inhabitants of *Politorium* to *Rome*; and spared the Walls of the City.

THIS first Conquest therefore gained *Ancus* the same kind of Glory which two of his Predecessors had acquired. He enlarged *Rome* as well as they, and extended it farther than it had yet reached. In order to find room for his new Citizens, he added the Hill *Aventinus*⁶ to the City; but did not consecrate the Boundaries of it with those Ceremonies, with which the *Romans* first, the *Sabines* after them, and the *Albans* yet more lately, consecrated the Inclosures of the Hills, which they came and inhabited in *Rome*. And to this additional Part of the City were also brought the Inhabitants of *Tellena* and *Ficana*, two Cities of antient *Latium*. *Ancus*, who made himself Master of them, obliged the Citizens to come and dwell on the Hill *Aventinus*, which was as it were a second City united to that of *Rome*, but without any Consecration.

Dion. Hal.
B. 3. p. 179.

THE Year after the taking of *Politorium* was remarkable for new Advantages. *Ancus* took the Field against the *Latins* a second time. They had turned his Negligence or Compassion to their Advantage, and had re-peopled *Politorium*, which he had been imprudent enough not to destroy. And this Want of Precaution cost him a new Siege, and procured him a new Victory. He made himself again Master of *Politorium*⁷, and entirely demolished it.

HOWEVER, this second Conquest of this single Place took him up a whole Campaign; which was no sooner ended, but he led back his Troops into the *Roman* Territories.

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Dion. Hal.
B. 3. *ibid.*
Liv. B. 1.
ch. 33.

§. IV. BUT the following Years brought yet more Misfortunes to the *Latins*, and more Glory to the King of *Rome*. *Ancus* turned the whole Stress of the War to the Side of *Medulia*. This City had voluntarily submitted to the *Romans*, in *Romulus's* Time: but being afterwards rebellious, it had been taken and strengthened with a *Roman* Colony, by way of Garrison. But notwithstanding this, it changed its Masters a third time. Whilst the *Romans* were busy in repairing the Walls, the *Latins* came suddenly upon it, and took it by Surprise. Since which, three Years were already past, and the *Romans* not yet in a Condition to return before *Medulia*. The *Latins*, after having fortified it, had made it the Barrier of their Dominions: it therefore became the Object of the Jealousy of the *Romans*; and *Ancus* turned all his Strength against it. But *Medulia* had like to have exhausted both his Forces and his Constancy. At the Foot of its Walls, Victory had more than once wavered between the *Romans* and the *Latins*. The City was indeed defended by a strong Garrison, and was plentifully stored with Provisions. And as the Army which defended it was not all confined within the Ramparts, several Battels were fought in Sight of the Besieged.

Dion. Hal.
B. 3. *ibid.*

NOR were the *Romans* always victorious in them. *Ancus* therefore led his Troops to the Siege of *Medulia* for four Years successively; and the Resistance of the *Latins* was equal to the Valour and Perseverance of their Enemies. But the fourth Year was decisive. *Ancus* brought all the *Roman* Troops before the Place; where he found the *Latins* encamped without the Walls of the City, as usual. It was therefore necessary to come to a Battel, before he could make any Assault upon it. Accordingly they engaged; and the *Romans* being Conquerors in the Plain, took the City and plundered it.

⁵ It is not easy to determine very exactly, where *Politorium*, *Tellena*, and *Ficana* stood. All we learn from antient Authors, is, that these three Cities were in *Latium*, at a little distance from one another, and a little above *Lavinium*, towards the Mouth of the *Tyber*.

⁶ This was the Hill *Remus* chose for observing the flying of the Birds. And because that was not an happy Augury to him; therefore, says *Aulus Gellius*, B. 13. the *Romans* did not bring it within the Inclosure of *Rome*, consecrating it, by making a Boundary round the Ramparts, which

they called *Pomarium*, and which Religion made sacred. The Emperor *Tiberius* was the first who inclosed the Hill *Aventinus* within the common *Pomarium* of the City. But it was nevertheless inhabited, even in the Time of the Kings: only its Inclosure was not consecrated, and encompassed by the *Pomarium* of *Rome*. It was only fortified, to prevent the City's being attacked on that Side.

⁷ *Pliny* joins two other Cities to *Politorium*, called *Pitulum* and *Scaptia*: but other Historians say nothing of them.

BUT the victorious King did not lie idle. He turned his Arms against *Ficana*⁸, a City which he had subdued three Years before, and whose Inhabitants he had carried to *Rome*, but which he had not taken Care to demolish. It must be confessed, the *Romans* then shewed more Valour in conquering, than Wisdom in preserving their Conquests. *Ancus* was obliged to lay Siege a second time to *Ficana*, where the *Latins* had fortified themselves.

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AND it was not without Difficulty that he made himself Master of it. But he at length took it, and destroyed it with Fire and Sword. Nevertheless the *Latins* were not discouraged by their Losses; they appeared again in the Field, and did not refuse the Battle which the *Roman* offered them. They shewed their Fury and Obstinacy, in two pitch'd Battles, on two Days successively. In the first Day's Engagement they flattered themselves they had not been worsted; but in the second, being routed and put into Disorder, they were driven back by the *Romans* into their Entrenchments. After this, they durst not hazard any more Battles; but were contented with dividing themselves into small Bodies, and making Inroads into the Country of the *Romans*, and plundering it. And the King of *Rome*, on his Part, only opposed them with small Bodies of Troops, the Command of which he gave to a Foreigner, named *Tarquin*. This Man, who was lately come from *Hetruria* to *Rome*, to push his Fortune there, made a Figure already in the *Roman* Armies, and gained himself Reputation enough by his Valour, to pave the Way for his being soon elected King.

IN the mean time *Ancus* returned to *Rome* full of Glory, after so many Conquests. Nevertheless, whether he then received the Honours of the Triumph⁹, for putting so glorious an End to the War with the *Latins*, is uncertain. But this is sure, that he brought with him a prodigious Multitude of *Latins*, and made them all Citizens of *Rome*. He placed them all within the Walls of his Capital; and possibly, in the Valley which lies between the Hills *Aventinus* and *Palatinus*. Which Valley was to that time called *Vallis Murtia*, or *Myrtia*; doubtless, either because it was planted with *Myrtles*, or because in it stood a Temple dedicated to *Venus*, who had also the Name of *Myrtia*, or *Murtia*¹⁰.

Liv. B. 1. c. 23.

S. V. ROME was exceedingly enlarged in the Reign of *Ancus Marcius*. For this Prince was not content with carrying its Walls round the Hill *Aventinus*, but had Thoughts likewise of extending it beyond the *Tyber*. The Hill¹¹ *Janiculus*, which lay beyond the River, incommoded the City; which was commanded by it, and whatever was done in *Rome*, might easily be discovered from the Top of it. But on the other hand, the Treaties between *Romulus* and the *Hetrurians* had made the *Tyber* the common Boundary between the *Roman* Dominions and theirs.

HOWEVER, *Ancus* had no Regard to them; he made the frequent Incursions of the *Hetrurians* upon the Banks of the *Tyber*, his Pretence for breaking thro' them: And complained, that the *Roman* Merchants had been often plundered there, and that the Navigation up and down the River was not safe.

BESIDES, he thought this slight Encroachment upon the *Hetrurians*, necessary for the publick Good, and the common Safety. He therefore undertook to en-

Dion. Hal.
B. 3. p. 182.

⁸ It is certain, the City here meant is *Ficana*, and not *Fidene*, as we read in some Editions of *Dion. Hal.* upon the Credit of certain Manuscripts. If we had either the Authority of *Sigonius*, nor *Gelenius*, nor *Ortus*, we would appeal to *Dion. Hal.* himself, in Proof of it. This Historian says the following Campaign is memorable for the Revolt and taking of *Ficana*. He could not therefore say, that this City had been destroyed the preceding Campaign; unless he will charge so sensible an Author with the grossest Contradiction.

⁹ Here the *Fasti Capitolini* begin to give us some light concerning the Triumphs of the Kings of *Rome*. It appears by the Space left in the Marble, that the Words are effaced by Time, that *Ancus Marcius* triumphed twice. The first Time possibly for having overcome the *Veientes*, *de Veientibus*, as *Sigonius* believed. Which if true, it's probable his

second Triumph was for having overcome the *Latins*: For we at present find in those *Fasti*, this Piece of a Word *NEIS*, which we may imagine was originally at length, *de Latineis*.

¹⁰ The Valley which lay between the Hills *Aventinus* and *Palatinus*, was planted all over with *Myrtles*. Which, probably, was the Reason why a little Temple was built there to *Venus*, at the Foot of the Hill *Aventinus*, which also bore the Name of *Mons Myrtius*. It is well known the *Myrtle* was dedicated to *Venus*. In this Plain, *Ancus Marcius* placed the *Latins* he brought to *Rome*.

¹¹ This Hill was called *Janiculus*, either because *Janus* lived upon it, or because he there built a City, which was called by his own Name, or because he was buried there, or because this Hill was as it were the Gate (*Janna*) and Passage from the *Roman* State into *Hetruria*.

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compass the Hill *Janiculus* with Walls, and to make it a sort of Citadel ¹² for *Rome*. It is certain, this Hill was not at that time any Part of the City, but was entirely separated from it. For certainly, if the Island formed in the *Tyber*, was then not thought to belong to the City, much less could the Hill *Janiculus*, which stood on the opposite Bank, be thought to be contained within it.

BUT now that *Rome* had extended its Fortifications beyond the *Tyber*, it was necessary to build a Bridge over it, for a Communication between the City and the new Citadel. And for this Purpose, the *Romans* chose the Place where the River beats against the Foot of the Hill *Aventinus*; and built it there. It was of Wood ¹³, but so well supported by Pieces of Timber mortised into one another, that it was both safe for Passage, and easy to be taken in Pieces to stop an Enemy. It was called *Sublicius* ¹⁵, from the Beams of which it was made, and the *Piles* in the River upon which it stood; for the Word *Sublica* signifies both. This was the first Bridge that was built over the *Tyber*, and perhaps in *Italy*.

Livy, ibid.

AND as this very wide Tract of Ground upon which *Rome* stood, was filled with a confused Multitude of different Nations, whom the Fate of War had brought thither from several neighbouring Cities; hence it came to pass, that Profligates multiplied there together with the Inhabitants. It was easy to commit Robberies and Assassinations within this large Tract of Land, some Parts of which could be but little frequented, by reason of its vast Extent. In order therefore to suppress the Licentiousness of this numerous People, *Ancus* built a Prison in the very Heart of the City, even in the *Roman Forum*, at the Foot of the Hill *Capitolinus*. Before his time, the Innocence of the *Romans* had made them Strangers to Imprisonments.

BUT if *Ancus* by this means struck Terror into his Subjects, he by others secured both their Estates and their Lives. The City was no where defended against sudden Irruptions, otherwise than by a Wall, which could be but a small Defence against an Enemy. In the flat Valleys with which it was surrounded, there were several Places where an Enemy might easily have surprized it. In these Places therefore *Ancus* dug a wide Ditch, which always bore the Name of *Fossa Quiritium*, because all the People were employed in this important Fortification.

HISTORY does not indeed tell us the exact Number of Years which *Ancus* spent in these publick Works, but one would readily imagine that they could not be compleated without a long interval of Peace. And yet it's certain, that this Prince, who seems to have been born to represent one while the warlike *Romulus*, and another the pacifick *Numa*, soon exchanged Peace for War.

§. VI. THE first Enemies which felt the Return of his martial Disposition, were the *Fidenates*. The City of *Fidena*, which was always rebellious, and always covert in her Designs, did not indeed make open War with the *Romans*; but only sent little Detachments privately, to go and commit Ravages in the *Roman* Dominions.

¹² Dio, B. 36. and *Aulus Gellius*, B. 16. tell us the *Janiculus* was not a Part of *Rome*, in such a manner as leaves no room to doubt of it. The former says, that as oft as the *Roman* People were drawn out into Centuries, this Army which was to defend and protect the City, was drawn up on the *Janiculus*. When at the same time he (and *Aulus Gellius* yet more clearly) declares, that it was not lawful to bear Arms in the City, or bring an Army into it. *Quia extra urbem exercitum imperari oportet, intra urbem imperari jus non sit.* Whence it follows, that the *Janiculus*, where an Army was drawn up, was thought to be without the City. In this manner do these two Authors reason about this Hill.

¹³ *Plutarch* and *Pliny* assure us, that the Island formed by the *Tyber* was not a Part of *Rome*. The former, in his *Roman Questions*, asks, why the Temple of *Aesculapius*, which was certainly in this Island, was placed without the City. And he gives two Reasons for it: The first, because the Air is generally more pure and wholesome out of Cities than in them. And the second, because it was not thought proper to bring the *Epidaurians*, who brought

that God with them, into *Rome*. And *Pliny* says expressly, B. 29. c. 1. that the Island of the *Tyber* was not in *Rome*. *Templum Aesculapium, etiam cum reciperetur is Deus, extra urbem fuisse, Tyberisque in insula, traditur.*

¹⁴ *Plutarch* says, that neither Iron nor Copper were made Use of in the first Building of this Bridge, and that by Order of an ancient Oracle. But *Pliny* pretends on the contrary, that the *Romans* avoided cramping and supporting it with Iron, only after the War with *Porcenna*; and that because they then found it very difficult to break it down, which *Horatius* alone was defending it against the Enemy.

¹⁵ It's true, the Words *Pons Sublicius*, signify a Bridge of Wood: But I believe likewise that *Sublicius* was the proper Name of this Bridge, and that we ought to translate them, the Bridge *Sublicius*; and not the Bridge of Wood. This Name *Sublicius*, comes partly from the ancient Word *licio*, which signifies to join. The Care of supporting and repairing this Bridge, belonged at first to the *Pontifices*, and afterwards to the *Questors*. We learn from *Plutarch*, that the *Questor Aemilius* built a Stone Bridge, instead of this wooden one, about the Year of *Rome* 747.

This

This *Ancus* could not be ignorant of, and therefore resolved to revenge it. And in order to it, neglected the Formalities prescribed by *Numa*, perhaps because the Business was not so much to make War with a foreign Nation, as to punish Rebels. He marched his Army to *Fidena*, without sending a *Fecialis* thither, and surprized it unawares. The *Fidenates* excused themselves at first, with alledging that the Plunder of the *Roman* Lands had not been authorized by any publick Edi&: And the *Romans*, who were very willing to take this Excuse, gave them time to find out the Authors of those many Hostilities. But this was only a Pretence, with respect to the unjust *Fidenates*. They employed the Time given them in making Preparations for War, in soliciting Succours from the neighbouring Nations, and in storing themselves with Provisions. But the King of *Rome* broke all their secret Measures, and punished their Treachery. He invented the Art of penetrating into their City, and taking it by Sap.

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THIS is the first Instance of this Kind of Attack, which we meet with in the old *Roman* Story. *Ancus* actually dug a Way under Ground, from his Camp, quite under the Walls of *Fidena*; which Way was doubtless divided into several Branches. Thro' these subterranean Passages, some *Roman* Soldiers passed quite under the Ramparts of the City: And when the Works of the Miners were sufficiently advanced, *Ancus* led up the Bulk of his Army to the Foot of the Wall, as if he intended to scale it, in Places which were at a little distance from those which he had undermined. And it is probable, that they also attempted to scale the Walls in several Parts of the City at the same time, in order to keep all the Forces of the *Fidenates* in Play. When therefore the Besiegers and the Besieged were most hotly engaged, the *Roman* Miners started up out of the subterranean Passages they had dug, which opened into the City: And they no sooner entered it, but they immediately ran to the Gates, which they opened to their Companions, and put *Ancus* in Possession of the rebellious *Fidena*. It is to be presumed, that in the first Fury of the Soldiers, in a City taken by Assault, much Blood must have been shed: But *Ancus* put a Stop to the Rage of his Soldiers, and made Proclamation by an Herald, that the Citizens should retire to a Part of their City which he named. After this, the Lives of none of this assembled Multitude were taken away, excepting only a few who had been most guilty and active in the Revolt; and they were first whipped, as the Laws directed. The rest, who were Spectators of the plundering of their Houses, were permitted to live in their own City, in which *Ancus* left a strong Garrison, which kept them to their Duty.

Dion. Hal.
B. 3. p. 180.

THE *Romans* now became daily more and more knowing in the Art of War. Their King gave a fresh Proof of his Skill, in the War he was obliged to make with the *Sabines*. The *Romans* had then seldom any Reasons for taking Arms against their Neighbours, but what were founded on some Depredations which they accused them of committing in their Territories: and this was the Pretence which the King of *Rome* took hold of, against the *Sabines*. They had thought themselves free from their Engagements with *Rome*, ever since the Death of *Tullus Hostilius*, and had spread themselves upon the *Roman* Frontiers, and plundered them. *Ancus* therefore marched against them, and divided his Troops into two Bodies. He advanced at the Head of his Infantry towards their Camp, which he found in a manner unguarded. The greatest Part of the *Sabine* Army was gone in search of Spoil, into the *Roman* Territories: and the King therefore took Possession of their Camp without Resistance. In the mean time, the *Roman* Cavalry, commanded by *Tarquin*, came up with the *Sabines* as they were returning from pillaging, in expectation of finding a Retreat in their Tents: But, to their great Surprize and Consternation, they found the Enemy in Possession of them: at which they threw away their Plunder in Terror and Despair, and fled with Precipitation towards the Mountains. However, a Troop of *Romans* light armed pursued them with such Expedition, and fought them with such Fury, that they let few of them escape their Vengeance. And the *Sabines*, whose Measures were more disconcerted by the Art, than the Bravery of the *Roman*, sent a Deputation to *Rome*, and obtained a Peace upon easy Terms: For as the *Romans* then begun their Wars on very slight Pretences, so they likewise put an end to them on very slight Satisfaction.

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§. VII. THE four following Years of Peace, which *Ancus Marcius* enjoyed, were probably spent in erecting a famous Monument of it, which contributed more to eternize the Memory of his Reign, than any Victories he gained. History does not indeed give us the exact Date of the Foundation of the Port of *Ostia*; but it is certain it was the Work of the fourth King of *Rome*. *Ancus* had extended his Conquests as far as the Sea, and brought the Mouth of the *Tyber* within his Dominion. This led him to consider, that it would be an easy matter to bring great Advantages to *Rome* from a Trade by Sea, and he extended his Views beyond *Italy*. He therefore examined the Course of the River, from the Place where it washed the Walls of *Rome*, to that where it emptied itself into the *Tyrrhenian* Sea: and he found the City to be sixteen Miles Distance from his intended Port. The *Romans* had yet received no Benefit from the Neighbourhood of the Sea, because nothing was yet done to defend the Mouth of the *Tyber*; and because this Port, though well formed by Nature, was hitherto unimproved by Art. But *Ancus* lost no Advantage which the Situation offered him: He foresaw, that as the River was capable of carrying small Boats quite up to its Head, and of bearing pretty large Merchant-Ships from the Sea to *Rome*, his Capital would thereby become a Center of Commerce by Sea and Land. As to the Mouth of the *Tyber* itself, he observed that every thing favoured his Design of making it a Port. The River was wide where it joined the Sea, and the Bays it formed were as spacious as those of the best Ports in the World¹⁶. Besides, no Bars of Sand hindered Ships from entering it, or made it difficult to unload them; an Accident which often happens in the Mouths of Rivers. And what's more, the *Tyber* was free from Flats, running only in one Channel, without dividing itself into many Branches. So that Merchant-Ships could enter it without difficulty, and be easily towed up to *Rome*. The larger Vessels might lie at Anchor in the Road, till they were, by the Help of great Boats, unloaded and loaded again, without Danger from any Wind but the West, which could at worst only drive them out to Sea.

SUCH was the Port the King made: and to it he added a City, which took the Name of *Ostia* from the Word *Ostium*, which signifies the *Entrance* or Mouth of a River. He founded it on the left Bank of the *Tyber*, in the Elbow which the Sea makes there. This City continues to this Day; but the Port, through the Alterations Time has made in it, does by no means come up to the Description *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* has left us of it.

THE same Prince likewise enlarged the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, which was, till that Time, scarce big enough to hold twenty Persons. And this is at least one Proof of his Concern for Religion.

AND to make his Labours useful to his People, as he was now become Master of the Sea-shore, he dug Salt-Pits there; the Salt of which was applied *gratis* to publick Uses: And he was the first King of *Rome* who distributed upwards of six thousand * *Minots* of it among his Subjects: whereby he laid the Foundation of the publick Liberalities called *Congiarum*¹⁷, which were afterwards very common in *Rome*, and promoted the Intrigues of the Ambitious.

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Dion. Hal.
B. 3. p. 181.

§. VIII. BUT whilst *Rome* enjoyed Peace, the *Veientes* were not idle: They had the Year before made IncurSIONS into the *Roman* Territories; and had shed much *Roman* Blood. *Ancus Marcius*, who found himself obliged to engage with a fierce Nation, and a Part of the *Hetrurian* Body, assembled together all the Troops he had either in the City or the Country, and added to them the Succours his Allies sent him.

WITH this formidable Army he passed the *Tyber*, and entered the Territories of the *Veientes*, bringing Ruin and Desolation wherever he came. He immediately forced the Enemy to put a stop to their Depredations, after his Horse had beaten

¹⁶ *Strabo* had not so good an Opinion of this Port, as *Dion. Hal.* had. This antient Geographer says, B. 5. that it was not a very extraordinary one, in that it was but an indifferent Place to anchor in, because the *Tyber* was here very muddy.

* The *French Minot* is half a *Minc*, which is half a *Setier*, which contains twelve Bushels: So that 6000 *Minots* amount to 18000 Bushels. But if by *Minot* is meant the *Medimnus*, then the whole, ac-

cording to Dr. *Arbuthnot*, amounts either to about 6000 or 9000 *English* Bushels, there being two Sorts of *Medimni*.

¹⁷ This was the Name given to those free Distributions which the Magistrates and Emperors made among the People. The Word *Congiarum* was taken from that of *Congius*, which was a Measure in Use among the antient *Romans*, and of which we shall have Occasion to speak hereafter.

theirs; and then he drew them into the open Field, where remaining Conqueror, after a bloody Battel, he made himself Master of their Camp.

NEVERTHELESS, this first Disadvantage did not discourage the *Veientes*. The Year following, they again broke the Truce their Nation had made with *Rome*; and thought themselves strong enough to re-conquer all the Country they had formerly yielded up to *Romulus* by Treaty. But *Ancus* defeated them near the Salt-Pits; and gained a more signal Victory over them, than that of the preceding Year: So that the Senate gave publick Proofs of their Gratitude to the Conqueror; who was carried, to return Thanks to the Gods¹⁸, in Triumph: And *Ancus* likewise rewarded the Merit of *Tarquin*, who had distinguished himself at the Head of the *Roman* Cavalry. Though a Stranger, he promoted him to the Rank of a *Patrician*, and gave him a Place in the Senate: which was the first Step of Honour by which he ascended to the Throne.

THE *Veientes* thus subdued, the *Volsci* were too near *Rome*, not to be treated as Enemies. They were, in their turn, accused of having entered the Territories of their formidable Neighbours, in Arms; and War was declared against them. In which *Ancus* took Spoil enough from them to have made the *Romans* amends for their Losses: but the ambitious King was not so intent upon barely gaining a just Satisfaction, as upon enlarging his Dominions. He therefore went and laid Siege to *Velitrae*¹⁹, the Capital of the *Volsci*; and he carried it on with that Bravery, and especially with that Address in attacking Places, to which the *Romans*, before his Time, were Strangers.

WHEN the Besieged were reduced to great Extremities, they sent the old Men out of their City, as Suppliants: who promised to make whatever Reparations the King required, for the Injuries done to *Rome*, and to deliver up the Offenders to his Justice. Upon which, the *Roman* observed the Maxim of his Country, which was, to pardon the Nations who submitted themselves. He made a Truce with them: And as they afterwards honestly made the amends they had promised, he concluded a Peace with them, and ranked them among the Friends and Allies of *Rome*.

IN the mean time, there yet remained some of the *Sabines* unconquered. There were yet among them, in a Country into which the *Romans* had not penetrated, several formidable Nations, who were both jealous of the Prosperity of *Rome*, and in a Condition to pursue the Dictates of their Jealousy. These first began their Hostilities, by sending little Parties into the *Roman* Territories; and afterwards ventured to attack the *Romans* with a great Army which they brought into the Field. The indefatigable King marched his Troops against the audacious *Sabines* with great Expedition: and by one Battel, wherein he came off Conqueror, made them both more submissive, and less enterprising. The Victory was indeed long disputed; and the Constancy of the *Romans*, who were more inured to War, and were stronger to bear the Fatigues of it, was what alone turned the Balance in their favour. They took possession of the Enemy's Camp; and the Money they found in it, both repaired their Losses and rewarded their Labours. What some say, of *Ancus's* having then obtained the Honours of a Triumph, may be questioned: but it is certain he returned victorious to *Rome*, where he spent some time in Tranquillity.

§. IX. As to his Death, if we may believe *Plutarch*, it was a violent one. Of all the Successors of *Numa*, says he, none of the Kings of *Rome* died a natural Death,

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¹⁸ This second Triumph of *Ancus Marcius* will always be matter of Dispute among the Learned. *Pighius* pretends that it was over the *Sabines*; his Proof of which is this, that in the defaced Marble of the *Fasti Capitolini*, we only read the Letters *NEIS*, which, he says, can no otherwise be made intelligible than by supposing it to have been *de Sabineis*. But as it may as well be read *de Latineis*, and understood of the *Latins*, I don't see why this Triumph may not as well be ascribed to his Victory over them, as to that over the *Sabines*. It's true, *Pighius* had regard in this, to the Order of Time; King *Ancus* had already conquered the *Latins* when he subdued the *Veientes*: whence he concludes, that

if his first Triumph was for his having conquered the *Veientes*, the second must have been on account of his Victories over the *Sabines*. It must be granted, that the *Fasti Capitolini* are always very exact in placing the Triumphs according to their Years. But as *Dion. Hal.* is mistaken in giving *Ancus Marcius* but one Triumph, when he had two; why may he not as well be mistaken in placing *Ancus's* War with the *Sabines*, before that with the *Veientes*?

¹⁹ *Velitrae*, formerly a City of the *Volsci*, now bears the Name of *Veletri*, or *Beletri*, and is in the *Campagna di Roma*.

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De Civit. Dei,
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Euseb. Cassiod.
& Eutrop.

Virgil.

but Tarquin the Proud, who died of old Age in Exile. But the rest of the Historians give us so plain and simple an Account of it, as leaves no room for a Suspicion of Violence. 'Tis true, the Author of *The Lives of Illustrious Men*, tells us *Ancus* came to an untimely End : but this was doubtless only because it happened at a time when it was least suspected, and before he arrived at an Age which threatened him with the near Approach of it. And, whatever antient Authors may say of it, the more modern ones, at least *Eusebius* and *St. Austin*, impute it to Sickness.

NOR are Historians less divided about the Number of Years *Ancus* reigned, than about the manner of his Death. Those of the latter Ages confine his reign to twenty-three Years, whilst the more antient, as *Livy* and *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, make him reign twenty-four²⁰. As to his Character, his Virtues made him equally famous both in War and Peace. He stands in the middle of the seven Kings of *Rome* : and as he was inferior to none that went before him, so he was scarce excelled by any that came after him. *Romulus* had left the Bravery of the *Romans* in all its Fierceness. *Numa* had indeed softened them, but by an Excess of Indolence and Superstition. *Tullus* had reduced the *Roman* Virtue to an austere and unpollished Love of their Country. But *Ancus Marcius* civilized the City, without enervating it ; took care of the Worship of the Gods, without making it burdensome to his Subjects ; made use of the natural Bravery of the *Romans*, without giving them up to their Impetuosity ; always fought regularly, set Laws to his Victories, and introduced Art and Skill in the manner of forming Camps, and taking Towns. It may likewise be said, he first introduced a Regularity in the publick Buildings erected in *Rome*. He did not indeed make them magnificent : he thought it enough to make the many publick Edifices he raised, somewhat decent and solid : And lastly, he improved the Mouth of the *Tyber* to the Advantage of Trade. By this means, he invited Strangers to come and enrich *Rome*, and opened a Way for his Successors to extend their²¹ Conquests beyond the Seas. The only Defect which Antiquity reproaches him with, is this ; that he loved Praise to excess ; and being too proud of his Nobility, boasted of it with Ostentation.

*ANCUS MARCIUS*²² left two Sons behind him at his Death ; one in his Cradle, and the other near fifteen Years of Age. Their Father had committed them to



Brass



Silver



²⁰ According to this, *Ancus* must have been about sixty-one Years old when he died. He was five, according to *Plutarch*, at the End of *Numa's* Reign ; to which if we add the thirty-two Years of *Tullus Hostilius's* Reign, that will make thirty-seven Years ; which, if added to twenty-four Years of his own Reign, the whole will be just sixty-one.

²¹ *Ancus* extended the *Roman* Territories, according to *Livy*, as far as the *Mesian* Forest, which he took from the *Hebrurians*. This Forest is thought to have stood in the Place, where at present stands *il Bosco di Bocciano*, towards the River *Cremera*, not far from *Ostia*.

²² The *Marcian* Family gloried in reckoning the Kings *Numa* and *Ancus* among their Ancestors, whom they carried up to *Marcus*, who was first *Pontifex Maximus*, and afterwards *Prefect* of *Rome*, under King *Tullus Hostilius*. This *Marcus* married *Pompilia*, the Daughter of King *Numa*, by whom he had *Ancus Marcius*, from whom the *Patrician* Family of the *Marcii* descended in a right Line : for there was at *Rome* a *Plebeian* Family of

the same Name, which came from the *Marcii* in a collateral Line. The Descendants, or they who pretended to be so, of this Family, published the Antiquity of it, in several Medals. The first of those above bears an Head of *Ancus* ; and on the Reverse an Aqueduct and an equestrian Statue, with these Words, *Aqua Marcia*. *Pliny* pretends that this Aqueduct was begun by *Ancus's* Commands, in order to supply *Rome* with Water. But besides that *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* say nothing of it ; it is very improbable that *Ancus* should, for the sake of building this Canal, have encroached very far upon the neighbouring Provinces, which were not under the Jurisdiction of *Rome*. The equestrian Statue, according to *Patinus's* Conjecture, represents that which *Livy* says was erected by Order of the Senate, in honour to one *Marcus Tremellus*, who conquered the *Samnites* twice, and made himself Master of *Anagnia*. The double Head on the second Medal represents *Numa Pompilius* and *Ancus Marcius*.



the Tuition of the ambitious *Tarquin*; doubtless not imagining that a Stranger, who was lately settled at *Rome*, could carry away the Suffrages of the People from his Son, and put the Crown upon his own Head. But the Address of *Tarquin* (who was of Greek Extraction, a Man of great Subtlety, and understood the Art of gaining upon a Populace which had not yet lost all Remains of Barbarity) succeeded, notwithstanding the Care and Precautions of the late King.

§. X. *TARQUIN* was the Son of a Merchant in *Corinth*, named *Damaratus*; who, tho' in Trade, was yet of one of the most illustrious Families in his Country. He is said to have sprung from the ²³ *Bacchiadae*, who descended from *Hercules*. And this at least is certain, that the *Bacchiadae* did reign at *Corinth*, when the Tyrant *Cypselus* deprived them of the Crown; and that he did his utmost utterly to destroy every the least Branch of the Family of the antient Kings. *Damaratus* therefore came for Protection from the Fury of the Tyrant, into the Countries which he had known by the means of Commerce. He often made Voyages on the Coasts of *Italy*, and carried Merchandizes from *Greece* to *Hetruria*, and from *Hetruria* to *Greece*. And as he traded upon his own Bottom, in a Ship built at his own Expence, and commanded by himself, he heaped up immense Riches. That he might secure them from the Rapines of *Cypselus*, he put all his Effects on board, took his leave of *Corinth*, and came and landed at *Tarquinia* ²⁴, then one of the most famous Cities in *Hetruria*. Here his Nobility and great Wealth enabled him to marry an *Hetrurian* of great Distinction: and by her he had two Sons, to whom he gave *Hetrurian* Names, calling the one *Arunx*, and the other *Lucumo*. These two Children were instructed in the Learning of the *Greeks*, and at the same time taught the Customs and Sciences of *Hetruria*. *Arunx*, who was the eldest, married one of the most considerable Women in the Country where he resided, and thereby made advantageous Alliances among the *Hetrurians*. But he died before his Father: and his Wife was with child, tho' not visibly so, when *Damaratus* himself died of Grief for the Loss of *Arunx*, after having first disposed of his Estate by Will. As he was ignorant of his Daughter-in-law's being with child, he left the whole to *Lucumo* his second Son. So that the posthumous Son of *Arunx* was disinherited before he was born: and therefore bore the melancholy Name of *Egerius*, (from *egere*, to want) on account of the Poverty to which he was reduced.

LUCUMO being now sole Master of the immense Riches of his Father, aspired at the highest Dignities in *Tarquinia*: and *Tanaquil* his Wife, who was not insensible of her noble Descent, and whose Virtue was more worthy of *Rome* than *Hetruria*, stirred up her Husband's Ambition, and was impatient till she saw him placed in a Rank equal to their Extraction. But the Misfortune was, that *Lucumo* was looked on, in *Hetruria*, as a Foreigner: and this single Consideration hindered his Advancement to the publick Posts of the Nation wherein he dwelt. So that the rich *Greek* was in Danger of spending his best Days in the low Sphere of an unactive private Life. Rouzed therefore by the Reproaches of the aspiring *Tanaquil*, he determined to remove to *Rome*, where two *Sabines* had been Kings, where Strangers were received with Marks of Distinction, and where personal Merit was the surest and only Means of arriving at the Dignities of the State. *Tanaquil* readily forsook her own Country, to go to *Rome*, and there by her Fortune with her Husband. At the same time several other *Hetrurians*, who were attached to *Lucumo* and *Tanaquil*, removed with them, and preferred *Rome* to *Tarquinia*.

Dion. Hal.
B. 3. p. 184,
185.

²³ The *Bacchiadae*, a Family in *Corinth*, came originally from *Bacchis* the Son of *Prumnis*, and sovereign of that City. During the Celebration of the *Orgia*, they tore *Acteon* the Son of *Melissus* in pieces. The Father therefore came in Despair to the *Isthmian Games*, where, after having made horrible Imprecations against the *Corinthians*, if they did not revenge the Death of his Son, he threw himself down a Precipice. Upon this the People of *Corinth*, to avert the Evils they feared, banished the *Bacchiadae*, some of whom embarked, and came and settled in *Sicily*. They had long enjoyed the

Government of *Corinth* in common. They annually chose one of their own Body, whom they called *Prytanis*, and who held the Place of King.

²⁴ The antient *Tarquinia*, one of the chief Cities of *Hetruria*, was thought to have been founded by *Tarchon* the Brother of *Lydus*. *Suidas* observes, that it was first called *Tarconia* or *Tarconium*. But *Justin* thought the *Pelastgi* and *Spinambrii* had founded it. It is now called *Tarqueno*, and is in the *Patrimony* of *St. Peter*, near the Dutchy of *Castro*. The Ruins of *Tarquinia* are yet to be seen, a Mile above *Corneto*.

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THE Success which attended the New-Comers, gave Rise to a Fable which makes something miraculous to have happened on *Lucumo's* Arrival at *Rome*. It is said, that as he was on the Road with his Wife, in an open Chariot, he no sooner came to the Foot of the Hill *Janiculus*, but an Eagle appeared over his Head. She hung some time in the Air, and then making a sudden Stoop at the Stranger, took off his Hat: After which she soared up again, and was lost in the Clouds; and descending with Rapidity a second time, left the Hat upon *Lucumo's* Head. Now the Art of Auguries had always been in Use among the *Hetrurians*. One ²⁵ *Tages*, whom they made to be *Jupiter's* Grandson, is said to have taught it to the twelve *Lucumonies*, of which the *Hetrurian* Nation consisted. *Tanaquil* therefore, well skilled in guessing at future Events by the flying of Birds, embraced her Husband with Tenderness, and in a Transport of Joy explained to him the happy Prefage of his future Grandeur.

BUT if there really were any such Augury, it must be confessed that *Lucumo* happily seconded it, by his Industry, his Valour and his Liberalities. He was no sooner admitted Citizen of *Rome*, but he endeavoured to appear entirely *Roman*. That not the least Marks of the Foreigner might continue about him, he took *Roman* Names. He was no longer called *Lucumo*, *Lucius* was his *Prænomen*. And the *Nomen* or Name of *Damaratus*, or *Demaratus*, favouring too much of the *Greek*, he borrowed one from *Tarquinius*, where he had been brought up, and called himself *Tarquinius*. As for the *Cognomen* of *Priscus* ²⁶ (which signifies *Old*) it is probable it was not added to the two former ones, till after his Death. I am of Opinion, that it was not thought on till the Reign of *Tarquin the Proud*. It was then used, in publick Discourses, thereby to distinguish *The Elder Tarquin* from the latter.

THE polite and engaging Behaviour of the *Greek*, now become a *Roman*, was a Charm which gained him much Popularity. He forwarded his expected Rise, by the Agreeableness of his Conversation, the Entertainments he gave, the Favours he plentifully bestowed on those who applied to him for any, and the gracious Manner in which he bestowed them. His Fame therefore soon reached the Court of *Ancus Marcius*; where, as *Tarquin* (for so we shall call him for the future) was naturally complaisant and insinuating, he was always ready to serve the King's Inclinations, but without Meanness, or debasing himself by any servile Behaviour. And lest his great Wealth should raise Suspicions of him, in a City which was yet but poor, he offered to deposite it in the publick Treasury, to supply the Wants of the City. He likewise built him an House, and enrolled himself and his Followers in one of the *Roman* Tribes.

NOR that it was only by civil Virtues that the industrious *Tarquin* distinguished himself among the Citizens of *Rome*. He well knew that military Exploits were a yet surer Step to great Honours. He therefore not only contributed to the Expences of the Wars out of his Estate; but likewise personally assisted in them. No one Commander signalized himself more in the *Roman* Armies than the generous *Tarquin*. Understanding well how to command the Infantry, he fought on Foot in the War with the *Latins*: And understanding the Command of the Cavalry yet better, he gained all the Honour of the last Victory, at the Head of the *Roman* Horse. Add to this, that he was no less prudent in Council, than formidable in Arms. He shone in the Senate, from his first Admission into it; and the King always followed his Advice in military Expeditions.

²⁵ All the antient *Roman* Authors say, that *Tages* taught the *Hetrurians* the Art of the *Haruspices* and *Augurs*: and Fable has embellished his Origin. Some make him the Grandson of *Jupiter*; others say he started up suddenly out of the Earth in *Hetruria*; which is their usual Way of talking of those whose Birth they knew nothing of. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who likewise attributes the Invention of the Art of Divination to *Tages*, says, that he considered that the Gods, either in Goodness to Mankind, or in Gratitude for the Worship they received, would give Men some Signs of future Events, either in the Bowels of Beasts, or the flying of Birds; and that he was the first who made Observations on them. He wrote a Book on that Subject, which

he left to the *Hetrurians*. *Ovid* speaks thus of him:

*Indigenæ dixerunt Tages, qui primus Etruscum
Edocuit gentem casus aperire futuros.*

²⁶ It ought to be considered, that none of the Kings of *Rome*, but the last, had a *Cognomen* in his Life-time. *Romulus* had not so much as a *Prænomen*. The rest had only the Name of their Family, and a *Prænomen*. Nor did the latter *Tarquin* take his *Cognomen* of *The Proud*, out of choice: the discontented People gave it him. We don't find that the *Cognomen* was common among the *Romans* in the first Ages of *Rome*: the Custom of taking it was not introduced till the Time of the Republick. It

§. XI. It is easy to conceive, that a Man of so universal a Reputation, and so ambitious, should think the Death of *Ancus* the critical Time for his attempting the Throne. His Merit had indeed made him worthy of it, but Artifice and intrigue were the Means that raised him to it. Being Tutor to the two Sons of the late King, he was not apprehensive of any Competition, unless from the eldest of his Pupils. This young Prince was near fifteen Years of Age; and *Tarquin's* Fear was, that if the *Inter-regnum* should continue, tho' but a little while, the Memory of the Father would gain his Son the Hearts and Suffrages of the People. He therefore brought on the Election with the utmost Expedition, and caused the *Curie* to be summoned to assemble, before young *Marcus* was fifteen. And for the greater Precaution, *Tarquin* took Care to remove his Pupil from *Rome*, and keep him out of the Sight of the People during the *Comitia*, by procuring him Hunting-Matches in the Country. In the mean time, he carried on his Intrigues, and gained some by Money, others by Caresses. In short, he was the first who introduced into *Rome* the Custom of asking for Offices of State, and publicly making Interest to obtain them. The *Romans* had hitherto affected a rustic Modesty, which had hindered them from discovering to the World the Desires they had of obtaining the highest Posts. But the *Greek* was above these timorous Scruples, and was bold enough to propose himself to be King, in an Harangue he made to the People.

AS I am a Stranger, said he, I should never have presumed to have offered myself for the Roman Throne, if others, as much Strangers as my self, had not been raised to it by your Suffrages. Nay, which is more, was not Titus Tatius even your Enemy, before he came to preside over you? And yet did he not, when associated with Romulus, share the Honours of the Royal Power and Authority with him in Rome? Did not Numa, who was a Native of Sabinia, and forced from his beloved Solitude, come hither and govern a State he knew nothing of, and of a sudden become Master of a City to which he was an utter Stranger? As for my self, I am bold to say, I have more of the Roman than the *Hetrurian* in me. As soon as I arrived at a sufficient Maturity of Age to enter upon civil or military Offices, I left *Tarquinius*. I brought a great Estate with me to *Rome*, and have dedicated my Treasures and my Self to your Service. I have served an Apprenticeship in War under *Ancus*: judge therefore of the Scholar by the Master. And a long Residence among you in a Reign so equitable as his, has given me sufficient Time and Opportunities of informing my self in the Customs, Laws and Ceremonies of *Rome*. If I behaved my self like an assiduous Courtier to my Master, and taught others the Respect they owed him, it was only the better to know the Man whom I shall hereafter labour to imitate, in the Indulgence and tender Love he always shewed his People.

THE *Romans* had experienced the Truth of what *Tarquin* said, and were therefore charmed with the Expectations of finding in him a King full of *Ancus's* Spirit, and formed by him, and one who would appear with equal Dignity, both in the Throne, and at the Head of Armies. The Majority of Votes therefore were given in his Favour, and the *Roman* People commanded him, (for this is the very term those imperious Citizens used from that Time, in the Instalment of their Sovereigns;) the *Roman* People, I say, commanded him to sit down at the Helm of Affairs. As then Ambition had made *Tarquin* industrious in raising himself to the Throne, so it made him very careful to maintain himself in it. That he might have a more considerable Party in the Senate, he created an hundred new Senators. This, it's probable, was to reward those who were lately come to *Rome* with him; and those among the People who had shewn most Zeal in his Election. The Name * given to these new Senators was not altogether for their Honour²⁷; but that did not in the least lessen their Authority, which was equal

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First.

Liv. B.1. c.35.

* *Minorum
Gentium.*

²⁷ There are several Opinions about the Name of *patres minorum gentium*, which was given to the Senators of this third Creation by *Tarquin*. We shall speak of them again in another Place, where we will declare what we think most probable concerning them. At present, it is sufficient to mention the different Opinions of Authors. *Plutarch* does not allow of this Division of Senators in-

to *majorum*, and *minorum gentium*. He likewise contends, that none of the Kings chose any Senators, but out of the antient *Patrician* Families: And adds, that those called *Patres conscripti*, had that Name from their being written or enrolled, a second time, among the antient Families. But as he is not exact in his Account of the three different Orders of Senators, which all other Historians unanimously

Year of ROM E to that of the oldest Senators. This additional Part of the Senate was always attached to *Tarquin's* Interest, both by Inclination and Gratitude.

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§.XII. THE Affairs of *Rome* were left in such a Situation, as made a War inevitable. Almost all the Nations the former Kings had subdued, pretended that their Treaties of Union, Alliance, or Peace with *Rome*, were no longer in Force, than during the Lives of the Kings who had subdued them. The *Latins* were the first who made Use of this Pretence, or, if you will, this Reason, for making War. The whole Nation did not indeed take up Arms together against *Tarquin*; and this was the Cause of their ill Success. As the *Latin* Cities only declared against him one after another, *Tarquin* easily conquered those People separately, which he would have found it difficult to have overcome in a Body. *Apiolæ*, a pretty considerable City of antient *Latium*²⁸, was the Capital of a little District; the Inhabitants of which plundered some Lands in the *Roman* Territory, and gave the first Offence by Robberies. *Tarquin* therefore made Reprisals, and came with a considerable Army to plunder the Lands of the *Latins* in his Turn. But the *Apian* obtained Succours from the neighbouring Cities, and confidently appeared in the open Field, to fight the common Enemy. Over them the new King gained his first Victory. He conquered them in two Battles fought immediately after one another, and determined to lay Siege to *Apiolæ*; and in order to make himself Master of it, the expert General made equal Use of Stratagem and Valour. He divided his Army into several Bodies, and appeared before the Place with only the least Part of it. The Besieged therefore finding themselves almost equal in Number with the Besiegers, made frequent Sallies, and the Losses they sustained in little Skirmishes wasted them away by degrees. Whilst *Tarquin* supplied the Place of his first Troops, when fatigued, with fresh ones, but still in so small Numbers as not to dishearten the *Apian*. This then drew the Besieged into fresh Engagements, which still continued to lessen their Numbers; till at length they were so weakened by their own Valour, that they sunk under the Fatigue, and their City was taken by Assault. Most of them perished Sword in hand, and the remaining few threw down their Arms. Nevertheless, as *Tarquin* thought it necessary to make the Beginning of his Reign, and his first Victory, memorable by an Instance of Severity; he therefore did not carry the Conquered to *Rome*, and incorporate them among his Citizens, as his Predecessors had done; but sold them for Slaves. Their City was given up to the Plunders of the Soldiers, who destroyed it by Fire, and entirely demolished the Walls of it. By this small Violation of the Laws of Humanity, *Tarquin* enlarged the Extent of his Dominions, and more effectually secured his Conquests.

The *Crustumini* were a Colony of the *Latins*, who had submitted to be governed by the *Roman* Laws in *Romulus's* Reign, and had hitherto preserved their Fidelity to *Rome* inviolate. But now the ill Example of the other *Latin* Cities drew them into the same Defection from *Tarquin*, and involved them in the same Guilt. So that the King of *Rome* raised a new Army, either to reduce them to their Obedience, or punish them. But they were soon sensible of their Folly, and repented of their Revolt. The *Roman* Forces struck Terror into them, and no Succours appeared to guard them from the impending Danger. They therefore chose wisely to open their Gates to their antient Masters, without exposing themselves to the Miseries of a Siege. The old Men and most honourable Citizens of *Crustumium* came and presented themselves before the King, in a suppliant manner, and prayed him to moderate the Severity of his Revenge. Accordingly, their Submission softened him, and preserved them. He did not so much as condemn one Person to Death. The Authors of the Revolt were gone into a voluntary Exile, and their Flight was their only Punishment. The *Crustumini*

nimously agree in, we shall in general not concern our selves about any of his Opinions concerning them. *Tacitus*, *Ann. B. 11.* grants indeed there were Senators *minorum gentium*; but pretends, that this Name was first given by *L. Junius Brutus*, to those he brought into the Senate after the Banishment of *Tarquin the Proud*. But in this he is contradicted by *Livy*, who says, the Name of *minorum gentium* was given to the Senators created by *Old Tarquin*.

We shall give the Reason why these Senators were so called, in another Place.

²⁸ Antient Authors give us Reason to conjecture, that *Apiolæ* was situated near the *Anio*, in the Neighbourhood of *Crustumium* and *Corniculum*, upon the Confines of *Latium* and *Sabinia*. This City was entirely destroyed, and there are now no Footsteps of it remaining.

were

were still permitted to enjoy their Privileges, without any Alteration; and only the Means of a second Revolt were taken from them. At the same time that the King continued to them the Rights of Allies to *Rome*, he settled a Colony of *Romans* among them.

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IN the mean time, the Inhabitants of *Nomentum*²⁹, who were yet more inexcusable than the *Crustumini*, had committed Hostilities against the *Romans*, and plundered their Lands: And yet their Submission exempted them from a more rigorous Treatment. They surrendered to the *Romans* in a handsome manner, and therefore experienced the Clemency of *Tarquin*.

THE Conqueror pursued his Point, and advanced into old *Latium*. The *Collatini*³⁰ thought themselves in a Condition to hold out against the victorious Army, and were brave enough to try their Strength with that of the *Romans*. Nothing but their Losses could convince them of their Inferiority; but being always beaten and repulsed in the open Field, they at length shut themselves up within their Walls. And then the Necessity to which they were reduced obliged them to have Recourse to the other *Latin* Cities. But the *Roman* was too quick and active to give them a Moment's Time to breathe. He carried on the Siege so vigorously, as not to give them Time to receive some lingring Succours, which did not arrive till the City was surrendered. In short, *Collatia* submitted to the Will of the Conqueror; who did not treat it with the same Indulgence as he had done *Crustuminum* and *Nomentum*. All its Inhabitants were disarmed, and forced to pay a Sum of Money: And the Garrison *Tarquin* left in it kept them in Duty and Subjection ever after.

THE *Roman* Virtue had hitherto condemned those partial Regards which Men are apt to have for their Blood and Family, and which are sometimes contrary to the Laws of the strictest Equity. But *Tarquin*, who was naturally less scrupulous, and had more of the *Greek* Policy, considered the high Station he was in, as a proper Means of advancing and enriching his Relations. As soon as he was Master of *Collatia*, he thought he might dispose of it as he pleased: And therefore gave the Government, or rather the Sovereignty of it, to that Son of his Brother *Arunx*, who had been disinherited before his Birth, and bore the Name of *Egerius*, from the Indigence to which he was thereby reduced. And from this City of *Collatia*, which became his Property, he took the Name of *Collatinus*, which he transmitted to his Posterity: Who afterwards made themselves famous among the *Romans*, for the Services they did them, even against the *Tarquins* themselves.

THE taking of *Collatia* was followed by that of *Corniculum*³¹, another City of the *Latins*. The Conqueror pillaged its Territory, without Resistance; and immediately appeared before the Place, but rather to sollicit it to come into an Alliance with the *Romans*, than to subdue it. *Tarquin* made so many Attempts to gain the Friendship of the Besieged, that he seemed rather to act the Part of a Mediator, than of a Besieger: And he found the happy Consequences of this moderate Conduct. The Offers of the *Roman*, and the Courage of the *Latins*, divided the Inhabitants of *Corniculum* into two Factions. Some were for the War, and supported the Siege with Bravery: Others preferred a peaceable Alliance with *Rome*, and made but small Resistance against the Assailants. So that the Valour of the bravest, who by exposing themselves too much to Danger, wore themselves away with Fatigue, and diminished their Numbers by their Losses; and the Backwardness of the most pacifick, whose Motions were but faint, contributed equally to the common Ruin. In a Word, the City was taken by Storm; whilst the most valiant died defending themselves and retiring from Post to Post within their Walls; the more cowardly escaped with their Lives, but at the Expence of

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Dion. Hal.
B. 3. p. 188.

²⁹ *Nomentum* was one of the most considerable Cities in *Sabinia*, near the *Salarian* Way, and the Banks of the River *Allia*, not far from the Waters which are now called, in the Language of the Country, *i Bagni della Grotta marrozza*, and ten Miles from *Rome*. It is now only a Village, which bears the Name of *Lomentano*.

³⁰ *Collatia* was a City which stood upon the Borders of *Latium* and *Sabinia*, between the *Preneftine* Way, and the left Bank of the *Anio*, six Miles from *Rome*.

³¹ Most Geographers place *Corniculum* between the *Tyber* and the *Anio*, half way from *Tibur* to *Fidene*. *Hollstenius* conjectures, that this City stood in the same Place where now stands the little City of *St. Angelo*, near the Place called *Torre Vergata*, two Miles from the *Montes Corniculani*, mentioned by *Dion. Hal. B. 1.* which *Kircher* thinks were the Mounts *St. Angelo* and *Monticelli*.

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their Liberty. They, their Wives and their Children were sold for Slaves; and the City it self was plundered, and reduced to Ashes.

§. XIII. By the Number of Cities already conquered by the *Romans* in old *Latium*, it is easy to conceive how well this little Spot of Ground must have been peopled: And the Reader will therefore be surprized to find what a great Multitude of them yet remained unconquered. The rest of the *Latins* seeing so wide a Passage opened into their Country, began to look about them, and at last found it necessary to make greater Efforts, to oppose the *Romans*. This they resolved on in an Assembly of some of their Cities: And accordingly, an Army was raised, and sent into one of the best Cantons of the *Roman* Territories, where it committed Depredations, and made some Prisoners, or rather Slaves. Whilst *Tarquin*, who was not in a Condition to prevent these Aggressors, resolved to make Reprizals. He led out his Troops into their Country, where he took as much Spoil from the *Latins*, as they had done from him: And in short, followed his Enemy's Example in making War like a Pirate. But the two Armies, which were in Search of one another, met at last near *Fidena*, five Miles from *Rome*; where the Attack was vigorous, and the Battle bloody. However, Victory declared it self at last for the *Romans*; their Enemies left their Camp to be plundered, and dispersing themselves, retired by Night, every one to his own City.

NEVERTHELESS *Tarquin* was not forgetful of his Interests after so compleat a Victory: But that no Advantage might be lost, which could be made of it, he sent to sollicite the *Latin* Cities, which the Fugitives had terrified as they passed through them, to enter into Alliances with the *Romans*. Accordingly, several of them, hoping for no Succours from their subdued Countrymen, and not having Strength enough of their own to have Recourse to, preferred a voluntary Obedience to the *Romans*, to the Slavery which threatned them. The *Fidenates*, who were now more faithful to the *Romans* than formerly, got them several new Subjects on this Occasion, and procured the Surrendry of several pretty considerable Places to them, on advantageous Conditions. And at length, *Camerium* submitted to the *Romans*, and put them in Possession of several fortified Places³².

§. XIV. By this means, Terror spread it self so universally among the *Latins*, that there was reason to fear, the rest of *Latium* would be drawn in to follow the Example of so many terrified Cities: and therefore the extreme Danger they were in, brought them to desperate Resolutions. Whilst *Alba* subsisted, it was considered as the Capital of *Latium*; where the *Latins* held their Assemblies, and whither all the Cities sent their Deputies to consult together. And though it was now destroyed, yet the *Latins* continued to have some Remains of their former Respect for their Mother-City, and assembled their Diets at the Foot of the famous Mountain of *Alba*, by the Head of a Spring consecrated to the Goddess *Ferentina*. This Place, whether it were a Village, or only a pleasant Plain watered by a Rivulet, bore the Name of *Ferentinum*: And here the whole Nation of the *Latins* assembled in a Body, on the present Occasion.

THEIR Deliberations turned upon the Means of stopping this impetuous Torrent, which broke in with such Fury upon the Countries of *Latium*, as to bear down their Cities before it: and the Result of them was, that it was necessary to stand obstinately against the Attempts of a rising Colony, to bring all the Militia of the neighbouring Cities into the Field, and to apply for Succours to the most powerful Nations of *Italy*. And accordingly they determined to send two Embassies, one to the *Sabines*, the other to the *Hetrurians*.

EVERY thing contributed towards facilitating the Negotiations of the Embassadors in favour of the *Latins*, who were thought oppressed. The Hatred of the neighbouring Nations to *Rome*, had encreased in proportion to her Grandeur. The *Sabines* and *Hetrurians* therefore readily entered into a League with the *Latins*, but in somewhat a different manner. The entire Body of the *Sabines* united themselves with them; but only some Countries of the *Hetrurians* declared for them, against King *Tarquin*. The whole Nation of the *Sabines* promised the *Latins*, that as soon as they had begun Hostilities, their Forces should likewise enter into

³² *Livy* reckons *Ficulnea* or *Ficula*, *Ameriola*, *Medulia*, and *Camerium*, among the Cities conquered by *Tarquin*.

the *Roman* Territories on their Side, and make a Diversion there. As for the confederated Cities of *Hetruria*, they only furnished them with as many Succours as they could draw together. The *Latins* indeed had the five following very considerable Cities of *Hetruria* in their Party; viz. *Clusium*³³, *Rusellæ*³⁴, *Volaterræ*³⁵, *Aretium*³⁶, and *Vetulonia*³⁷: but notwithstanding all this, *Tarquin's* Valour found means to disperse this Storm, which arose from the Union of so many confederated Cities; and they all, in their Turns, only furnished Matter for his Conquests, and his Triumphs.

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HOWEVER, the *Latins*, in dependence upon these great Succours, entered the Territory of the *Romans* on their Side: whilst the *Sabines*, on theirs, ravaged those *Roman* Lands which bordered upon them. The brave *Tarquin* in the mean time got every thing in readiness for his March, and raised a great Army; but did not think proper to divide it, for fear of weakening it. He therefore left the *Sabines* in possession of the Country, which they plundered and laid waste, in confidence that he should soon be able to make them pay for their Robberies; and he marched with all his Forces against the *Latins*. The two Camps were posted pretty near each other: and the two Armies seemed for some time to be afraid, or stand in awe, of one another, or to be mutually examining each other's Strength. At first, nothing happened, but some little Combats between a few Champions, who marched out of the Intrenchments after one another: till at length, slight Skirmishes insensibly brought on a general Action. Both Camps were left empty, and the Plain was covered with two Armies, near equal in Numbers, and both inured to War, and very brave. The Battel was begun with Fury on both Sides, and continued without Intermission the whole Day, till Night drew on, and put a stop to it.

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R O M E
CXLVII.
Dion. Hal.
B. 3. p. 180

Dion. Hal.
ibid.

THEY then retired into their Intrenchments, without any evident Marks of Conquest on either Side: it did not appear which had the Victory, till the next Day. At Sun-rising, the *Romans* marched out in good Order, to offer a second Battel: but the *Latins* kept themselves within their Camp, under Cover of their Intrenchments. *Tarquin* therefore looked on himself as Master of the Field of Battel, ordered his *Romans* to strip the Dead; and after having waited a great while for the Enemy, returned to his Tents, with the Acclamations of his Army.

NEVERTHELESS, the Affairs of the *Latins* were not yet desperate: the *Hetrurians* soon came to the Assistance of their Allies, and repaired their Losses. They therefore, full of Confidence upon the Arrival of these new Re-inforcements, appeared again in the Field, and ventured to offer the *Romans* a second Battel: But this only ended in a more signal Defeat of the confederate Enemies of *Rome*, than the former. *Tarquin* gained an incontestable Victory over them; and what added most to his Glory, was this, that all agreed it was wholly owing to his personal Bravery and Conduct.

THE Right Wing, which he commanded, had indeed some Advantage over the *Hetrurians* with whom he fought; but then the *Roman* Legion which was posted in his Left Wing, was at the same time already broken by the *Latins*, and had like to have been entirely routed: which the King perceiving, he sent a

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³³ *Clusium*, now *Chiusi*, was considerable among the twelve *Lucumones*, or *Metropolies* of *Hetruria*. It was first inhabited by the People of *Umbria*; and, according to *Livy* and *Polybius*, was then called *Camers*. Being afterwards conquered by the *Clasgi*, under the Command of *Clusius*, the Son of *Pyrrhenus*, it from him changed its first Name into that of *Clusium*. *Strabo* reckons it to be a hundred Miles distant from *Rome*; which is the present Distance between *Chiusi* and that City. It orders upon the Territories of *Perusa* and *Orvieto*. *Pliny* is the only Writer who mentions another City, which he calls *new Clusium*, situated between the *Arno* and the *Tyber*, at the Foot of the *Apennine* Hills.

³⁴ The Ruins of *Ruscellæ*, formerly a City of *Hetruria*, are yet to be seen three Miles from the

Lake *Prilis*, near the Mineral Waters, which the Natives now call *Bagni di Roselle*.

³⁵ *Volaterræ*, an ancient City of *Hetruria*, is still in being, in the Territory of *Pisa*, and is now called *Volaterano*.

³⁶ The City of *Arezzo*, which is said to have been the ancient *Aretium*, is in the Neighbourhood of *Florence*.

³⁷ Nothing is now left of the ancient *Vetulonia* but its Ruins, which are in the Territory of *Pisa*, three Miles from the Sea, near the *Vetletta*, or *Vetulonian* Forest. There were hot Waters in the Neighbourhood of *Vetulonia*; which, if we may believe *Pliny*, had Fish in them at the same time: they were probably those which the *Italians* now call *le Caldane*.

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Detachment of Foot from his Right Wing to support his Left, and hastened to its Relief, at the Head of some Horse, with such Expedition, as surprized the Enemy: and by his Presence he immediately restored the Order and Courage of his Legion. Then he flew back with the same Rapidity to his Right Wing, and facing the *Hetrurians* again, struck more Terror into them than before. He broke through them, routed them, and strewed their Carcasses all over the Field of Battel. After this, he led on his Cavalry full speed to the Enemy's Camp, first giving Orders, that his Infantry should march on slowly after him. By this means, the *Latin* Soldiers, who were left to guard the Camp, were deceived by this precipitate March; and mistaking the *Roman* Cavalry for the *Hetrurian*, permitted them to enter it. So that when the flying Enemy came to their Camp for Refuge, they found it seized by the *Romans*: and to compleat the Misfortune, the broken and dispersed *Hetrurians* and *Latins* fell by the Swords of the *Roman* Infantry, who, continuing in the Plain, made a great Slaughter of them: whilst such as reached the Foot of their Intrenchments, were forced back by the *Romans*; and those *Latins* which they drove before them, either perished by the Sword, or were crushed to Death in the Croud. So fatal was this Day's Engagement to the *Latins*, so advantageous to *Rome*, and so full of Glory to *Tarquin the First*. The King took to himself all the Money he found in the Camp, and all the Captives, whom he sold for Slaves: the rest of the Spoil he gave up, as free Booty, to the Soldiers.

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AND the Consequence of these two last Battels, was this, that it filled all *Latium* with Terror. The *Latins* had now no Refuge left, but in the Mercy of the Conqueror. So that when *Tarquin* brought his Army to besiege those *Latin* Cities which had refused to enter into Alliance with him; they did not wait for his investing them, but submitted voluntarily to the Yoke, and changed their former Arrogance and Pride into humble Supplications. They unanimously sent an Embassy to him, and offered to surrender to him, upon his own Terms.

Dim. Hal.
B. 3. p. 190.

THE King therefore having now so many Cities, all within so small a Tract of Ground, absolutely at his Disposal, would not deny them that Clemency, which the *Romans* gloried in shewing to the Cities which submitted to them. He condemned no one *Latin* either to Death or Banishment; neither did he extort any Money from the conquered Country, by laying it under arbitrary Contributions. He left the *Latins* Masters of their own Lands, and suffered them to enjoy their antient Laws. The Conqueror only obliged the Conquered to deliver up Deserters, and set at liberty the Prisoners they had taken from the *Romans*; to restore the *Roman* Citizens the Slaves they had taken from them in the Country; to pay for the Damages they had done the Husbandmen; and to be in a readiness to march their Forces to the Assistance of *Rome*, whenever they should be called for. Upon these Conditions, which the *Latins* gladly accepted of, they were received into the Friendship and Alliance of *Rome*.

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§. XV. AND now that the War with the *Latins* seemed to be ended, *Rome* thought the Honours of a ³⁸ Triumph due to a Victor, who had so long gone on to fight and conquer without Intermision. The antient Simplicity of the Triumph was not yet changed into Magnificence: but we shall soon see the same *Tarquin* (who now walks on Foot, according to the antient Custom of those who triumphed) riding in a glittering Chariot, and introducing Luxury, and costly Pomp, into the *Roman* Triumphs. The Spoils the King had taken in the conquered Cities of *Latium*, and particularly in *Apiolæ*, were much beyond his Hopes or Expectations; so that he took not the Profit of them to his own private Use, but applied it to the building of a *Circus* for the *Roman* Games, which were also called ⁴⁰ *The Great Games*. The

³⁸ The three Triumphs with which *Old Tarquin* was honoured, are expressly set down both in the *Fasti Capitolini*, and *Dion. Halicarnassens*. The Authority of these *antient Marbles* gives credit to the *Greek* Historian. *Livy* is generally not very exact in setting down the Number of the Triumphs, and placing them according to the Order of Time. He and *Macrobins* make *Old Tarquin* to have triumphed but once: and the Author of *The Illustrions Men* gives him but two Triumphs. But the Agree-

ment of the *Fasti Capitolini* and *Dion. Hal.* ought to have more weight with us, than their Authorities.

³⁹ *Tarquin* was of a *Greek* Family: and this led him to think of building a *Circus* at *Rome*, in imitation of the chief Cities of *Greece*. The first *Circus*, which was ever built, and was a Pattern to all the rest, was in *Elis*, where the *Olympick* Games were celebrated.

⁴⁰ It's certain the *Roman* Games were also called

Name of *Circus* ⁴¹ was given to this magnificent Structure, either because one End of it at least was a Portion of a *Circle* ⁴²; or because the Chariots, which disputed the Prize in them, were obliged to run seven times ⁴³ *round* the Posts which were at each End of it: and this was afterwards, or perhaps from that very time, called *The Great Circus* *; either on account of its vast Circumference, or with respect to the other ⁴⁴ *Circus's*, which were smaller; or because *The Great Games* were celebrated in it, at a *great* Expence; or lastly, because it was dedicated to the most considerable Deities; as particularly to *Vertumnus* ⁴⁵, *Neptune*, *Jupiter*, *Juno* and *Minerva*, and especially to the *Dii Penates* of *Rome*, which were peculiarly called ⁴⁶ *The Great Gods*.

TARQUIN placed his *Circus* in the ⁴⁷ *Myrtian* or *Murtian* Valley, which reached from the Hill *Aventinus*, to the Hill *Palatinus*. It is unquestionable ⁴⁸ that

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* *Circus Maximus*.



Brass

The Great Games: *Livy* assures us of it. Nevertheless, we must not from thence conclude, that all the Sports which were celebrated in the *Circus*, and which were called *Circenses*, were *The Great Games*. Some were celebrated in the *Circus*, to *Ceres*, *Apollo*, &c. which were different from *The Great* or *Roman Games*: Nor were those called *Megalenses*, the same with *The Great Games*. The former were celebrated before the *Nonas of April*, and the latter on the Eve of the *Nonas of September*. Besides, *The Roman Games* were instituted in honour of *The Great Gods*; whence they were called *The Great Games*; and the *Megalenses* only in honour of *Cybele*. Lastly, *The Great Games* were instituted by *Old Tarquin*; and the *Megalenses*, not till *Junius Brutus's* Time, who appointed them to the honour of *Cybele*, then called *μεγαλήσια*, or *The Great Goddess*.

⁴¹ Among the several Etymologies of the Name *Circus* here given, I have omitted one, which is *Tertullian's*. He contends, that the *Roman Circus* took its Name from the famous *Circe*, the fabulous Daughter of the Sun: and imagines, *B. de Spectac.* that *Circe*, who invented it, intended to represent by the Sports of the *Circus*, the Course of the Sun her Father, running round the Globe of the World, in a Chariot drawn by four Horses. But this does not seem to me very solid.

⁴² The *Circus* had four Fronts; one at the bottom of it, where the Posts stood round which the Chariots were obliged to turn, one at the opposite End where the Chariots started, and one at each Side; where the Spectators sat in two great Galleries. It is certain, that at least that Front, where the Turning-Posts stood, described a Portion of a *Circle*: and it's probable the opposite Front where the Chariots started, was semi-circular. But that is not absolutely certain.

⁴³ It is not doubted but they were obliged either to turn seven times round one Post, or only once round seven different Posts. The Poets only mention seven Rounds, without expressly saying, whether they were about several Posts, or one only. *Propertius's* Words are these:

*Hand prius infecto deposcit premia cursu,
Septima quam metam triverit ante rota.*

And *Ausonius*, in his Epitaph on the Horse *Prophor*, says,

*Prophore clamosi pannonia per aquora Circi
Septenas solitus Victor obire vias.*

But *Cassiodorus* seems to say more expressly, *B. 3.* that it was necessary to turn round seven different Posts, *Septem metis omne certamen peragitur*. Nevertheless, we are generally told, that there was but one Post, at least at *Rome*, round which the Charioteers were obliged to turn seven times.

⁴⁴ If the *Circus Tarquin* built, was only called *The Great Circus*, with respect to some other that was less, it is very uncertain when it took this Name. We don't find there was any other *Circus* at *Rome*, but *The Great* one, till *Flaminius's* was built: and when that was, is uncertain. *Varro* pretends, *B. 4. Of the Latin Tongue*, that a Shew of Bull-fighting was given in the *Circus Flaminius*, in the Reign of *Tarquin*; but does not say which *Tarquin*, whether the first or second. And according to him then, that *Circus* must have been well nigh as antient as *The Great Circus*. Nevertheless, *Cassiodorus* contends, that the *Circus Flaminius* was not built till *L. Veturius* and *C. Lutatius* were *Consuls*.

⁴⁵ *Vertumnus*, if we believe *Ovid*, was the most antient God of the *Hebrurians*. The *Lucumo*, who came from *Hebruria*, and settled at *Rome*, in *Romulus's* Time, first made him known to the *Romans*, and built a Temple to him. He was invoked to give the People good Markets, and good Bargains. A Festival was consecrated to him in *October*, called *Vertumnalia*.

⁴⁶ These *Dii Penates* were chiefly the two *Palladiums*, otherwise called *The Gods of Samothracia*. *Rome* gave them, particularly, the Name of *Potes Dii*, or *Powerful Gods*. *Varro* says the Name of *Great Gods* was peculiar to them; and that on the Pedestal on which they were placed, was this Inscription, *Magnis Diis*. Thus *Virgil* speaks of them, in the same manner

Populoque, Penatibus, & Magnis Diis.

⁴⁷ This Valley was, according to some, called *Murtia*, from a Temple erected to the Goddess of that Name, at the Foot of the Hill *Aventinus*: or *Myrtia*, according to others, from a Temple built in that Place to *Venus* surnamed *Myrtia*, because *The Myrtle* was consecrated to her.

⁴⁸ There was, properly speaking, no *Circus* in *Rome*, before that which *Tarquin the First* built. The *Romans* indeed had their Games, in which there were Chariot and Horse-races, from the Time of

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THE FIRST.
Dion. Hal.
B. 3. p. 200.

Dion. Hal.
ibid.

that there was a *Circus* for the *Roman Games*, before *Tarquin's Time*; but it is thought not to have been in the same Place under the former Kings, in which *Tarquin* erected his. At least it must be granted, that this Prince made it more commodious for the Spectators. For before his Time ⁴⁹, the People could only see the Games standing, upon wooden Galleries, supported by forked Poles: but *Tarquin* placed the Spectators on three Rows of Seats, or a sort of semi-circular Steps, which grew narrower and narrower quite up to the top. The lowest Steps were made of Stone, and the highest only of Wood. Within the *Circus*, along the two Sides of it, and at one End, they made a Trench ⁵⁰ of ten Foot broad, and as many deep, to carry off the Water. The *Circus* was three *Stadia* and an half long ⁵¹, and four *Jugera* broad. An hundred and fifty thousand Men could ⁵² sit in it at their ease: tho' perhaps *Dion. Halicarnassens* may have confounded this *Circus*, as it was in *Tarquin's Time*, with the same *Circus*, as it was in the Time of *Augustus*. *Julius Caesar* indeed built it a-new, and *Augustus* embellished it with Gildings. Besides, it had underwent many Alterations since the Reign of the King that first built it; the *Consuls* and *Emperors* often adorned it with fresh Monuments of their Magnificence. It is probable that *Tarquin*, at that Time, built this great Work of solid Stone. He divided it into several Parts, which he distributed among the thirty *Roman Curia* ⁵³, each of which had its own Quarter, for seeing the Chariot and Horse-Races, and the Combats of the *Pugiles* ⁵⁴. These were the only Games



of *Romulus*: but these Games were celebrated on the Banks of the *Tyber*, and Swords fastened up, with their Points towards the Racers, were used for Goals. They were obliged to turn quite round them in a narrow Path, where they were in danger of wounding their Horses with them. *Cassiodorus*, B. 5. derives the Words *Ludi Circenses*, from this Custom; *Circences*, says he, *quasi circum enses, inter enses & flumina, locis virentibus agebantur*. And the same Etymology is adopted by *Isidorus*, B. 7. in these Words: *Ubi nunc meta, olim gladii ponebantur, quos quadrigæ circuibant in littore*. For this Reason doubtless *Virgil* represents *Aeneas*, promising to give Chariot-Races on the Banks of a River.

Centum quadrijugos agitato ad flumina currus.

Hence it is that we read the Words, *DISCURSIO TIBERINA*, in an antient Inscription, quoted by *Bullinger*. This Custom continued even after the Erection of the *Circus's*. We sometimes find a Horseman pushing on his Horse, with this Inscription, *Decursio*, on the Reverse of antient Medals, as in that in the foregoing Page.

⁴⁹ *Livy* is the only Author that says, the Spectators were even from *Tarquin's Time* placed on Scaffolds twelve Foot high, and supported by forked Pieces of Timber.

⁵⁰ This Trench was called *Euripus*. It run round only three Sides of the *Circus*: for that Side where the Chariots started, and set up, had no Trench. It was at first separated from the *Arena*, only by a Wall Breast-high: but this was afterwards, according to *Pliny*, B. 8. changed into an Iron Balustrade.

⁵¹ *Dion. Hal* plainly tells us, this was the Length and Breadth of the *Circus*: but *Pliny* makes it only three *Stadia* long. He probably omitted the

half *Stadium*, mentioned by the *Greek Historian*, for the sake of a round Number. Nothing therefore remains, but to compute how long and wide the *Circus* was, according to our Measures. Now *Pliny* tells us, B. 1. ch. 3. the Length both of the *Roman Stadium* and *Jugurum*. The former, according to him, contained six hundred twenty-five *Roman Feet*, each of which Feet contained twelve *Inches*, or sixteen *Finger's Breadths*: so that consequently the *Circus*, as it was three *Stadia* and a half, must have been two thousand one hundred and eighty-seven *Roman Feet*, long. And it being four *Jugera* broad, each of which *Jugera* contained, according to him, two hundred and forty *Roman Feet*; it is from thence easy to infer, that the *Circus* was nine hundred sixty *Roman Feet* broad, and consequently was above twice as long as it was wide. So that the Length of the *Circus* was (somewhat more than three *English Furlongs*) very near half an *Italian Mile*, or about a very little Quarter of a *French League*. One of *Trajan's Medals* gives us the Form of the *Circus*, of which we shall hereafter give the Plan.

⁵² Tho' this Number be surprisingly great, *Pliny* B. 36. makes it almost half as big again. He assures us *The Great Circus* would hold two hundred sixty-thousand Spectators: Which shews, that *Dion. Hal.* speaks of the *Circus*, only as it was in *Tarquin's Time*; and that *Pliny* speaks of it, as it was after it had been rebuilt by *Julius Caesar*.

⁵³ The great Love the *Roman People* had for these sorts of Shews, made *Juvenal* say,

— *Duas tantum res anxius optat,
Panem & Circences* —

⁵⁴ *Livy* is the Author who tells us, that the Combats of the *Pugiles* were made a Part of the publick Shews in *Old Tarquin's Time*. *Livy*

Games ⁵⁵ then in Use, either for the Entertainment of the Publick, or the Solemnization of the Worship of the Gods.

§. XVI. THE long War *Tarquin* undertook with the *Hetrurians*, and the signal Victories he gained over them, much advanced the Glory of the Conqueror, and both enabled and inclined him to introduce Luxury into his Court. *Hetruria* was a very large Country in *Italy* ⁵⁶, which then extended it self between the *Tyrrhenian* Sea and *Apennine* Hills, quite from *Liguria* to the *Tyber*. The *Latins* called the Inhabitants of it sometimes *Tuscans*, and sometimes *Hetrurians*; but the *Greeks* more frequently called them *Tyrrhenians*; who possessing all the South Coast of *Italy*, gave therefore their own Name to the Sea, which was from them called the *Tyrrhenian*. This great State was divided into twelve Cantons, called *Lucumonies*, which were subject to twelve Heads, who governed them with a sort of sovereign Authority, under the Name of *Lucumones*. In their Wars, sometimes one *Lucumony* made War with its Neighbours by it self; and sometimes the *Hetrurians* all joined in one National Body, in Defence of their common Interests. It is surprizing that the *Romans* should have been so early in a Condition to oppose the Attempts of so powerful and warlike a People: But nothing seems to have been too hard for their Valour.

THE Advantages so often gained over the *Hetrurians* by *Tarquin*, whetted their Jealousy. Besides, they said they had Reason to complain of a Want of Justice and Equity in the King of *Rome*. The Ambassadors they had sent to him, to demand back their Prisoners, had not been admitted to Audience. On the contrary, the *Romans* thought it proper, in Point of Policy, to detain them, as so many Hostages for the Fidelity of the *Hetrurians*. So that Resolutions were taken, in an Assembly of the whole Nation, to join in making War on this imperious People. To which it was added, that if any City stood neuter, it should be for ever cut off from the general Alliance of the *Lucumonies*.

SOME Time was spent in these Deliberations, and in settling the Plan of the War. But at length the *Hetrurians* appeared in the Field, passed the *Tyber*, and came and encamped before the Gates of *Fidena*. They flattered themselves, the *Fidenates*, who had more than once rebelled against the *Romans*, would surrender to them, in hopes that a sudden Terror might serve them for an Excuse to *Tarquin*: And the *Hetrurians* were not disappointed. If the *Fidenates* did not voluntarily surrender themselves, at least the City was taken by Surprise, thro' the Treachery of some of the Citizens. So that the *Hetrurians*, who became Masters of it, found themselves to be thereby within Reach of *Rome*, which was now but five Miles distant from them. Then the *Roman* Lands became a Prey to the Enemy, who fortified themselves in *Fidena*, and drew Advantages from so important a Conquest. But the King of *Rome*, being prevented by the *Hetrurians*, appeared not in the Field all that Year; he quietly suffered them to go on wasting his Country, choosing rather to let the *Lucumones* triumph for a Time, than to fight them without sufficient Preparations.

THE next Year *Tarquin* put himself into a Condition of repairing his Losses.

By he, *equi, pugilesque ex Hetruria acciti*. But does this Historian only mean, that Men then boxed in the *Circus* with their Fists, and with the *Cestus*, which Sort of Combatants were called *Pugiles*? Or does he likewise mean that the *Gladiators*, who are sometimes called *Pugiles*, were introduced into the *Circus* so early as that Time? What we have here said of the *Circus* and *The great Games*, is only a Sketch of what we shall have occasion to say hereafter on these Subjects.

⁵⁵ The Entertainments of the Stage or Theatre were not so soon introduced into *Rome*. According to *Livy*, the *Romans* did not build their first Theatre till the 389th, or the 390th Year of *Rome*; and this was only for some *Hetrurian* Dancers, who danced to the Sound of their Instruments, without making any Speeches. So that the first Theatrical Entertainment of the *Romans* was Dancing; which began when *C. Sulpitius Potitus*, and *C. Licinius Stolo*, were *Consuls*.

⁵⁶ In order to a more distinct Knowledge of old

Hetruria, it may be proper to observe here, that it was bounded on the West, by the River *Macra*, now called by the *Italians*, *Magra*; which separated it from *Liguria*; on the East, by the *Tyber*, which separated it from the *Roman* Territories; on the North, by the *Apennine* Hills; and on the South, by the *Tyrrhenian* Sea. The Names of the capital Cities of the twelve *Lucumonies*, were *Luna* or *Carrera*, *Pisa*, *Populonia*, *Volaterra*, *Agylla* or *Cære*, *Fesula*, *Russellana*, *Arretium*, *Perusia*, *Clusium*, *Falerii*, and *Volsinium*. *Hetruria* was long the Mother of all the Learning and Politeness of the *Romans*. Before they had conquered *Greece*, they sent their Children thither to go through with their Studies, and cultivate their Minds. The *Hetrurians* taught the *Romans* the Use of religious Sacrifices, Divination, and Auguries: And most of the *Roman* Arts came originally from *Hetruria*. The *Hetrurians* themselves were an antient Colony of *Lydians*. *Herodotus* says a Company of *Phoceans* settled there.

Year of
R O M E
CLII.
TARQUIN
THE FIRST.

Strabo, Pliny, Mela.

Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 192.

Year of
R O M E
CLV-CLVI.

Year of
R O M E
CLVI.
TARQUIN
THE FIRST.

He armed all his Legions, applied to all his Allies for Succours, and took the Field in the Beginning of the Spring. The Subjects of a State which is governed by one Head only, are usually in a greater Readiness to march, than Troops collected from different Cantons, which are independent of one another. *Tarquin* divided his Army into two Bodies, his *Romans* he commanded himself, and gave the Command of his Allies to his Cousin *Egerius*, otherwise called *Collatinus*, whose Negligence proved fatal to him. For he went and invested *Fidena*, and at the same time presuming too much upon his Strength, sent out several considerable Detachments from his Army, to go and plunder the Country. The *Hetrurians* had a strong Garrison in the Town, which they had taken Care to increase with new Succours from *Hetruria*. And with these Reinforcements they made so vigorous a Sally upon *Collatinus's* Army, that they surprized his Camp ill-guarded and ill-defended; and then easily defeated his Detachments, which were dispersed about the Country in small Parties.

HOWEVER, *Tarquin* and his *Romans* had a more successful Campaign. He turned his Arms against *Veii*, one of the Cities of antient *Hetruria*, which was nearest *Rome*; and encamped at the Foot of the steep Rock on which it stood. Here he made it his Business to ravage all the Neighbourhood; which drew the *Hetrurians* together from all Parts, to defend their Lands, and brought on a Battle, in which *Rome* had all the Advantage. *Veii* indeed was not taken; its advantageous Situation preserved it: But all its Territory was laid waste. Three Years successively were spent in making Incursions into it; whereby the *Veientes* were prevented having any Harvests a great while. So that the King returned to *Rome* enriched with Spoil, after having taken a great Number of Prisoners from the Enemy, and made fresh Preparations for continuing the War with *Hetruria*.

CÆRE, one of the most considerable Cities of the *Hetrurian Lucumonies* (founded by the *Pelasgi*, who at first gave it the Name of *Agylla*, which the *Hetrurians* afterwards changed into that of *Cære*) was next attempted by *Tarquin*, who turned his whole Strength against it. Upon this, the Grandeur, Riches and Reputation of the City put all the *Hetrurians* into Motion, and brought them from all Parts to its Defence: But the *Hetrurian* Army, which was drawn up under its Walls, did not at all terrify the intrepid *Roman*. On the contrary, he fought and dispersed it, forcing the Conquered, after the Loss of many Men, to fly for Refuge within the Walls of *Cære*. Nevertheless, *Tarquin* did not think fit to attempt the Siege of a Place which was filled with the Remains of a great Army; and therefore contented himself with getting what Spoil he could out of the Country. The Plunder of this wealthy Territory kept the *Romans* long employed; and they did not return to *Rome* till they were grown so rich and victorious, that they could find no more Enemies to conquer, or Spoils to carry away.

Year of
R O M E
CLVII.

§. XVII. In the mean time, the Conquest of *Fidena* grew daily of more and more Importance to the *Romans*. They had Reason to fear, that if the *Sabines* should again join the *Hetrurians*, this City, which was the only Bulwark they had against the Irruption of the *Sabines*, would serve them as a Key to open a Way into the *Roman* Dominions. Besides, the *Fidenates* had justly incurred the Anger of the Conqueror, by their Revolt and Treachery. But then the *Hetrurians* were at the same time no less concerned in Interest, to maintain themselves in the Possession of a Post which was a sort of Blockade to *Rome*, and a great Inducement to the *Sabines* to join them; and they therefore assembled all their Forces together round about *Fidena*. So that the two Armies came to a very sharp Engagement here, but the Victory, which was long disputed, fell at last to the *Romans*. The Conqueror did not think it enough to plunder the Country he subdued; he concluded it absolutely necessary to recover a City so near *Rome*; and accordingly laid Siege to it. It is difficult to describe the Ardour with which the *Romans* pushed on their Attacks; and we shall therefore only observe in general, that as Treachery had delivered it up to the *Hetrurians*, so Valour and Force restored it to the *Romans*.

57 The *Tyrrhenians*, soon after their landing in Italy, having determined to make themselves Masters of *Agylla*, one of them went near the Walls to enquire what was the Name of the City. To whom the Inhabitant he spoke to giving no other Answer

but χαῖροι, which was with the *Greeks* a common Term of a civil Salutation, the *Tyrrhenians* thought this a happy Omen; and after they had taken the City, changed its first Name into that of *Cære*.

Year of
R O M E
CLIX.
TARQUIN
THE FIRST.

who were now wholly taken up with revenging themselves on the rebellious *Fidenates*. All such as were suspected of having sold the City, were whipped with Rods, and beheaded. The *Hetrurian* Garison were made Prisoners of War, and much increased the Number of those who had been taken in the preceding Battles. Then the Lands of the *Fidenates* were distributed by Lot among the *Roman* Soldiers, which were left in Garison at *Fidena*; and made their Property. And the Remainder of the Citizens were sent into perpetual Banishment.

THE *Sabines* kept yet some Measures with the *Romans*, and by an unaccountable Piece of Policy, did not enter into a direct Confederacy with the *Hetrurians*, against their common Enemy; though they at the same time gave the *Hetrurian* Army a free Passage thro' their Country, to carry on the War against *Rome*. The formidable Army which was to have been raised out of all the *Lucumonies*, was to have taken this Rout, to come and attack it. But the vigilant *Tarquin* hastened to meet the Enemy, before they were assembled, and came up with them near *Eretum*. This was a little City of the *Sabines*, only ten Miles distant from *Rome*. It is indeed surprizing, that the *Romans* should not have gained themselves a lasting Dominion at a greater Distance from Home than this, after so much Blood had been shed by them under five Kings. But they seem to have been then wholly taken up with peopling their City, by removing into it all the Inhabitants of the Cities they subdued; and not to have given themselves any Trouble about enlarging their Territories. But be that as it will, *Eretum* now became the Scene of the most bloody Battle, and most glorious Victory, by which *Tarquin* ever signalized himself. He was so expeditious, that he did not give all the *Lucumonies* time to assemble; nor had the *Sabines* given the *Hetrurians* any Succours, but a few Volunteers, which they hired at a great Price. The Courage of the *Romans* in the Battle, was not inferior to the Expedition of their March. *Tarquin* excelled himself on this Occasion, and the Defeat of his Enemies was complete. The *Roman* State it self may be said to have begun to increase considerably from this Time: And therefore the Senate immediately decreed their King the Honours of a Triumph. It was not usual indeed to grant them till after a Nation had been subdued and conquered: But the *Romans* thought the *Hetrurians* could never recover the Blow they had received before *Eretum*. Nevertheless, *Tarquin* did not enter *Rome* in Triumph, till after the War with *Hetruria* was entirely ended.

INDEED the *Hetrurians* themselves despaired of conquering the *Romans*, after so unsuccessful a Battle. They considered that the *Lucumonies* were extremely weakened by the Loss of the bravest of their Youth, who had either been taken or killed in the many Battles in which they had been worsted; and particularly observed how much their Army was diminished by the last Defeat. Tho' the whole Body of their State had not been in the Engagement, yet there was no one Canton of it but what had received some Damage, at least from the Battle of *Eretum*. Besides those of their People who had been left dead upon the Spot, there were others likewise who had been overtaken in their Flight, and had surrendered themselves to the Enemy.

In this great Distress then, the *Lucumones* acted like wise Men. The new Army *Tarquin* led from *Rome* increased their Apprehensions; and brought them to a Determination, in a general Assembly of the whole Nation, to apply to the Conqueror for a Peace. They sent Deputies to the King from each *Lucumony*; who were Men venerable for their Employments and their Age, and had an unlimited Commission. These did their utmost to raise the King's Compassion, by putting him in mind that he owed his Birth to *Hetruria*; and that his Father's and his own Alliances there had made him *Hetrurian* before he became *Roman*. *Tarquin* was naturally inclined to Clemency, and followed that Inclination, when he found it not prejudicial to his Ambition. He gave the Deputies a favourable Audience, and answered them in these Words: *I have but one Question to ask you: Do you yet pretend to set your selves upon an equal Foot with Rome, and vie with her; or do you acknowledge your selves to be overcome, and give us up the Victory?* To which the Deputies replied, with the utmost Submission, *Both our Cities and our Lucumonies are yours; dispose of us, as of your own Property: For we ask no other Conditions of Peace, but such as the Will of our Conqueror shall*

Year of *shall dictate. The Conditions then which I insist on,* replied the King, with
 R O M E *Smile; are these: I spare all the Blood of the Hettrurians, and don't require th*
 CLIX. *Death of any one of your Citizens. You shall likewise continue to enjoy your L*
 TARQUIN *states, and remain in your own Country. I will neither take away your Laws, no*
 THE FIRST. *alter the antient Form of your Government; nor shall your fortify'd Places be fill*
with Roman Garrisons. I will depend on the Fidelity of your Promises for securing
their Subjection to me. And I will not punish you either with Contributions or
Taxes. The only Advantage I require, for heaping all these Favours upon you, is
the Sovereignty over your Lucumonies. I could indeed extort it from you, by the
superior Strength of my Forces, if your Obstinacy refused it me; but I choose rather
to accept it, as a free Gift, from a People I love, and to whom I owe my Birth.
Return then to the Assembly of your States, and make a Report of my Clemency,
and my Pretensions; and enjoy the Truce I now grant you, till your Lucumonies give
a decisive Answer.

THIS was granting the *Hetrurians* much more Favour than they had expected; and they therefore neither delayed sending back their Deputies to the King; nor did they bring him only Words, and bare Promises: In Proof of their accepting the King of *Rome* to be their Sovereign, they presented him with all the Ensigns of Authority they had among them, which were these: A Crown of Gold, a Throne of Ivory, a Scepter with an Eagle on the Top of it, a *Tunick* embroidered with Gold⁵⁸, and adorned with Palm-Branches, a purple Robe enriched with Flowers of different Colours; and lastly, according to some, twelve *Axes*⁵⁹ with their *Fasces*.

TARQUIN's Moderation, and Deference for his Senate and People were no less signal on this Occasion, than his Valour and Clemency towards his Enemies. Tho' he was enriched with such valuable Presents, he was not in Haste to appear with them; but deferred wearing these stately Ornaments even after his Return to *Rome*, till such time as the People and Senate had consented to it by an express Law. As soon indeed as a Decree was passed, which removed the Scruple *Tarquin's* Condescension had thrown in his Way, he resolved to apply these *Regalia* to the Decoration of his Triumph: Which by this means became much more sumptuous and magnificent than any triumphant Entry had hitherto been. Some antient Historians make this Triumph of *Tarquin's* the first *Rome* had seen; but this doubtless can only be because they overlook those of the former Kings, which had nothing but their Simplicity to recommend them. Whereas *Tarquin* entered *Rome*, in the present Triumph, riding in a gilded Chariot, and drawn by four Horses. He wore all the royal Ornaments he had received from the *Hetrurians*; and the Splendor of his Appearance, with a Crown of Gold on his Head, a Scepter in his Hand, sitting in a *Curule* Chair, cloathed in a purple Robe, and a *Tunick* em-

Messala, and
Eutropius.

Florus, Pliny,
and Verrius
Flaccus.

⁵⁸ This the *Latins* called *Tunica palmata*. It is true, Authors sometimes confound it with what they also called *Toga picta*: But these were two different Ornaments worn by those who triumphed; and it is necessary to shew here the Difference between them. The *Tunica palmata* was not, properly speaking, a long hanging Robe, but rather a Vest, which was partly hid under the Robe. It at first had no Sleeves, and afterwards but very short ones. As all the *Romans* wore *Tunicks*, they shewed the Difference of their Rank, by that of their *Tunicks*. Some sewed upon theirs purple Flowers, which were stuck on like the Heads of Nails; and hence comes the Word *Laticlavium*: Only the chief Magistrates, and Senators, and general Officers of the Army, could wear these. The inferior Magistrates, the *Roman* Knights, and some other Officers in the Army, wore indeed *Tunicks* with purple Flowers; but these Flowers were smaller than the others; and from hence comes the Name *Angusticlavium*. As for those who triumphed, of whom we are now speaking, they, instead of embroidered Flowers, wore purple *Palm Branches* upon their *Tunicks*, or *Tunica palmata*. As to the *Toga picta*, some think it was a Robe common among the *Romans*, only of a purple Colour: And as to the Robe in gene-

ral, it was nothing but a sort of very long Mantle, which hung in great Folds quite down to the Ground, and which they put on upon their right Shoulders, and threw one Lappet of it over the left. The *Robes* of the Senators were adorned with great purple Flowers, as well as their *Tunicks*; and those of the Knights with smaller. And the *Robes* of those who triumphed were likewise probably adorned with Palm-Branches, as their *Tunicks* were. At least, it is certain they were made of rich Stuffs, and had some Gold in them; and they were called *Toga picta*. Only two Persons ever had the Privilege of wearing them out of a Triumph, and in common, who were *Paulus Aemilius*, and *Pompey*.

⁵⁹ It is not the common Opinion, that the twelve *Lictors*, carrying their *Axes* and *Fasces*, began first to attend the Kings in *Old Tarquin's* Time. The best Historians assure us, that this Royal Guard was used as early as *Romulus's* Time. It's true, the first King of *Rome* borrowed this Custom from the *Hetrurians*; which perhaps was what made *Strabo* think, *B. 5.* that *Old Tarquin* received the *Axi* and *Lictors* from them. Which if he did, it's certain he was not the first King of *Rome* who made Use of them.

provided with Gold, and attended by twelve *Liētors* with their *Axes* and *Fasces*, dazzled the Eyes of his *Romans*. But alas! how short-sighted were they, to suffer their antient Simplicity and Frugality to give way to Luxury and Excess! When once *Tarquin* was authorized to appear with Splendor on the Throne, he never laid aside the State with which he had been invested. He ever after appeared in publick with the same Air of Grandeur, and transmitted down these Ensigns of State to the *Kings* his Successors. From them they passed to the *Consuls*, who always appeared with the same Train of Attendants, and the same Ornaments, excepting only the golden Crown, and the *Tunick* embroidered with Gold, and sprigged with Palm-branches: but the last of these Ornaments was granted to those who triumphed, even in the Time of the Republick.

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THE FIRST.

THUS ended the War with the *Hetrurians*, which lasted nine Years. *Tarquin*, who first left *Hetruria*, out of Despair of ever rising there to publick Offices, had now, since his Removal to *Rome*, both ascended the Throne of the *Romans*, and made himself Sovereign of the *Hetrurians*. A rare Instance of a great Ambition, supported by as great Merit.

§. XVIII. AND now indeed it had been but just, that the *Romans* should have enjoyed the Sweets of Peace, at least after the Fatigues of a long War: but their King loved Action, and delighted in Exercise too much, to let their Repose degenerate into Idleness. He therefore spent the Interval between the last War and the succeeding one, in useful Works, such as fortifying, adorning and cleansing *Rome*. This, I believe, was the Time in which *Tarquin* finished the Walls of the City, and built those famous Common-Sewers, which were afterwards thought to be one of the Wonders of the World. And we ought not therefore to omit the particular Account which History has given us of these important Structures, for which *Rome* was indebted to a King, who was of *Greek* Original, and seems to have brought with him into *Italy*, the Taste of that Country, for adorning Cities, and for the Magnificence of publick Buildings.

Year of
R O M E
CLXI.

As to the Walls of *Rome*, the Masonry of them, till *Tarquin's* Time, was very coarse, and the Stones uneven. But he, before he began his War with the *Sabines*, built up a Part of them with hewn Stones, and with an Elegancy hitherto unknown to the *Romans*. And now, that he had ended that Expedition, he finished his Work, or at least left very little of it for his Successor to do.

Disen. Hal.
B. 3. p. 200.
Livy, B. 1.
ch. 36. and
Meffala.

AND as to the Common-Sewers of *Rome*⁶⁰, which were also the Work of *Tarquin*, tho' they did not strike the Eyes of his People so agreeably as the *Circus*, for the Reparation of the Walls, they were nevertheless in reality both more useful and more magnificent.

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CLXII,
CLXIII,
CLXIV,
CLXV.

PLINY, who did not examine them till eight hundred Years after they were built, could not speak of them without Admiration. *Rome*, as has been said, then contained within it four Hills especially, which were considerable; namely, the *Palatinus*, *Tarpeius*, *Quirinalis*, and *Caelius*: and in the Valleys between them, the Rain-water and Springs uniting, made great Pools, which overflowed the low Streets, and the publick Places. The Mud of them likewise made the Way unpassable; and not passing off, it infected the Air, and made the City unhealthy. This then led *Tarquin* to apply himself to purifying the City, and cleansing it from its Filth: which he undertook to do, by drawing off the Waters through subterraneous Canals, and conveying them into the *Tyber*.

Pliny, B. 33.
ch. 15.

He made all the Arches of these Common-Sewers of hard Stone, and spared neither Expence nor Labour to make the Work durable. Their Height and Breadth were so considerable, that a Cart loaded with Hay, could easily pass

⁶⁰ Besides what is said in the Text of these Common-Sewers, it may not be improper to add some Circumstances here taken from different Authors. 1st, It's said, that *Rome* took the mysterious Name of *Amaryllis*, from the Word *ἀμαρυλλία*, which may signify a Channel for the drawing off of Water, because of the Magnificence of these Common-Sewers. 2dly, The Sewers *Tarquin* made, were divided into three large Canals, into which several other little ones emptied themselves: and by this means all the Filth of the City was easily carried off. 3dly, The Description *Cassiodorus* gives us of

them, is a magnificent one. He says, the subterranean Canals were so many Rivers, and that with respect to them, *Rome* never had its Equal; *Hinc Roma singularis*. 4thly, Supposing that each of the 6000 *Drams*, of which the *Attick Talent* is universally allowed to have consisted, to be equal to ten *Sous French*, [and, according to Dr. *Arbuthnot*, to 7 Pence 3 Farthings *English*] the 1000 *Talents* given to the Person who undertook to repair these Sewers, will then amount to three millions of *French Livres*, [and to 193750 Pounds *Sterling*.]

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CLXII,
CLXIII,
CLXIV,
CLXV.

TARQUIN
THE FIRST.
Strabo, B. 5.
Pliny, B. 36.
ch. 5.

*Aquilius, ac-
cording to
Dio. B. 3.

Year of
R O M E
CLXVI,
CLXVII.

Year of
R O M E
CLXVIII.

Dion. Hal.
B. 3. p. 196.

through them under Ground. But what most encreased the Difficulty of the Work was, that in order to reach the *Tyber* ⁶¹, into which these Waters were to discharge themselves, it was necessary to cut through Hills, and open under the City through Rocks, a Way big enough for a navigable Stream, and covered with Arches strong enough to bear the Weight of the Houses, which were often built upon them, and stood as well as on the most solid Foundations. The Expence of this incomparable Work was never so well understood as when it came to be repaired. The *Censors* gave no less than a thousand *Talents* to him* who undertook to cleanse these Sewers.

WHEN the Valley, in which the *Roman Forum* ⁶² stood, was perfectly cleaned of its Filth, by the help of these Common-Sewers, the King took pleasure in adorning this publick Place. He surrounded it with Galleries, in which were Shops for Tradesmen, especially for the Bankers and Money-Changers. He built Temples in it, and opened Schools there for the Youth of both Sexes: and lastly, erected Halls, for the Administration of publick Justice. And all this was brought to so great a Perfection by him, that all the Magnificence of the *Romans* afterwards, added very little to what had been at first done in his Time.

§. XIX. BUT whilst *Tarquin* employed the Leisure of his *Romans* in useful Works, his own Thoughts were employed in considering of a War with the *Sabines*. Born to his natural Ambition, and the Interest of his State, excited him to undertake this new Expedition. The Country of the *Sabines* was so near *Rome*, that the *Romans* had always reason to be apprehensive of such dangerous Enemies, whenever their Troops removed, tho' but at a little distance, from their City. Besides, the Territory of the *Sabines* was very large and fruitful. It's true, their Forces were formidable: but after the Conquest of the *Latins*, and the Submission of the *Hetrurians*, *Tarquin* thought he might usefully employ these new Subjects against a Nation which they themselves had made haughty and proud with the Succours they had sent them before their Subjection to *Rome*. And for Pretences, *Tarquin* did not want any, for declaring War against the *Sabines*. He had already sent to them, to demand all those of their Nation, who had stirred up the *Hetrurians* to take up Arms against him; and pretended to punish them as Rebels. This they thought was striking at their common Liberty, and refused to surrender up their Countrymen to the Revenge of an imperious King, who assumed to himself a Right over them which did not belong to him. Nay, they were even bold enough to be beforehand with the *Romans*, and made Incursions into their Lands.

THEN *Tarquin* lost no time in leading his Troops against the *Sabines*. These indeed never imagined they would fall upon them so soon: but the *Romans* were always ready to fight; and their insatiable Eagerness after Battels would appear incredible, were it not attested by all Antiquity. The present one, which was fought on the Confines of the two Nations, continued the whole Day, till Night put an end to it. It was fought with equal Valour and equal Advantage on both Sides: which made the Generals begin mutually to fear, and to stand in awe of each other. So that the two Armies retired into their Camps, and appeared in the Plain no more. Nay, both *Romans* and *Sabines* returned to their own Countries; and neither committed any more Hostilities, nor made any Incursions, all the rest of the Campaign.

§. XX. It was not usual for *Tarquin*, to return to *Rome* without being crowned with some fresh Laurel; he therefore made Advantage of the short Interval he had left, before Spring, by employing it, in forming Schemes for the ensuing Campaign. He considered, that his Armies wanted Horse, and that so considerable a Defect as this, had often hindered him from sufficiently

⁶¹ These Common-Sewers were spread all over the City in different Branches, which all ran into the *Tyber*. The great Number of Aqueducts and Rivulets which joined to all the Waters of *Rome* and round about it, and discharged themselves into these Sewers, together with the Declivity of these subterranean Canals themselves, would not suffer the Filth to continue long in them.

⁶² *Forum Romanum* was the Name given to this publick Market-place, or great Opening, in *Rome*. It reached from the *Capitol* to the Hill *Palatinus*;

and it was called *Forum, à ferendo*, because some brought Provisions to sell there; and others brought Causes to be heard there. The Assembly of the *Curiae* was held in a Part of it, which was called *Comitium*. During the whole Time of the King and the Republick, there was no publick Place in *Rome*, except the *Forum Romanum*. *Julius Cæsar* added a second to it; and *Augustus* a third. And other Emperors adorned *Rome* with other publick Places: but that of *Tarquin* excelled all the rest in Magnificence.

purſuing his Advantages. The *Roman* Infantry was indeed become very numerous, ſince the removal of a great multitude of Inhabitants from the conquered Cities to *Rome*: but the Cavalry continued upon the ſame Foot on which *Romulus* had left it. It conſiſted only of three Bodies of *Roman* Knights, to whom the firſt King had given the Names of *Rhamneſes*⁶³, *Tatieneſes*, and *Luceres*. *Tarquin*, who knew how to make the beſt uſe of the Cavalry, and had commanded it in the former King's Time, propoſed to add ſome new Bodies of Knights to thoſe of the firſt Inſtitution.

AND in any State leſs ſuperſtitious than that of the *Romans*, this Deſign would have been put in execution, without any Diſpute: but in *Rome*, *Tarquin* found an Oppoſition made to the Innovation he had a mind to introduce. This Diviſion of the Horſe into three Bodies had been determined by *Auguries*: and this was ground enough for the *Augurs* to oppoſe the wicked Attempt which, they ſaid, the King was going to make againſt the Authority of Religion.

TARQUIN was indeed born in *Hetruria*, where Divinations had their Riſe; for the *Hetrurians* were the firſt *Italians* that made uſe of them. Nevertheless, as he was a *Greek* by Deſcent, he ſeemed to have but little Regard for theſe trifling Obſervations; and therefore thought to prevail on his People to overlook ſuch weak Conſiderations. *Actius Navius* or *Nævius*, the famous *Augur* of that Time, was the only Man who undertook to oppoſe the King's Will: And I cannot omit giving an Account here of an Adventure which both ſacred and profane Antiquity have tranſmitted to us; though I am not ignorant of the little Credit it deſerves; notwithstanding that *Tully* makes his Brother *Quintus* ſay, that they muſt burn all their Annals, and call in queſtion the beſt atteſted Facts in Hiſtory, who don't believe the Prodigy of *Actius Navius*. The whole Story is this.

§.XXI. *NAVIUS* was born in the Country, and his Father was a poor Man, whoſe whole Inheritance was a little Field, partly ſown with Corn, and partly planted with Vines. His firſt Buſineſs in his Infancy was to keep the vileſt Animals his Father had: And one Day, after he had been aſleep, he found at his waking, that ſome Sows of his Herd were wanting. At this, his Fear of the Anger and Correction of his Father firſt vented it ſelf in Tears, and then he went into a Cave, conſecrated to the *Heroes*; that is, to thoſe famous Men in *Italy*, who, according to the Belief of that Time, from being Mortals, had been placed among the Gods. Here *Navius* made a Vow to come and offer up to the Demi-Gods the biggeſt Bunch of Grapes that was in his Father's little Vineyard: And afterwards the young Swine-herd by Chance found his ſtray Beaſts. Upon which, the great Difficulty of performing his Vow with all due Exactneſs, being that of finding out which was really the biggeſt Bunch of Grapes in the Vineyard, he had Recourſe for this to the Art of Divination. By the Help of the Augural Staff he divided his Father's Field into four Parts, made his Obſervation on the flying of the Birds from the four Quarters of the World, and the Operation ſucceeded. He found out by the Auguries the Vine which bore the biggeſt Bunch, gathered it, and made an Offering of it in the Cave of the Heroes.

In the mean time, *Navius's* Father, who had been a Witneſs of all his Son's Management, thought Nature had given him a Talent for Divination, which it was his Duty to bring to Perfection. He therefore brought him to the neighbouring City, had him there made a good Scholar, and when he was come to a mature Age, put him under the Diſcipline of the moſt learned *Augur* in *Hetruria*. At this time *Numa* had eſtabliſhed a College of *Augurs* at *Rome*, which then conſiſted of Citizens who were more conſiderable for their Birth, than their Knowledge in Divinations. *Navius* was therefore ſent for to *Rome*,

⁶³ Theſe three Names were thoſe of the three Tribes, into which *Rome* was divided by *Romulus*. The firſt of theſe was ſo called from one of *Romulus's* Names; the ſecond from the Name of *Titus Latinus* the Sabine King, whom *Romulus* permitted to reign with him in *Rome*; and the third, either from the Name of the *Lucumo*, who came and ſettled at *Rome*, in *Romulus's* Time, or from the Name of the Wood, which ſerved as an *Aſylum* to the firſt

Romans, and was called *Lucus*. Out of each of theſe Tribes was choſen a hundred Knights, which made in all three hundred, and each Body bore the Name of the Tribe, out of which it was taken. *Auguries* had likewiſe been made uſe of in their Choice: So that the People had long continued not to dare to increaſe their Number, out of a ſcrupulous Regard to Religion. However, *Tarquin* doubled them, and made them ſix hundred.

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Terence.

St. Auſt. and Lactantius.

Tully de Divin. B. 1,

Diogen. Hal.

Tully, ibid.

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merely to assist the *Augurs* in the Business of their Office, without being admitted into this illustrious Society: And as he had an established Reputation in Skill in the Art of Divining, no Determination was made by the Court of *Augurs* but by his Advice, and upon his Answers.

NAVIUS therefore was not afraid to stand alone in opposing the Resolution the King had taken, of increasing the Number of *Roman* Knights, which had been determined by Divination. He obstinately withstood the King's Will, and took upon him the Defence of *Romulus's* Institution, as he had left it.

BUT *Tarquin* thought the *Augur* not serious in his Opposition, and therefore led for this Diviner into his Presence, being fully resolved to confound and discredit in him this Divining Art, which Superstition maintained to the Diminution of the Royal Authority.

Livy, B. 1.
ch. 36.

Dion. Hal.
B. 3. p. 203.
and Florus.

As soon as *Navius* appeared before *Tarquin*, in the midst of the *Forum*, and in the Sight of all the People, the King said to him, *Diviner, canst thou discover by thy Art, whether what I am thinking of can be done, or not?* And the *Augur* answered with great Composure, *Yes, my Lord, ⁶⁴ my Art tells me that what you are thinking of may be done.* Upon which *Tarquin*, pulling out a Razor from under his Robe, and taking a Flint in his Hand, replied with a Sneer: *I was thinking whether it was possible to cut this Flint with this Razor. I have taken thee in thy own Craft; the introducing the Gods into thy Decisions, is all Cheat and Imposture. If thou canst perform what is impossible, do.* At these Words the People burst out a laughing: Whilst *Navius* alone discovered no Surprise. On the contrary, he addressed himself to the King with an Air of Assurance, and said, ⁶⁵ *Put the Razor to the Flint, and try. I readily submit to any Punishment, if you don't do what you thought on.* In short, *Tarquin*, contrary to his Expectation, saw the Hardness of the Flint give way to the Edge of the Razor, and he cut through it with so much Ease, that the Stroke reached his Hand, and drew Blood from it.

THEN the People, in a Consternation, testified their Surprise by their Acclamations. The King laid aside his Design of altering *Romulus's* Establishment, and his Contempt for the *Augur* was turned into Admiration. The Art *Navius* professed gained new Credit in *Rome* from that Time: And no Determination was afterwards made, either in the Camp or City, without the Approbation of the *Augurs*.

As for *Navius* himself, *Tarquin* erected a Statue ⁶⁶ of Brass to his Memory, in the Place ⁶⁷ called *Comitium*, where the publick Assemblies were held, and there it continued till *Augustus's* Time. The Razor and Flint, which were kept as Monuments of the Miracle, were buried near it ⁶⁸, under an Altar, at which Men were ever after sworn, in Matters of Justice. If we may judge of *Navius* by this Statue, he was but small of Stature: He wore a Veil on his Head, to shew that he was consecrated to the Worship of the Gods.



Silver.

⁶⁴ *Dion. Hal.* says, *Navius* went, by *Tarquin's* Order, to consult the flying of Birds upon the spot, and told the King, that the Omens were favourable.

⁶⁵ *Livy* says, *Navius* took the Flint into his own Hands, and cut it, in *Tarquin's* Presence.

⁶⁶ This Statue was of a lesser Size than ordinary. It represented the *Augur Navius*, with one of the Lappets of his Robe thrown over his Head like a Cowl. The *Augurs* were always represented so, when in the Performance of their Office, as appears by the Medals.

⁶⁷ *Dion. Hal.* adds, that the Statue was placed near the *Ficus Ruminalis*; (or the Fig-tree under which *Romulus* and *Rhemus* are said to have sucked the Wolf :) and *Livy*, that it stood on the Left

Hand of the Place called *Curia Hostilia*, where the Senate used to assemble.

⁶⁸ The Place where this Razor and Flint were buried, was called *Puteal*: it was indeed a sort of Well, (which is in the Latin, *Puteus*.) An Altar was built over it, in the *Comitium*, near the Place where Justice was administered. *Tully* says, Men were sworn on this Altar, by touching it with their Hands. The Form of the Oath consisted of calling *Jupiter* to witness the Truth of what was said, and praying him to deprive those who swore, of all they had in the World, if they swore falsely, as effectually as they deprived themselves of the Stones they had in their Hands, which they let drop. *Si ego te sciens fallo, ita me ejiciat Jupiter bonis salva urbe & arce, ut ego hunc lapidem.*

THE Reader will, no doubt, think it strange, that an Event related with so many Circumstances, reported by all the Writers of the *Roman History*, and adopted even by some of the Fathers of the Church, who without questioning it, imputed it to Magick, should be a mere fabulous Invention: And yet this is the Judgment which *Tully* himself formed of it, tho' an *Augur*. *Look with Contempt*, says he to his Brother *Quintus*, *look with Contempt on the Razor and Flint of the famous Artius; when we reason as Philosophers, we ought to lay no Stress upon Fables.*

As to *Tarquin*, it is pretended that he paid such a Deference to the common Prejudices in Favour of *Auguries*, as not to dare to make any Attempts upon *Romulus's* Establishment. He therefore did not add any new Company of *Roman* Knights to the three old ones: Nevertheless he had a greater Number of Horse than any of his Predecessors. He increased the Number of Soldiers, without increasing the Number of the Troops; and the *Roman* Cavalry now amounted to 1800 Men. Thus the artful *Greek* shewed a Regard for the publick Superstition, and at the same time augmented his Forces.

§.XXII. WITH this Reinforcement the King marched out of *Rome*, in the Spring, to renew the War with the *Sabines*: But they, having had time enough to get great Succours from the Cities of *Hetruria*, prevented him⁶⁹, and appeared first in the Field. *Tarquin* found them encamped near *Fidena*, by the Place where *the Tyber* joins *the Anio*. The *Hetrurians* were posted on one Bank of *the Tyber*, and the *Sabines* on the other, over against them; and there was a Communication between the two confederate Armies, by a Bridge of Boats laid cross the River.

THE *Roman*, who found himself stopped by this unexpected Incampment, and could not possess himself of the upper Part of the River, came nevertheless and posted himself on a Hill by the Banks of *the Anio*, in an advantageous Situation. The skilful *Tarquin* thought his present Business was not so much to exert his Valour in bold Attacks, as his Conduct in surprizing the Enemy by some Stratagem of War. He bore the Bravadoes of the united *Sabines* and *Hetrurians* without stirring; and though they came into the Plain and insultingly offered him Battle, he would not move out of his Intrenchments. He was all the while taken up with inventing a Stratagem, whereby he might ruin and destroy both their Camps. He sent a Detachment of his Troops to the opposite Side of *the Tyber*, unknown to the Enemy, with Orders not to act till he gave them Notice. Whilst he himself was in the mean time contriving Means to cut off the Communication the *Sabines* had with the *Hetrurians* by the Bridge of Boats which they had laid over the River. As the *Roman* had posted himself above *the Anio*, at a little Distance from the Place where it discharges it self into *the Tyber*, he perceived, that the Current of this little River would carry any thing into *the Tyber*, which was sent down it. He likewise foresaw, that if the same Wind continued, it would, with a little Help, carry Barks up *the Tyber*, against the Stream, and bring them to the Bridge of Boats.

WITH this View, the King built flat-bottom Boats, like Rafts, and loaded them with dry Wood, Sulphur and Rosin: And in the Night, while the Wind continued favourable to his Design, he sent the Fire-ships he had prepared, both down *the Anio*, and up *the Tyber*, at the same time. So that the Enemy's Bridge being thus invested on both Sides, with these burning Materials, was soon all in a Flame. The *Sabines* therefore ran instantly to extinguish it, and, as is usual on such unforeseen and sudden Accidents, left their Camp unguarded. Then *Tarquin* came and attacked it with the best Part of his *Roman* Forces. He had marched out of his Entrenchments before the Day dawned, and by break of Day he made himself Master of the *Sabine* Camp. On the other Bank, the Detachment he had sent away, and which had passed *the Tyber* in the Night, came and fell upon the Camp

⁶⁹ This War of the *Sabines* in Conjunction with the *Hetrurians*, may perhaps be thought misplaced. And indeed the *Romans* had made Peace with the *Comonies* of *Hetruria*, from the Time that *Tarquin* triumphed for his Victory over them. Nor do I deny it is probable, that this first War of the *Sabines* against *Rome*, might be some Years before their other Wars with *Tarquin*, which we mention immediately after it. But after all, as Historians have

not given us the exact Dates of these *Sabine* Wars, which we believe were at different Times, we will therefore relate them in one continued Chain, to the Triumph of *Tarquin the Elder*, upon the entire Reduction of the *Sabines*. We shall indeed, by this means, place those Events all together in one View, which did not perhaps immediately follow one another: but we think it a sufficient Excuse, to give the Reader this Notice of it.

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Livy, B. 1.

of the *Hetrurians*, which was still more negligently guarded than that of the *Sabines*. As soon as they saw the Bridge of Boats take Fire (which was the Signal *Tarquin* had given them) they attacked the Camp on the other Side *the Tyber*. So that the Enemy being attacked on both Sides of it, some of them perished by the Flames, some by the Sword, and some by leaping voluntarily into *the Tyber*, to save themselves by swimming. And by this means, the Arms of the Enemy, which came floating down the River, brought the News of this Victory to *Rome*, before the Couriers dispatched by the King arrived. The greatest Part of the Glory of this fine Action was avowedly due to the *Roman* Cavalry. These, being posted in the Out-side of the two Wings of the Army, and seeing the *Sabines* come out of their Camp, and break through the Center of the *Roman* Infantry, ran with such Expedition to its Relief, that they made the *Sabines* give way. The latter were preparing to gain the Hills, after they had made their Way thro' a Body of *Romans*; but the Horse, without giving them time to do that, drove them back to the Side of the River, and let but a few of them escape.

SUCH was the glorious Victory of the illustrious *Tarquin*, who may be truly said to be indebted only to his own Skill and Art for it. His Conquest was owing to his setting Fire to the Bridge; and therefore he dedicated the Spoils of the Enemy to *Vulcan*. He threw them together in an Heap, and burned them in Honour to this God, as he had vowed to do.

AFTER this, *Tarquin* would give his Enemies no Rest, but immediately entered into the Lands of the *Sabines*; whose present Misfortunes had not at all abated their Pride. They ventured to face the Enemy again, with an Army tumultuously gathered together; but it was routed, or cut in Pieces, and then they had no Refuge left, but in the Clemency of the King. They sued to him for Peace; but the *Romans* did not think fit to grant them more than a six Years Truce.

Dion. Hal.
B. 3. p. 197.

§. XXIII. As soon then as the Term prescribed for that Cessation of Arms was ended, the *Sabines* passed *the Anio*, and made Incursions into the *Roman* Lands; which *Tarquin* was no sooner informed of, but he hastened out of *Rome*. He was followed by the bravest Youth of his City, and falling on these Plunderers with incredible Expedition, defeated them. And after he had taken their Spoil from them, *Tarquin* came and encamped near the Enemy, with the Body of Men he had with him, whilst the rest of his Army hastened after him; and the whole was augmented with auxiliary Troops, brought from the Countries which were subject to him. The *Sabines* were not inferior to the *Romans*, either in Number or Valour. As soon then as *Tarquin* had drawn up his Troops in order to engage, the *Sabines* offered him Battle. The first Shock was violent on both Sides, and all gave signal Proofs of the greatest Courage: The Victory which *Tarquin* won was wholly owing to a Stratagem. The Night before the Battle, he detached a Body of Men from his Army, who were to take a great Compass, and come and attack the Enemy behind, in the Heat of the Battle. Accordingly, when the Armies were most furiously engaged with one another, the *Sabines* saw some *Roman* Troops at a Distance, which advanced in good Order, to surround them. At this, a sudden Fright seized the most brave, and the *Sabine* Army was put into Disorder. Every one fled without Hesitation, and the Rout was general. The scattered Soldiers were hotly pursued by the *Romans*: So that they who escaped the Swords of the Conquerors were taken Prisoners, and few of them were able to reach the neighbouring Cities. Then the Consternation of the *Sabines* was so great, that their Camp it self, tho' pretty well fortified, was not able to hold out against the Enemy, and the sudden Pannick which seized them, they surrendered to the *Romans*, without Resistance. Such was the Effect of a well concerted Stratagem, which gave the *Romans* a surprizing Superiority over a People, who were not inferior to them in Courage.

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BUT the *Sabines* were not discouraged, tho' overcome. They imputed their Defeat to the Incapacity of their General, and their Bravery reviving their Confidence, they chose themselves an experienced Commander, who was very capable of warding against Artifice. Whilst *Tarquin*, who was informed of the new Preparations the *Sabines* were making, under another General, was wholly in

gent upon taking the Field early, and preventing this new Rival of his Glory. Accordingly, he passed *the Anio*, and shewed himself to the Enemy, before all the *Sabine* Army was assembled. But the *Sabine* General wisely avoided a Battle, and posted himself upon Eminencies, in an inaccessible Camp. There he amused the valiant *Romans* with slight Skirmishes, without hazarding a general Action. He waited for the coming up of the rest of his Troops, to join him in this impregnable Post. *Tarquin* therefore chose to change the Attack of the Enemy's Camp into a Blockade, and surrounded it on all Sides, to cut off their Provisions. But this Project succeeded only in part: It would have been much happier for him, if he could have made himself Master of the Prey which he held shut up. The *Sabines* attempted by little Excursions, at little Distances of time, to furnish their Camp with Necessaries; but being often beaten by the *Roman* Horse, it was with great Difficulty that they brought the little Convoys which they guarded, to their Camp. They were at length utterly destitute of Provisions and Forage, and reduced to the utmost Extremity. And then the *Sabine* General, who had plunged them into these Difficulties by Necessity, extricated them with Address. He took the Opportunity of a dark and stormy Night, by Favour of which he marched all his Troops out of his Camp, and left nothing in it, but some wounded Men and Cattle. Thus ended the Campaign, which was glorious to *Tarquin*, but not at all decisive.

§. XXIV. THE *Sabines* took Courage again, under a General whose Conduct they liked, and promised themselves more happy Success for the future: And they enlisted all their Youth, who were capable of bearing Arms. They no longer went on in the old Way, of letting every City take its Turn of sending out its Militia, to make up a moderate Army; the whole Nation joined, and took Arms together. And this Multitude being thought too great, by the *Sabine* General, to be under the Command of one Man, he divided it into two Bodies, which were to act separately. *Tarquin*, on his Part, took his Measures from his Enemy's Conduct, and in like manner, not only increased his Troops with those of *Hetruria* and *Latium*, but likewise borrowed some from all his Allies. And being by this means more formidable, and better provided with Troops than the *Sabine*, he divided his Forces into three Armies, and ordered them to encamp always near one another, that they might be under the same Government, and pursue the same uniform Designs. He commanded his *Romans* himself, put his Nephew *Arunx* at the Head of the *Hetrurians*, and gave the Command of the *Latins* and other Allies to *Servius Tullius*. This Man had distinguished himself in all the *Roman* Wars, though he had been a Slave, and was a Foreigner. It was now but a little time since he obtained the Privileges of a *Roman* Citizen; and we shall soon see him rising gradually in the Army, till at last he ascends the Throne. Thus were the two bravest Nations in *Italy*, then trying their Strength with each other in the *Sabine* Plains. *Tarquin* commanded in the right Wing of his Army, *Arunx* in the left, and *Servius Tullius* in the Center. They fought the whole Day with equal Intrepidity and Constancy; but in the End the *Romans* were victorious. Tho' this was probably not till after *Tarquin* had made a Vow to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, to build them a magnificent Temple. Then Superstition increased the Courage of the *Romans*: Their Enemies gave way, left the bravest of their Men dead upon the Spot, and the rest were taken or dispersed. Whereby all the Territory of the *Sabines* lay open to the Mercy of the Conqueror; and it is incredible what Riches he carried off. In short, *Tarquin* weary with plundering, returned to *Rome* crowned with fresh Glory.

BUT the *Romans* had not yet made all the Advantages they might have done of their Victory. The Country of the *Sabines* was indeed plundered, but their Cities still subsisted, and preserved that Liberty, of which they were so jealous. *Tarquin* therefore was already busy in making Preparation for the Sieges, which were to be the Business of the next Campaign. But in the mean time, the natural Heat and martial Ardour of the Enemy disappeared. The Courage of the *Sabines* was sunk with their Forces: And their Wisdom brought the conquered Nation to a Resolution, which was very necessary in the present Distress. They humbled themselves so far as to send Deputies to *Tarquin*, from all the best of their Cities, to sue for a Peace. The Ambassadors met the King, who was already

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c. 6.

Dion. Hal.
B. 3. p. 201.

ready upon his March, with Intent to take and plunder their Cities: And their Embassy saved him the Trouble of the Expedition. The Deputies offered him the Possession of their fortified Places, and all their Country, if he would give them tolerable Conditions. The Conqueror shewed them no more Severity than he had done the *Hetrurians*. Nay, he even granted them the Favour of delivering up their Prisoners without a Ransom. Thus did *Tarquin*, by Valour in fighting, and Moderation towards the Conquered, make the *Roman* State greater and more formidable than it had ever hitherto been: So that the Honours of a Triumph ⁷⁰ could not but be again due to so glorious a Prince. He entered *Rome* in the same State as he had done in his Triumph over the *Hetrurians*. And his eldest Son, or perhaps Grandson ⁷¹, who, tho' but fourteen Years old, had both seen and imitated the Valour of his Father, or Grandfather, in the last Battle, received likewise at *Rome*, his Share of Honour in Proportion to his Age. The King gave him publick Commendations before the People; and the Right of wearing a Robe of Distinction, and a Ball of Gold hung about his Neck, was his Reward.

§. XXV. *TARQUIN* being now grown old, thought only of enjoying the Sweets of Rest and Quiet, after his great Labours and continual Victories. Nevertheless he did not forget the Vow he had made to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, in the last War with the *Sabines*: As soon as that War was ended, he made it his first Business to perform it. He began with levelling the *Area*, on which he resolved to raise the famous Temple he had promised to build: which Temple became afterwards the most glorious Monument of the *Roman* Magnificence, and the principal Place for the *Roman* Worship. Even the first Attempts towards building this magnificent Structure, were considerable both for Expence and Labour. The Hill *Tarpeius* (for so it was now called, though it had formerly borne the Name of *Saturnius*) being full of craggy Points, and its Top uneven, it was therefore levelled. And in order to this, it was necessary to fill up the Hollows with Rubbish, and to raise high Pieces of Stone-work upon Piles, thereby to bring the Precipice of the Rock upon a Level with the Top of the Hill. This painful Work was carried on by *Tarquin's* Orders; and the Plan of the Temple marked out, and its Foundations laid ⁷².

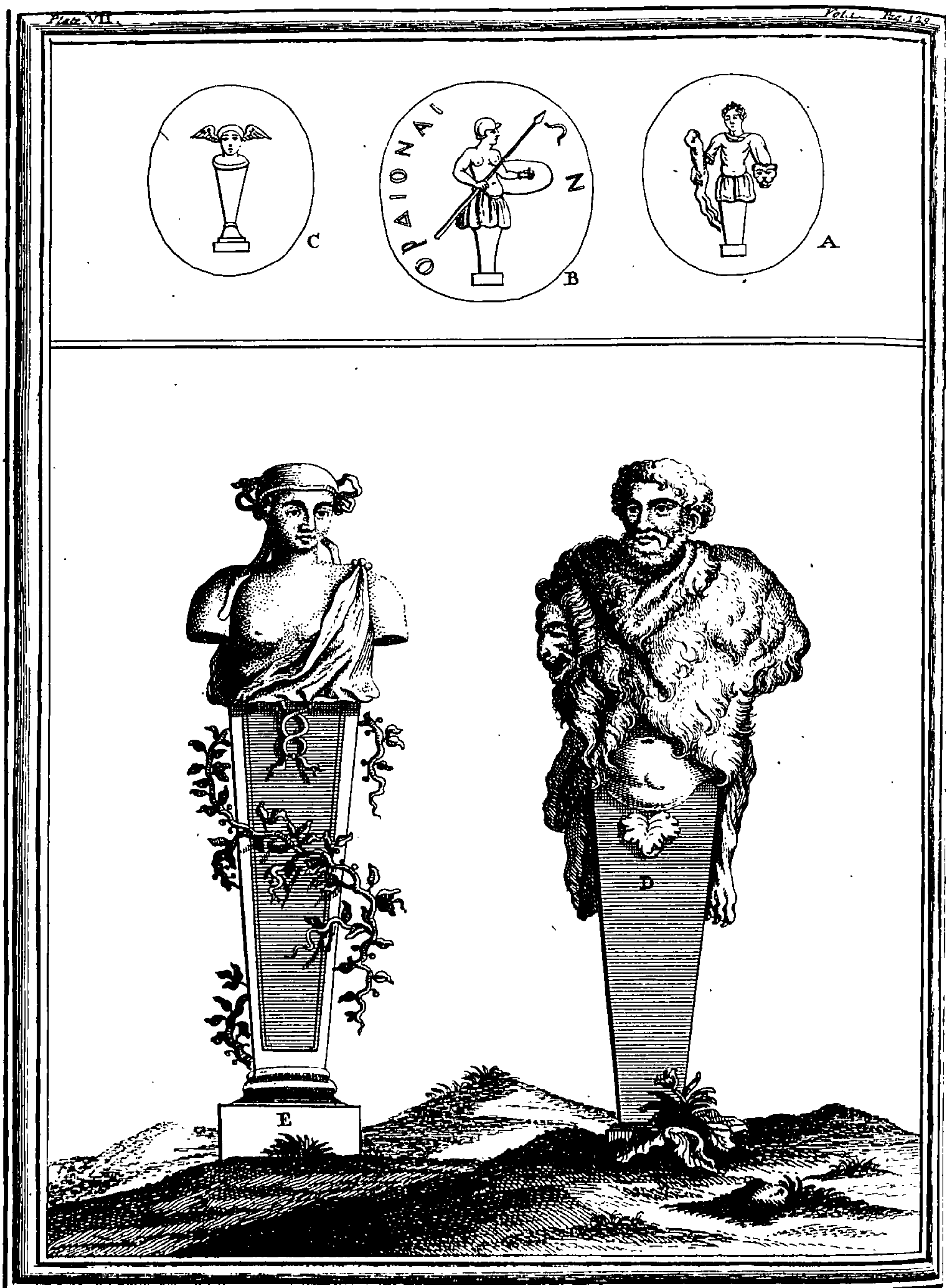
AND now *Attius Navius* appeared again upon the Stage. This famous *Augur* is said to have been consulted about the Part of *Rome*, in which *Jupiter* would best like to have his Temple placed: and he, by his Knowledge in *Auguries*, declared for the Hill *Tarpeius*. But when they came to consecrate the *Area* of the Temple of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, there arose another Difficulty. This Hill was already full of Statues and Altars, erected to several other Gods: and it seemed indecent to remove so many Deities, to make room for others. However, an Expedient was found out for removing them, without giving them offence. By the Help of *Auguries*, all these Gods were consulted, to know whether they were willing to be removed: and the greatest Part of them being found willing, they were carried to

⁷⁰ *Dion. Hal.* and the *Fasti Capitolini*, exactly agree, as to the Triumphs *Tarquin the Elder* had at *Rome*: and they place them in the same Order. *Tarquin* triumphed then, 1st. Over the *Latins*; 2dly. Over the *Hetrurians*; and, 3dly. Over the *Sabines*. But the Years in which he triumphed, are unfortunately omitted by *Dion. Hal.* and effaced out of the Marble of the *Fasti Capitolini*. The only Date which remains entire, is that of the last Triumph, which was over the *Sabines*, and on the Ides of *September*. No Regard ought therefore to be had, either to the Author of *The Lives of Illustrious Men*, who makes *Tarquin the Elder* to have triumphed but twice; or to *Livy*, (whom *Macrobins* has followed) who mentions only one Triumph of *Tarquin the Elder*, viz. that after his Victory over the *Sabines*.

⁷¹ It's certain, *Tarquin the Elder* had at least one Son, and that this Son dying before the King his Father, left him at least two Grandsons. We can't be sure whether he who is here mentioned, and of whom *Macrobins* and *Aurelius Victor* speak, was a Son of *Tarquin's*, or only a Grandson. But it's certain, which

ever he was, that he died before *Tarquin the Elder*. It is indisputable, that this King left no Son behind him, and that his Grandsons, who survived him, must have been much younger than this Person could have been, after the Death of his Grandfather. We shall have Occasion to speak of the Grandchildren *Tarquin* left under the Tuition of *Servius Tullius*, immediately.

⁷² The Historians of ancient *Rome* differ about the Epocha of the Foundation of the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. *Livy* and *Tacitus* contend, that *Tarquin the Elder* laid the Foundations of it. *Dion. Hal.* affirms it was done by *Tarquin the Proud*. In order therefore to reconcile the Greek Historian with the *Latin* ones, we must not understand the latter strictly. They intended to say no more, than that *Tarquin the Elder*, after having levelled and prepared the Ground, marked it out for the Building. So that, according to *Dion. Hal.* *Tarquin the Proud* only finished what his Predecessor had begun.



A. *l.* Terminus representing Hercules with his Club, and the Head of the Nemean Lion in his Hand. B. Another Terminus representing an armed Pallas. C. A third Terminus with the Head of a Mercury. D. A Fourth Terminus representing Hercules in a Lions Skin. E. A Fifth Terminus representing Venus, or some other Goddess.

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other Places. The God *Terminus* 73, and the Goddess of *Youth* 74, were, as the *Augur* said, the only two, who insisted 75 upon not being displaced. And accordingly, though the God *Terminus* was nothing but an unshapen Stone, no Violence was offered to him; but he and the Goddess always remained upon the Hill *Capitolinus*; and were enclosed within the Walls of the Temple which was afterwards consecrated to *Jupiter*, his Wife *Juno*, and his Daughter *Minerva*. All which was doubtless nothing but the artful Management of the *Augurs*, to give themselves a fair Opportunity of flattering the *Romans*. They intimated thereby, that the *Boundaries* of their City should never be removed; and that *Rome* would always preserve the first Vigour of her *Youth*. The *Area* prepared for the Building of the Temple was dedicated 76 by *Navius*, and was from that time separated from all prophane Uses: but continual Infirmities, and at last Death, hindered *Tarquin the Elder* from finishing this Monument of his Piety.

§. XXVI. BUT *Tarquin's* Cares were not confined to Religion; his Foresight extended to his Successor. He was going to leave two Grand-children 77 behind him, who were too young to supply his Place. The eldest was *L. Tarquinius*, the youngest *Arunx*

73 That nothing may be thought wanting in relation to the Worship of the God *Terminus*, we shall here observe, 1st, That this God was sometimes represented by a Stone or a Stock of a Tree. Thus *Ovid*,

*Terminæ, sive lapis, sive es desertus in agro
Stipes, ab antiquis tu quoque nomen habes.*

Fast. 2.

And in like manner *Apuleius*; *Vel enim colliculus sepimine consecratus, vel truncus dolamine effigiatus, vel cespes libamine humigatus, vel lapis unguine delibutus.* Afterwards, the *Dii Termini* were represented by Stones cut square, or in the Form of a Pyramid, with human Heads on the Tops of them. These imperfect Statues had neither Legs nor Arms, to shew, that these Divinities were to be always fixed and immovable in the Places in which they were put. 2dly, *Lactantius*, *Instit. B. 1.* declares that the God *Terminus* was that famous Stone which *Saturn* devoured instead of *Jupiter*; and concludes, that *Men must be either Stocks or Stones to worship such Deities.* 3dly, It is nevertheless more probable, that the Worship of the *Dii Termini* was referred to *Jupiter Terminalis*. *Dion. Hal.* tells us, that *Numa* consecrated the Boundaries of the *Roman Territory* to this God. And 'tis well known, that the *Romans* had nothing more sacred among them, than the Oath they took *per Jovem Lapidem*. On the Reverse of a Silver Medal of the Emperor *Augustus*, we find a Head of *Jupiter* crowned with Rays, upon a Pedestal cut in the Form of an Obelisk. We likewise find the Figure of *Jupiter Terminalis* in a Stone, and on a Medal of the *Terentian Family*. 4thly, The Temple erected to this God by *Numa*, was open to the Sky, to shew, that the Boundaries ought always to be in the Proprietors Sight, that they might not go beyond them, with Impunity. And the Temple of the God *Terminus* had this Form in *Ovid's* Time:

*Nunc quoque se supra, ne quid nisi sidera cernat,
Exiguum templi tecta foramen habent.* Fast. 2.

5thly, The Sacrifices offered to the *Dii Termini* were at first only Libations of Wine, Oil, and Milk, and the First-Fruits of their Fruit, and Cakes. It was thought improper to shed Blood in the Presence of the tutelary Gods of Peace. But a Lamb and a Sow were sacrificed to them soon after. 6thly, Sacrifices were offered up to them in the Temple erected at *Rome* to the Honour of the God *Terminus*, as well as upon the *Milliaris Lapis*, which was set up at the sixth Mile's End between *Rome* and *Laurentum*; doubtless this was the Boundary of the *Roman Territory* on that Side,

in *Numa's* Time. 7thly, In the private Sacrifices that were offered up, on the Boundaries of a private Field, the two neighbouring Proprietors came to the Boundary, dressed up the God *Terminus* with Crowns, and made him Presents:

*Te duo diversa Domini de parte coronant,
Binaque ferta tibi, binaque liba ferunt.*

Ovid. Fast. 2.

And then they feasted in common upon the Sacrifices.

*Conveniunt celebrantque dapes vicinia supplex,
Et cantant laudes Termine sancte tuas.*

Fast. 2.

8thly, The *Termini* had generally no Inscriptions: They were remarkable enough by their Figure. Nevertheless *Spon* gives us one which he saw at *Rome*, in these Words:

QUIS QUIS
HOC SUSTULERIT
AUT JUSSERIT,
ULTIMUS SUO-
RUM MORIATUR.

This was then thought one of the most horrible Imprecations. The Antients thought nothing more terrible than to survive all their Family, Friends, and Heirs, and not to leave any one behind them, on whom they might depend, for giving them an honourable Burial.

74 The Goddess of *Youth* was represented under the Figure of a beautiful Woman in the Bloom of Life, in a very rich Dress of different Colours, and interwoven with Flowers, to express the Charms of Youth. The young *Romans*, after they laid aside the *Prætexta*, dedicated their Hair, and the first Years of their Manhood, to this Goddess; which was the same with the Goddess *Hebe*.

75 *St. Austin*, *De Civit. Dei*, B. 4. assures us, that *Mars* was one of the Gods who would not be removed; and whom the *Romans* were therefore forced to place within the new Temple. To which he adds, that the Niches in which they stood, were so dark, that they could scarce be seen. The Plate annexed shews the Reader the Figures of the different sorts of *Termini*.

76 That is, *Navius*, after he had consulted the Omens, fixed the Extent of the Ground, and marked out the Plan of the Temple, which was called *effari*, or *sistere templum*.

77 It has been long disputed, whether the two young *Tarquins*, who survived old King *Tarquin*, and one of whom had the Crown after *Servius Tullius*, were the Sons, or only Grandsons, of *Tarquin the Elder*. And if we form our Judgment of it,

L. 1

only

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Arunx Tarquinius, who was surnamed *The Proud*, when he came to the Throne, which was not till long after his Grandfather's Death. *Tarquin the Elder* despairing therefore of conveying the Crown to either of them, took proper Measures for continuing it in his Family at least, in the Person of one of his Daughters. He married them to the two Men in *Rome*, that were most capable of succeeding him. The eldest was given to *Servius Tullius*, who had indeed been but lately made a Citizen and a *Patrician*, but whose Valour and other Virtues made him most worthy of the Choice of the *Romans*. The youngest was married to *M. Junius*, the Father of that famous *Brutus*, who afterwards destroyed the regal Power and Authority in *Rome*. The Reputation *Junius's* Birth and Merit gave him, made *Tarquin* think, that *Servius* could not have a more formidable Competitor than him. And thus he provided against the Crown's going out of his Family, by making those two Men his Sons-in-law, who were best qualified to wear it.

Dion. Hal.
B. 3. P. 204.

§. XXVII. WHILE these things were doing, the famous *Augur, Attius Navius* disappeared on a sudden. Both the manner of his Death, and the Author of it, were utterly unknown. Perhaps it was owing to the Jealousy of his Collegues, or a secret Conspiracy among his Enemies. However, the People murmured at it, and his Reputation among them quickened their Enquiries after his Murderers. As it had been very secretly done, many were suspected of the Crime: and the Sons of *Ancus Marcius*, *Tarquin's* Predecessor on the Throne, laboured to turn the Suspicion upon the old King. These Princes still continued to have the same Pretensions they always had, of reigning after *Tarquin*. What made them uneasy at present, was, that they saw the wise King had taken very proper Measures to make the Choice of the *Romans* fall upon one of his Sons-in-law: and *Servius Tullius* was thereby become the principal Object of their Jealousy. They therefore formed a Design of assassinating him. But considering that whilst *Tarquin* was alive, an Attempt upon the Life of his Son-in-law could not escape unpunished; this led the two Princes into a wicked Plot to destroy the King himself: And the fatal Accident which took off *Navius* so suddenly, seemed to favour their Design. The *Romans* were not ignorant that the *Augur* had often opposed *Tarquin* in his Undertakings. Besides, the King had shewn but little Concern at the Loss of the Diviner, and had not been very earnest in discovering his Murderers: Which was enough for these ambitious Pretenders to the Throne, to fix upon *Tarquin* the black Calumny of having been the Author of the Crime. They at first spread the Report only by Insinuations: but when the Minds of the People were prepossessed with it, they then at-

only from the Authority of the *Latin* Historians, and antient Monuments, we shall judge wrong. *Livy* indeed, after some small doubt, joins with those who think them his own Sons. He acknowledges he was carried away with the Stream. The *Fasti Capitolini* likewise say, that *Tarquin the Proud* was the Grandson of *Damaratus*, and consequently the Son of *Tarquin the Elder*. But what may have deceived the Author of these *Fasti*, is this: that the first *Tarquin* adopted his Grandsons, and thereby became in some Sense their Father: and consequently *Damaratus* must have been in that Sense their Grandfather. That *Tarquin the Elder* was their own Father, is what no Man can reasonably believe. *Dion. Hal.* demonstrates, past all doubt, that they were only the Grand-children of the first King *Tarquin*: We will explain the Reasons with which he confutes the old Historian *Fabius Pictor*. It must be supposed, says he, *Tarquin* the Son of *Damaratus*, did not go from *Tarquiniæ* with his Wife *Tanaquil*, before he was of a mature Age; since he was then capable of bearing the publick Offices of his Country, and only left it out of Resentment, because he could not obtain them. On this foot, we may reasonably allow him to have been thirty, when he left *Ætruria*: tho' *Dion. Hal.* contents himself with making him twenty-five. His Wife *Tanaquil* must likewise have been at least twenty, at their Removal; since the Historians represent her as at Woman's Estate, and a Woman of consummate Prudence, at that time. And, without doubt, *Tarquin* and his Wife must have been at

least ten Years at *Rome*, before he could have become such a Favourite with *Ancus*, have made himself so well known to the *Romans*, and have done Service enough to the State, to deserve to be declared Tutor to the Children of the dying King, and to obtain the Suffrages of the People for succeeding him in the Throne. So that *Tanaquil* must have been at least thirty, when her Husband was made King. And as then *Tarquin* was thirty-seven or thirty-eight Years upon the Throne, she consequently must have been at least sixty-eight, when her Husband died. Now *Tarquin* and his Brother *Arunx* were so young at their Father's Death, that, in the first place, *Tanaquil* herself, who was so good a Judge of the proper Qualifications for a Crown, did not think of making either of them King, but preferred her Husband's Slave before them; and secondly, that even after *Tarquin's* second Marriage with young *Tullia*, *Livy* himself acknowledges they were yet in their Youth, *Celeriter*, says he, *adulescentem sua temeritate implevit*. They must therefore have been born, when *Tanaquil* was too old to bear Children. Who then could have been their Father, but one of the Sons of *Tarquin the Elder*, who died before him? To say, that they were the Sons, or even Grandsons, of *Egerius*, *Tarquin the Elder's* Brother, who took the Name of *Collatinus*, is to run into a Labyrinth of Difficulties. We have therefore followed *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* preferably to *Livy*, and the other *Latin* Authors, who have copied after one another.

tempted to accuse him before them. It's plain, the Sovereignty of the Kings of *Rome* was then neither absolute nor independent. The two Princes were eloquent. They exaggerated, in the Speeches they made to an Assembly of the People, the Baseness of a Murder committed on the Person of an *Augur*, who was consecrated to the immortal Gods. They demanded Justice upon a sacrilegious Foreigner, who was not so much as an *Italian* by Descent. Some *Patricians* of their Party favoured their Complaints; and the Populace, who often hate those who govern them, suffered themselves to be carried away with the seditious Discourses of the Sons of *Ancus Martius*. In vain did the King appear in Person, in the Place of the Assembly, to disperse the Tumult: They offered Violence to him, and drove him back as an abominable Murderer, who had dipped his Hands in the Blood of a Man dedicated to the Service of the Altars. And *Servius Tullius* was forced to make use of all his Interest with the People, to appease the Rage of a Populace, zealous for the Honour of their Gods. But at length their Heat abated: the Falseness of the Accusation was known, and the two Accusers got nothing among the People, but the shameful Character of having calumniated their King. And though their Crime deserved to be punished, yet *Tarquin* was naturally inclined to Clemency. He pardoned the two Sons of *Ancus*, in consideration of the good Offices their Father had done him.

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§. XXVIII. BUT the Interests of Religion made the King more severe to a prostitute *Vestal*. Some have thought that he was the Inventor of that kind of Punishment which was ever after inflicted on such of these Priestesses, as dishonoured their Consecration: And they add, that *Numa* only commanded that they should be stoned. This at least is certain, that the first Instance we have of this Severity against those incestuous Virgins, was in *Tarquin's* Time. The *Vestal Pinaria* was impudent enough to offer sacrifice with impure Hands, and a polluted Body: and the King therefore condemned her to be buried alive. As for him, who had dishonoured her, it is probable the Law was then made, which commanded all such to be whipped to death.

NEVERTHELESS, *Tarquin* did not lessen his Esteem for the venerable College of *Vestals*: on the contrary, he encreased the Number of them. He considered, that though the four *Vestals Numa* had instituted, might have been enough to keep up the sacred Fire in his Time; yet that these could not now be a sufficient Number for the different Offices of Religion, which were by this time exceedingly multiplied in *Rome*. *Tarquin* therefore added two new *Vestals* to the old ones; and their Number was now first encreased to six <sup>78</sup>.

§. XXIX. BUT in proportion as *Tarquin* advanced in Age, and drew nearer his End, the Ambition of the Sons of *Ancus Marcius* grew more strong and active. They thought the present Instant the most favourable Opportunity they could have of obtaining the Suffrages of the People whom they had found means to gain over to their Party. *Tarquin* indeed, though then about eighty Years of Age, yet seemed likely to live some Years longer; but the Pretenders thought his living so long made them lose these critical Moments: and they therefore entered into a Plot to take away the old Man's Life. The Artifice they pitched on, for the Execution of their barbarous Parricide, without appearing in it themselves, was this: They hired two young Men of their Party, whom they engaged to dress themselves like Peasants, and to carry Hatchets upon their Shoulders, as if they were Wood-cutters. These pretended to have a Quarrel, which grew so hot, that they

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Cross

⁷⁸ In a Medal of the Empress *Lucilia*, we see other a Vessel full of Perfumes, and neither of the six *Vestals*; one of which holds a *Sympulus*, and another two is veiled.

seemed

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seemed ready to fight: and this Quarrel, which they said was about some Goats, was begun near the King's Palace. A great number of Conspirators got together about them, under pretence of ending the Dispute; but it still continued, without any Diminution, till such time as they were got before the Gate of the Palace in which *Tarquin* lived. They went into it, and called out on their Sovereign for Justice. Kings must certainly then have been very ready to determine such sorts of Disputes among the Populace. Immediately the *Lictors* endeavoured to disperse the Crowd which followed the two Complainants, their Dispute and Clamours only encreased the more, till the King appeared. And then, as *Tarquin*, (after making them cease their confused Declamations) was preparing to give them a separate Hearing, one of the two Disputants gave him a great Stroke with his Hatchet full on the Head. Upon which the Conspirators immediately fled, but the two Assassins were seized; and when they were put to the Torture, confessed, that they had only lent their Hands to promote the Ambition of the Sons of *Ancus*, and had not engaged themselves in the Crime, but at their Sollicitations. Thus perished one of the greatest Kings *Rome* had ever seen. The *Latin* Historians have not done Justice to his Memory; perhaps, either because the Name of *Tarquin* was odious to them, or because this Prince was of *Corinthian* Extraction: But the *Greek* Writers have been more equitable to him; and it is a great Proof of their Sincerity, that what they say of him, is agreeable to what we find in the *Fasti Capitolini*. By which *Fasti* we are likewise informed, that *Tarquin* reigned but thirty-seven Years; though some Historians make him to have reigned thirty-eight 79.

§.XXX. QUEEN *Tanaquil* had Courage and Wisdom above her Sex. She did not lose her Presence of Mind, even at the sight of her dying Husband. The Heroine cleared the Palace of the Crowd which filled it, and ordered that no Person whatsoever should be admitted within the Gates. Then shutting herself up with only *Ocrisia* the Mother of *Servius*, and *Servius* himself, in the Apartment where the King was expiring, she addressed herself in the following manner to her generous Son-in-law, whom she designed for the Crown. *You see here, my Lord, an unexpected Accident robs us of a Prince, who brought you up as his Son, and raised you to the highest military Honours. Tarquin honoured you both with his Alliance and his Affection at the same time. And after all, your assisting him with your Counsels has not been a sufficient Return for the many Favours he heaped upon you. There yet remains something more for you to do, in Testimony of your Gratitude; which is, that you ascend the Throne after him. Should the cruel Posterity of Ancus Marcius seize it either by Force or Artifice, what will become of my Grandchildren? What have they not reason to fear from the Fury of these Parricides? Shelter my Children then, under the Protection of the Throne, if you dare venture to make yourself Master of it. Don't consider, Servius, the Slavery in which you was born, so much as the high Rank to which Valour and Wisdom have raised you. Add your Consent to that of the Gods, who have promised you the Scepter. If you have Courage enough to undertake the Government, the Kingdom is yours.*

At these Words, the Queen opened that Window of the King's Apartment which looked upon the Street, where this sudden Accident had brought the People together; and with an Air of Assurance, *Be under no Concern*, said she to them, *for the Life of the Prince whom you love. The Violence of the Blow he received stunned him at first, but he is now recovered from his first Swoon, and the Wound is not mortal. He requires you, by me, to obey Servius Tullius, for a time; and commands that his Son-in-law shall fill his Place till he is perfectly recovered. You will soon see your King appear among you again, and shew you his Gratitude for your Zeal. Let your Concern for him be turned into Indignation against the cruel Sons of Ancus, who were the sole Authors of this detestable Crime.*

THIS wise Dissimulation of *Tanaquil* had all the Effect she expected from it. The King was dead; but her Confidants declared in all Places that he was

79 *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* agree, in saying that *Tarquin the Elder* reigned thirty-eight Years: and we have all along shewn great regard to the joint Opinion of these two Writers. But in the present Case, six

Historians, or Chronologists, joined to the Computation of the *Fasti Capitolini*, do more than counterbalance their Authority.

alive, and would soon appear again, and administer Justice to his People. This Year of struck the guilty Sons of *Ancus* with Terror, and they voluntarily banished themselves to *Suessa*, a City of the *Volsi*. So that their Plot, which would have succeeded if the People had seen *Tarquin* dead, sunk to nothing, upon their believing that he was yet alive. *R O M E* CLXXIV.

THE second Day after that on which the King was assassinated, *Servius Tullius* sat on the Throne, in the Royal Robes, and attended by the *Lictors*, and determined several Causes. But as he, for a long time, pretended only to supply *Tarquin's* Place, whenever any difficult Case occurred, he promised to report it to the King. As to the wicked Attempt upon the Person of the Sovereign, he thought himself obliged to enquire into that, and revenge it. He cited the Sons of *Ancus* to appear before his Tribunal; and upon their Non-appearance they were declared infamous, and their Estates confiscated.

IN the mean time *Servius* so managed his Affairs, as to gain the Hearts of the *Romans*; and *Tanaquil* assisted him, both with her Interest and Advice. He distributed large Sums among the poorest of the People: But his main Point was to bring over the Senators to his Party. And in order to this, he took Care to preserve a good Polity in the City, and an exact Discipline and Regularity among all Orders of Men, from the first Beginning of his Administration. In short, when he had sufficiently tried his Talent for Reigning, and the People were accustomed to his Government, then the Death of *Tarquin*⁸⁰ was published by great Outcries in his Palace. And *Servius*, upon being voted to be King by the Senate only, appeared in publick with a strong Guard, and with all the Marks of Royalty, without waiting for the Election of the People. So that, as he did not take Possession in a legal manner, he rather continued to *Govern Rome*, than began to *Reign* in it.

So *Dion. Hal.* indeed says, that *Servius Tullius* *Tarquin*: But neither he, nor any other Historian that appointed magnificent Obsequies for his Predecessor I know of, mentions the Place where his Tomb stood.



T H E
Roman History.
B O O K IV.

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Dion. Hal.
B. 4. p. 206.
Lic. B. 1. c. 39.
Florus, and
Plutarch.

§. I. **H**ITHERTO the People had chosen to entrust their Scepter more frequently with Foreigners than with native *Romans*: But there is something yet more surprizing in the Elevation of *Servius* to the Royal Dignity. He was not only not born of *Roman* Parents; but, as some Authors say, nothing was more uncertain than his Descent; and as others, in greater Number, affirm his Birth was debased by Slavery. The most probable Account they give both of his Birth and Education, is as follows.

WHEN *Tarquin* carried War and Devastation into *Latium, Corniculum*, a City pretty near *Tivoli*, had the Courage to resist her haughty Enemies. But being taken and sacked by the *Romans*, some of her Inhabitants were cut off by the Sword, and some reduced to Slavery. Among the latter, *Ocrisia*, the Mother of *Servius Tullius*, a Native of *Corniculum*, underwent the same Fate with her fellow Citizens. She is said to have been descended from the most illustrious Nobility in her Country: And her Beauty, Extraction, and polite Behaviour, made her taken Notice of in her Misfortunes. The King himself took this beautiful Captive, and made a Present of her to *Tanaquil* his Wife. Her Husband, named *Tullius*, was, according to some, killed at the taking of *Corniculum*, and the young Captive was then big with *Servius Tullius*, of whom she was delivered at *Rome*, in *Tarquin's* House. And as this Child, add they, was born in Slavery, the Name of *Servius* was added to that of *Tullius*, which he received from his Father, to signify his present Condition. But others pretend, that *Ocrisia* was but a Girl when she was carried away from *Corniculum*, and that she was afterwards married to one of *Tarquin's* Clients, and by him had *Servius*, of whom she was delivered in the King's Palace. And lastly, others raise the Birth of *Servius Tullius* so high as to give him a God for his Father; who, they say, was *Vulcan*, or at least the *Lar*; that is, the Household God of *Tarquin's* Palace. It is indeed somewhat surprizing, that no Historian has ventured to carry his Conjectures so far, as to suspect that *Ocrisia's* Son was also the King's Son: Unless perhaps it was their Design to hint obscurely at *Tarquin*, by the Name of the *Lar*, or God of the Royal Palace. However, all Historians agree, that the King of *Rome* had all the Tenderness of a Father, for *Servius*. And indeed, nothing can be a better Proof of the Uncertainty the *Romans* were always in, about the real Father of this King, than the Inscription¹ of the *Fasti Capitolini*. The Names of the Fathers of other Kings are mentioned in them, but that of *Servius's* is not. And it's certain, that *Tanaquil*, either out of Regard for the Child of a favourite Slave, or out of Affection for the Son of an Husband to whom she behaved her self like a prudent Wife, took a particular Care of the Education of young *Servius*. In order to gain the greater Veneration and Esteem for this Son of *Ocrisia*, the Queen spread the following Report of him, which

¹ The Remains we have of the *Fasti Capitolini*, give us the Names of the Fathers both of King *Tarquin the Elder*, who preceded, and of *Tarquin the Proud*, who succeeded *Servius Tullius*. They speak of *Tarquin the Elder* thus: *Lucius Tarquinius Damarati filius Priscus*. Their Account of *Tarquin the Proud*, is this: *L. Tarquinius L. F. Damarati N. Superbus*; that is, *Lucii filius Damarati Nepos*. So

that the Father of *Tarquin the First*, and even the Grandfather of *Tarquin the Proud*, at least according to the Opinion of the Author of the *Fasti*, are expressly named. But they say nothing at all of *Servius's* Father; they only mention *Servius* thus: *Servius Tullius Rex*. And is not this the Sign that it was uncertain who his Father was?

the credulous People believed. *As little Servius, said she, was sleeping in my Apartment, a sudden Flame came and surrounded his Head. I was surprized at the Prodigy, and made my Women take Notice of it: And the Flame, which made a sort of Crown about the Child's Forehead, continued shining till he waked.* With what politick View the wife *Tanaquil* laboured to give so much Lustre to the young Slave, is not known. However, the People prognosticated the future Grandeur of her Ward, from the Fable the Queen had published of him.

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THE Education *Servius* received under the Protection of the Throne, as well as his great Qualities of Mind and Heart, made him worthy of it. He ascended to it thro' a Gradation of military Offices, in which he signalized himself by his Exploits, and by an uniform wise Conduct. Nevertheless, *Tanaquil* had no Thoughts of raising him to the highest Post, till after she had had long Experience of him. The first Reward his good Conduct merited and gained for him, was the rescuing himself and his Mother out of a State of Slavery. Then several Employments in the Army were successively conferred upon him, in which he always behaved himself with Honour. And when he was once become a Citizen of *Rome*, it was not long before he had a Place in the Senate, and was seated among the *Patricians*. Yet still *Tanaquil* was not in Haste to give him an Alliance in the Royal Family: He first married an illustrious *Roman*, named *Gegania*. The Death of this beloved Wife greatly afflicted and dejected him; and, if we may believe one single ancient Writer, it was then, and not in his Infancy, that he was surrounded by a shining Light, which gave the World great Expectations of his future Grandeur. But these Variations in their Accounts of this Prodigy, sufficiently shew the Falshood of it.

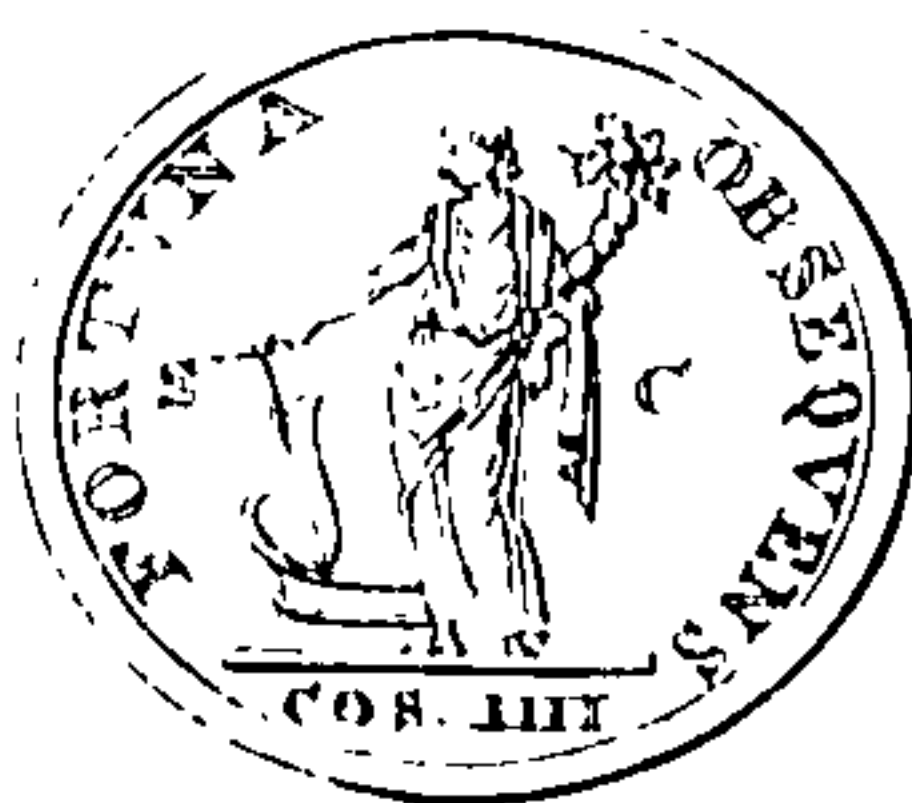
*Plutarch de
fort. Rom.*

Val. Ant.

HOWEVER, the King and Queen's Regard for *Servius Tullius* increased with his Merit, and his Fame. He soon became so considerable in *Rome*, that *Tarquin* thought it no Dishonour to his Family to give him one of his Daughters in Marriage. And from that Time the Court set no Bounds to the Favours they bestowed upon him. *Tanaquil* especially, who looked on this Son-in-law as the Hopes of her Family, after the Death of her own Son, led him as it were by the Hand to the Throne. Thro' the Assistance of her Interest and artful Management, he ascended it, and drew the Admiration of the World upon him, as the greatest Politician of any of the Kings of *Rome*.

§. II. As then *Servius* thought himself indebted to *Fortune* for his Grandeur; so the first Homage he paid, after he was King, was to this Goddess. It is incredible, how many Temples and Altars he erected to her; and under how many different Names he diversified the Worship he paid her. He built a Temple to this Goddess near the *Capitol*, under the Name of *Fortuna Primigenia*, or *The eldest Fortune*: Which might possibly be in Acknowledgment of the Favour of the Goddess, in procuring him in Marriage the *Eldest* Daughter of *Tarquin*, and thereby putting him in a Way of getting Possession of the Throne itself. He erected another Temple to *Fortuna Obsequens*, or *Obedient Fortune*; to shew that

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SERVIUS
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ibid.

² The Title of this Temple ran thus, *Fortune Primigenie*. Several Reasons have been found out for giving this Name to *Fortune*. *Plutarch* thinks she was so called from her having assisted *Rome* and its Founder from their Infancy. Others say, it was because *Fortune* or Chance, according to a very bad Philosophy, presided at the Formation of the Universe. But I think the Conjecture mentioned in the Text, why *Servius* should give the Name of *Fortuna Primigenia*, to one of the Temples he built to *Fortune*, is more reasonable than either of these.

³ This Temple was dedicated *Fortune Obsequenti*; and we meet with the same Title on one of *Antoninus's* Medals. Some explain this Expression by that of *Fortune indigenti*; that is, who of Poor, becomes, or makes Rich. But the other Interpretation mentioned in the Text is a more natural one. The Temple *Servius* dedicated to *Virgin Fortune*, *Fortune Virgini*, was perhaps so dedicated on account of his two Daughters, whom he married to the two *Tarquins*. The Reasons of his other Dedications of Temples or Oratories to *Fortune*, are easy to be understood.

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he always had her in Pay, and that she obeyed his Orders. He built a Chapel on the Hill *Palatinus*, to *Fortuna Privata*, or *Private Fortune*; in Acknowledgment of the Favours he had received from this Goddess, when he was but a *private* Person. The Oratories of *Fortuna Virgo*, or *Virgin Fortune*, and of *Fortuna Virilis* ⁴, or *Manly Fortune*, were also Monuments of this King's Piety towards a Divinity who had been so favourable to him: And he honoured her likewise under the Name of *Fortuna Adversa*, or *Adverse Fortune*; which was doubtless to prevent her *turning against* him.

Plat. B. de
jurt. Rom.

AND as *Servius Tullius* took *Numa* for his Pattern, and intended to establish a good Polity in the City, as the second King of *Rome* had formerly regulated Religion; he also resolved to gain himself Respect from his People, by the Pretence of having a secret Correspondence with some Goddess: And, if we may believe him, *Fortune* was his *Egeria*. He spread abroad a Report, that she visited him every Night, and came into his Apartment through a Window.

§. III. NEVERTHELESS, the Beginnings of his Reign were not without Disturbances and Dissentions. The Senate did not so constantly adhere to King *Servius*, as he expected they would. The Faction of the Sons of *Ancus Marcius* had its Protectors among the *Patricians*, who thought it beneath them to be governed by a Man born in Slavery, and one who was by Birth an Enemy to the *Roman* People. Nor were the Murmurs of the Senate without plausible Pretences. It had hitherto been always customary in *Rome* not to proceed to the Election of a King till after an *Interregnum*.

Dion. Hal.
B. 4. p. 213.

SERVIVS therefore seemed to have broken thro' an Order established ever since *Romulus's* Time. He had made himself King of the *Romans* without the Order or Consent of the People, and barely upon the Pretence of his being Protector and Guardian of the Rights of the Grand-children of *Tarquin the Elder*, who were his Pupils. Which was in some measure to strike at the antient Constitution, and to change the Government from an elective into an hereditary Monarchy. Complaints of this were at first dropped, as it were accidentally, in private Assemblies: But they at last brought on an almost general Conspiracy. The Senators agreed among themselves ⁶, to force the new King to lay aside his Royalty, and to strip him of his Ornaments, the first time the Senate should be assembled: And, in a Word, their Plot was to establish an *Interregnum* in *Rome*, and then to proceed to the free Election of a new King.

BUT *Servius's* Address surmounted this first Obstacle which was raised against his Elevation. His main Business, in such pressing Danger, was to gain over the People to him, and to make use of them against the Senate. Among his other natural Endowments, one was a ready and lively Eloquence, able to make Impressions on a Multitude. Instead then of calling the Senate together, he assembled the People, and mounting *The Tribune* ⁷, the usual Place of haranguing them, with one of the two Grandchildren of the late King on each Side of him, he made the following Speech, as it stands in *Dion. Halicarnassens*. See here, II-

⁴ The antient Monuments have transmitted to us Representations of Fortune, sometimes in the Figure of a Woman, *Fortuna Muliebris*; sometimes in that of a Man, *Fortuna Virilis*, or *barbata*; sometimes with Wings; sometimes holding a Globe in her Hand; sometimes leaning or standing upright upon a Wheel, to shew her Instability: And in Compliance with the impious Prejudices of Paganism, which taught that *Fortune* presided over the Government of the Universe, she was represented holding a Rudder of a Ship in her right Hand, and a *Cornucopias* in her left; as if she had been the Dispenser of all good Things. The Sun and Crescent which were placed over her Head, were designed to shew her Power over sublunary Things.

⁵ From the Time of the Kings, the People of *Rome* had a legislative Power, when assembled in their *Curia*. The Form used in proposing Matters to them for their Determinations, was this, *Velitis, Jubeatis, Quirites*; which shewed their sovereign Authority. And the People may be said to have

been yet more absolute in the Affair of electing a King.

⁶ *Livy* is so far from agreeing that the Senators conspired against *Servius Tullius*, that he, on the contrary, assures us, that they at first consented to his coming to the Throne, independently of the Suffrages of the People. And this Account is true, and not contrary to *Dion. Hal.* if we only distinguish the Times.

⁷ There were two of these *Tribunes* at *Rome*. It is certain, there was at least one erected in the Reign of *Servius*: Which possibly might be that which stood in the *Comitium* of the *Roman* Market-place, or *Forum Romanum*, directly over against the *Curia*, or Hall in which the Senate was assembled, and which was afterwards adorned with the Heads of the Ships taken from the *Antiates*. It has since been called *Rostra*. From this *Tribune*, which was sometimes called a Temple, to raise the Dignity of it by a religious Name, the *Tribunes, Consuls, &c.* harangued the People.



A. *Fortuna Virilis*. B. *The reverse of a Medall of Faustina the Younger with this inscription, FORTUNAE MULIEBRI.* C. *The reverse of a Medall of Commodus, on which we see a Fortune holding an Horse, by the Bridle with this inscription, FORTUNAE MANENTI. D. D. Two other Figures of Fortune. The wings and the Cornu-Copia denote the inconstancy of this False Goddess in the distribution of her Favours. The two heads issuing out of the Cornu-Copia, represent according to some, Jupiter, and Juno; according to others, the Sun and Moon.*

illustrious Romans, the tender Offspring of one of your greatest Kings. The bare Sight will bring to your Remembrance the Virtues and Victories of their Grandfather. A melancholy Death, and cruel Parricide, robbed you of him, and left his Posterity exposed to the Artifices and Fury of his Assassins. I alone received a Charge from the dying King to protect these helpless Children in their Infancy: and to this I found myself pre-engaged, both by the Alliance I had made in Tarquin's Family, and the Favours I received from that generous Prince. Having been brought up under his Eye from my Infancy, rescued from a State of Slavery, and made his Son-in-law by him; what do I not owe to his Memory, and the Remains of his illustrious Blood! It is he himself, it is Tarquin they again strike at, in the Persons of his Grandchildren. Their ambitious Rivals are endeavouring to destroy them even in my Arms: and the Scepter I hold, is the only thing which stops the Fury of these seditious Men. If they deprive me of the Crown, you will thereby lose the only Support of two Children, whom the Remembrance of Tarquin must have made dear to you. It is to you, illustrious Romans! it is to your Protection these Children are committed! Be ye their Joint-Guardians with me; or rather, protect them, by supporting me in the Throne. Perhaps indeed my personal Services might say something in my Favour; but I would have you bury them in utter Oblivion, and fix your whole Attention on two young Princes, who must inevitably be proscribed, if I lose the Crown. And if I do not, my Gratitude to you, Illustrious Romans, shall not fall short of their Favours to me. Having been myself in a servile Condition, I have experienced the Oppressions which the Poor and Little suffer from the Power of the Great. It therefore becomes me to sympathize with you, and to relieve you. You shall no longer be sold to your Creditors for your Debts, and thereby become the Slaves of the Rich; neither shall you alone bear the Burden of the publick Taxes, and the more powerful be discharged from it. I will provide a Remedy for both these Evils, by Laws. Nor is it just, that the Lands which are conquered at the Expence of your Sweat and Blood, should be distributed only among the most Audacious of the Great; whilst you continue without a Foot of Land of your own, and are obliged to cultivate the Lands of others for Hire. You have already born the contemptuous Usage of the Nobility long enough; and shall now be freed from it, by the Protection of the Throne, as soon as you have established me in it.

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THIS Harangue of the King was not mere empty Words: he actually kept the Promises he made in it, and from that time gained himself the Hearts of all his People. A few Days after he made this Speech, *Servius* commanded all those who were in Debt, to send him an Account of their Debts, and the Names of their Creditors. The King ordered Compting-Houses to be opened in the *Forum Romanum*, and there he paid all the Debtors Bills with his own Money. Nor was this all: he published an Edict, commanding all such as had usurped the Lands belonging to the Publick, to quit them at an appointed time; and ordered the Citizens of *Rome*, who had no Lands of their own, to petition for them. In a word, he put in Force many of *Romulus's* and *Numa's* Laws, which Disuse had in effect abolished; and made several new ones in favour of the People.

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§. IV. BUT though the Inclinations of *Servius Tullius* led him more to Works of Peace, and the procuring the Establishment of an exact Polity in *Rome*, than to military Exploits; yet he found himself obliged to embark in a long War, which brought much Glory both to the *Roman* People, and the King of *Rome*. The *Veientes*, who had been often subdued by *Tarquin the Elder*, as well as the *Hetrurians*, had lately shaken off the Yoke. The Deputies *Rome* had sent to them, to engage them to acknowledge her Sovereignty, had been treated with Scorn. We entered, said they, into no Treaty with the Son of a Slave; nor will we ever submit to *Servius's* Dominion. *Tarquin is dead, and our Obligations to be subject to the Romans are dead with him.*

THIS Confidence of the *Veientes* proceeded partly from their natural Pride, and partly from the Hopes they had of being able to turn the Dissentions between the Senate and King of *Rome*, to their Advantage. They therefore prepared for War, and drew two other *Lucumonies*, viz. those of *Cære* and *Tarquinius*, into their Party. But the Confederates were briskly attacked by the *Roman*, and subdued by his Valour: and the Conqueror thought it proper to make these perfidious Aggressors

Dion. Hal.
B. 4. p. 231.

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gressors Examples of Severity. After he had conquered them, he deprived them of their Lands, and transferred the Property of their fine Estates, to such of the new Citizens of *Rome*, as had yet no Lands of their own. By this means *Servius Tullius*, being supported by his own Glory and the Favour of the People, obtained the Honours of a Triumph, in spite of the Hatred of the Senate. He entered *Rome* with the Pomp which *Tarquin* had introduced in Triumphs, on the sixth of the Calends of *December*, in the hundred and eighty-second Year of the Foundation of *Rome*.

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§.V. The Senators, being intimidated by the immoveable Attachment of the People to the King, changed their Behaviour towards him, though they did not at all lessen their Hatred. They affected to appear very well satisfied with *Servius's* Government, and left him in peaceable Possession of the Throne. They were convinced, that if they persisted in demanding an *Inter-regnum*, and a new Election, the People would take hold of so proper a Crisis, and settle the Crown upon *Servius's* Head in a legal manner. They thought the Circumstance of a Triumph, and the Glory of him who enjoyed it, were such Obstacles as must render their Jealousy ineffectual at present; and they therefore suspended all outward Expressions of it, till a more favourable Opportunity should offer.

Dion. Hal.
B. 4. p. 216.

BUT the King, by his Penetration, discovered the Mystery of the Senators Policy. He was satisfied, that the present Calm foreboded him some future Storm. *After all*, said he to himself, *I shall never be able entirely to remove the Pretences of these factious Men, as long as Rome shall be able to reproach me with having ascended the Throne by any other means than that of the Suffrages of the People. Now therefore, that their Favour seems to incline to my Interests, let us try to supply the Defects of my first Rise to it, by an Election which can never be disputed.* With these Views, he prepared the Minds of the People for his Designs, by spreading abroad a Report, by his Emissaries, that the *Patricians* had conspired his Death. And indeed some of them were secretly contriving how to bring back the Sons of *Ancus Marcius*, who had caused the late King to be assassinated. Though they had been interdicted Fire and Water, throughout all the *Roman* Dominions, by an Edict both of *Servius* and the People; yet some of the Senators had thoughts of abrogating so just and venerable a Law. And when the People were full of a just Indignation at it, the King for his part appeared no more in publick, but in Mourning; which was to shew his Concern at the secret Enterprizes of the Senate. By this means the People, whose Honour was blended with *Servius's* Interest, seemed disposed to do any thing in his Favour.

THE Conjunction then being favourable, *Servius* made use of it, like a skilful Politician. After he had assembled the People, he ascended *The Tribune*, with *Tanaquil*, *Ocrisia*, and the late King's two Grandsons, dressed in a negligent manner, and spoke thus:

THE present Business, illustrious Romans, is not only to save Children in their tender Age from Destruction, but also to guard my Life and your own Glory. The Senate, whom I never offended, have formed wicked Designs against me, only on account of my Bounties to, and Affection for you. I could not bear to see you delivered up to Slavery for Debts, which your Wants obliged you to contract. I have dispossessed the unjust Possessors of such Lands as they usurped in prejudice to your Rights. I have proportioned the publick Taxes to the Income of each Citizen, and endeavoured to bring your Condition as near that of the Rich as possible, so that the fear too great a Distance between you and them should make you liable to be oppressed by them. These are all my Crimes; and I will now acquaint you with the Plots which some seditious Men have formed against me. The Punishment, which the Murderers of the late King were so justly sentenced, is but a weak Barrier against the Injustice of the Senate. In contempt of the Law you enacted, they intend to reward the Crime of the two barbarous Assassins with a Crown. The Sons of *Ancus Marcius* have indeed done themselves Justice, by a voluntary Exile: but great Attempts are now making to bring them back to *Rome* in order to establish them on that very Throne which they have stained with Blood. The Plot is, to bring them into *Rome* with an armed Force, and at the Head of foreign Troops. The Proofs I have of this new Villany are certain, and the Witnesses who attest it unquestionable. I, and the illustrious Children

are committed to my Care, are all destined to perish by the Hands of these wild Beasts. The Blood they most thirst after, is indeed that of Kings: as to the Queens, and the Daughters of the two Royal Branches, they have kindly thought fit to content themselves with only making them Slaves. So that Murder and Slavery are the Fate which the Senate has thought fit to prepare for its Masters. On your Inclinations therefore, illustrious Romans, depends my Fortune, and that of my Pupils. Speak, Determine. The Judgment you shall give, either in favour of the two Assassins, or a triumphant King, shall be to me a Law, to which I will pay Obedience. The only Favour I presume to beg, by the Manes of the late King, by the Tears of his Grandchildren, by the Cries of the venerable Women here present, and by the Victories I have gained over your Enemies, is this; that you would not defer pronouncing Sentence between my Enemies and me. If you thereby deprive me of the Crown; you, my dear affectionate Pupils, shall leave Rome, and go and seek for Refuge among other Nations, by whom the Memory of your Grandfather will perhaps be respected. As to Glory, I have enjoyed enough. As to Purple, Crown, and Fasces, I return them all into your Hands: dispose of them as you think fit. But know this, that the Moment you deprive me of the Throne, I will deprive my self of the Light of the Sun. To you therefore, Romans, to you I leave it to determine whether I shall live or die.

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HE had scarce ended his Speech, when he came down hastily from *The Tribune*; whilst Tears flowed from the Eyes of all the People: And as he was going to leave them, the Assembly redoubled their Cries; but they were forced to offer Violence to *Servius*, before they could stop him. Stay, said some; *Be our King, Be our King*, cried others: and all encouraged him not to fear any thing from the Plots of his Enemies. Then some, whom the King had dispersed among the People for that Purpose, cried with a loud Voice, *Let the Curiae be assembled, and let us elect Servius to be King without delay*: and these Clamours were followed with an universal Applause. In the mean time, the Prince, though at the bottom of the whole Intrigue, affected to appear to act only in compliance with the Inclination of the People. *I am exceeding glad*, said he to them, with an Air of Majesty, *to find you have some Gratitude for the good Offices I have often done you: you may*, continued he, with an Appearance of Coldness and Indifference, *do just as you please*. He instantly appointed a Day for a lawful Assembly of the People, when the *Curiae* should give in their Suffrages; and desired that the *Roman* Citizens, who were dispersed about the Country, should likewise be summoned to the Election. But lest the Affection the People had for him should abate, *Servius* took care that there should be but a little Space between the Time of his Harangue and the *Comitia*. The People were accordingly assembled at the Time appointed: and *Servius* was then elected King with a greater Unanimity than any Sovereign of *Rome* had been before him.

Livy, B 1.
ch. 46. and
Dion. Hal.
B. 4. p. 218.

§. VI. THESE new Formalities added indeed a little Security to *Servius's* Reign; but they only sharpened instead of abating the Hatred of the Senators against their King. They could never be brought to confirm the Election of the People: nor was this the only Opposition of this kind which they had been known to make to the Decrees of the *Curiae*. These two Courts, which divided the City into two Parties, scarce ever acted in concert; their different Interests led them different Ways. *Servius* therefore, who gave himself up entirely to the People's Party, had always reason to be apprehensive of the Faction of the *Patricians*. And he seems on this Occasion to have deliberated seriously with himself, whether he should not renounce the Dignity the People had but just conferred upon him; in the perplexity which arose from his Fear and Uneasiness, he had recourse to *Tanaquil*. This Heroine, after having spent many Years in great Glory, was indeed now drawing very near her End: but still continuing prudent and courageous to the last, she said enough to her Son-in-law, to remove his Apprehensions, and to confirm him in the Resolution of maintaining himself upon the Throne. She seems only to have lived long enough to get a Promise and an Oath from *Servius*, concerning an Affair of such Importance to her Family; and when she had obtained them, died satisfied. The Memory of this great Queen has been religiously preserved by Historians: and *Servius* omitted nothing that could contribute towards transmitting the Remembrance of her to Posterity. In order to immortalize her domestic

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domestick Virtues, Virtues in which the true Glory of Women does indeed properly consist, he hung up her Distaff ⁸ in the Temple of *Hercules*.

SERVIVS being thus determined to continue on the Throne, he made it his whole Business to add new Lustre to his own Glory, and to that of the *Roman* People: And the *Hetrurians*, who were grown once more rebellious, furnished him with Matter for a new Triumph. He fought them, and so far subdued them, as to make them lay down their Arms. So that he obtained, by a Decree of the People, the Honour of entering *Rome* in Triumph a second time; which he did, according to the *Fasti Capitolini*, on the eighth of the Calends of *June*, in the hundred and eighty-sixth Year of *Rome*.

§.VII. THE Interval of Rest which *Servivus* enjoyed after this Victory, he dedicated to the enlarging and adorning of *Rome*. Its Inhabitants were now so greatly multiplied, that the King resolved to enlarge the Compass of the City, and to carry its Walls round all the Hills which overlooked it. And for this he had the Example of all his Predecessors, each of which had made some new Additions to it. *Romulus*, who at first inclosed only the Hill *Palatinus* with Walls and Ditches, afterwards added the Hill *Tarpeius*, when *Titus Tatius* and his *Sabines* chose to become Citizens of *Rome*. *Numa* extended the City yet farther, and joined the Hill *Quirinalis* ⁹ to it, on which a Temple had been erected to *Romulus*, under the Name of *Quirinus*. *Tullus Hostilius*, when he had removed the *Albans* to *Rome*, after he had destroyed their City *Alba*, inclosed the Hill *Capitulus* within its Bounds. In *Ancus Marcius's* Time, the Hill *Janiculus*, on the other Side of the *Tyber*, was joined to the City, by a wooden Bridge. *Tarquin the First* indeed contented himself with building with fine Stones, in Part at least, the Walls of *Rome*; without enlarging its Enclosure. But *Servivus Tullius* was not satisfied with finishing the Work his immediate Predecessor had begun; he likewise enclosed the Hills *Esquilinus* ¹⁰ and *Viminalis* ¹¹ within the new Walls which he built. So that *Rome* began from this time to bear the Name of *Septicollis*, that is, a City which consisted of seven Hills.

AND as *Servivus Tullius* enlarged the City of *Rome* itself, so he likewise did that Space of Ground which the *Romans* called *Pomærium* ¹². It was an empty Space, either on the Inside of the City-Wall, between that and the Houses

⁸ *Plutarch* in this contradicts *Pliny*. The former, in his *Roman Questions*, makes this Distaff to belong to another *Tanaquil*, and not to the Wife of *Tarquin the Elder*. It was, according to him, the Distaff of one *Tanaquil*, who was the Wife of a Son of *Tarquin the Elder*. But *Pliny* seems to have the greatest Probability on his Side. In the first place, he quotes *Varro* in his Favour; and it is well known how learned he was in the *Roman Antiquities*. And *Plutarch* acknowledges, that the *Tanaquil* whose Distaff was hung up, was also called *Caja Cecilia*. Now, according to *Festus*, the *Tanaquil*, who at *Rome* took the Name of *Caia Cecilia*, was the Wife, and not the Daughter-in-law of *Tarquin the Elder*. *Festus's* Words are these: *Caia Cecilia appellata est ut Romam venit, quæ antea Tanaquil vocata erat uxor Tarquinii Prisci Regis Romanorum*. To which we may add, that we know of no Author but *Plutarch*, who has said any *Tanaquil* was the Wife of one of *Tarquin's* Sons. Nor ought we to omit a Circumstance which *Pliny* mentions. The *Tanaquil*, says he, whose Distaff was hung up, had spun a Robe for *Servivus Tullius* with her own Hands. What other *Tanaquil*, but the Wife of *Tarquin*, would have shewn so much Care and maternal Affection for *Servivus Tullius*, as Queen *Tanaquil* did, who looked on him as her Son, and married him to her Daughter?

⁹ The Hill *Quirinalis* is often called by ancient Authors *Agonius*, *Agonalis*, and *Mons Collinus*; and sometimes *Mons Salutaris*. And from the time that *Constantine the First* removed to *Rome* from *Alexandria*, the equestrian Statues of *Alexander the Great* on his Horse *Bucephalus*, it was called *Mons Cabalus*,

or *Cabalus*: as it to this day bears the Name of *Monte Cavallo*. *Dion. Hal.* and *Strabo* say, that *Romulus* and *Tatius* made it a Part of *Rome*. But the Testimony of the greater number of Writers, and the vast Extent of the Hill itself, incline us to believe, that the *Sabines* only dwelt on a Part of it, which was then like one of the Suburbs of *Rome*.

¹⁰ Some think the Hill *Esquilinus* was so called from the Latin Word *Excubie*, because *Romulus*, who suspected *Tatius's* Fidelity, posted a Centinel on it. And this Etymology, forced as it is, seems to have been adopted by *Ovid*:

*Adde quod excubias ubi Rex Romanus agebat,
Qui nunc Esquilus nomina collis habet.*

Fast. B.;

But others give us a more natural Derivation of it from the Latin Word *Quisquilie*; because it was the Place appointed to receive all the Filth and dead Carcasses of *Rome*. Others pretend, that it was only called *Esquilinus*, from the time that *Tatius* began to cultivate it: So that *Mons Esquilinus* is, according to them, the same thing as *Mons Excubitus*. *Var. B. 4. de Ling. Lat.* and *Fest. de Verb. Signif.*

¹¹ The *Ofers* and *Beaches* which grew about this Hill, gave it the Name of *Mons Viminalis*, and *Collis Fagutalis*. It was formerly separated from the Hill *Quirinalis* by a little Valley which was afterwards filled up, and the two Hills were made one.

¹² I find Authors greatly differ about what we are to understand by the Word *Pomærium*. Was it a Way within or without the City, which ran all round it? Or was it not two Ways, which

Houses of the City, or rather on the Out-side of the City Wall, between that and the Houses of the Suburbs; or perhaps both. This *Pomærium* was made sacred by Religion: Which was often a Pretence to serve political Ends. It was indeed of Use, in the Defence and Preservation of the Walls, to have a Space of Ground left empty on each Side of them, and not covered with private Houses. In order to induce a great Number of *Romans* to settle upon the two Hills he had newly inclosed, *Servius* built his Palace on the Hill *Esquilinus*. So that several Citizens, either for their Convenience, or to make their Court, came and inhabited this new Quarter of the City.

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§. VIII. THE Increase of the People, and of the City, required a new Division of the *Tribes*. *Romulus* had indeed at first divided *Rome* only into three¹³ Parts, from whence came the Word *Tribe*; but *Servius* now added a fourth *Tribe* to the original three, without changing their ancient Name. Those of *Romulus's* Division were called, *The Tribe of the Rhamnenses*, or *Tribus Palatina*¹⁴; *The Tribe of the Tatienses*, or *Tribus Suburana*; and *The Tribe of the Luceres*, or *Tribus Collina*. The fourth, which *Servius* established at this time, took the Name of *Tribus Esquilina*. The publick Imposts and Taxes for the State were raised by laying a certain Sum on every *Tribe*; and from hence the publick Subsidies laid upon the *Romans* were called *Tributes*, and *Contributions*. Hence likewise comes the Name of *Tribune*, which was at first applied only to those who commanded the *Tribes* in War; but was afterwards given to several Sorts of Magistrates, who had great Authority in the Commonwealth.

Lic. B. 1. c. 43.
Dion. Hal.
B. 4. p. 219.

THE Law which obliged the Inhabitants of each *Tribe* to continue in that in which they should be born, after this new Division, produced great Order and Regularity in levying the *Roman* Militia, and the publick Taxes. Every one was enrolled for the War only in his own *Tribe*; and paid to the Taxes only in Proportion to the general Sum laid upon it. Besides, the publick Officers, by this means, knew the Habitations of every Citizen. And that neither the Num-

ber went quite round the Walls of the City, the one within, the other without them? *Livy* is of this latter Opinion; and I think it the most probable, notwithstanding that the other *Greek* and *Latin* Authors generally understand no more by the Word, than one Space of Ground which ran along by the Walls, either within or without them. *Livy* expressly mentions two Ways round the Walls; and other Authors only mention one Space of Ground without the Walls of *Rome*, but not exclusive of another within them. So that the City had, most probably, two *Pomæria*; one within, and another without the Walls. At least, this Opinion has one express testimony for it, and nothing appears to contradict

and Southward, in Proportion as the City was extended towards those Quarters. The second *Tribe*, according to *Dion. Hal.* was the *Tribus Suburana*, which contained all the Space of Ground from the *Aventinus* to the *Esquilie*; that is, the Hill *Calvus*, and the two Valleys which were at the Foot of it. In one of these Valleys was the Quarter of the *Clarina*, which was surrounded with Houses, whose Roofs were built like the Bottoms of *Ships* turned upside down; and from thence the Place had this Name. The richest *Romans*, such as *Pompey* and *Tully*, had their Palaces in it; and *Virgil* seems to say as much of it, in his 8th Book,

Passimque armenta videbant
Romanoque foro, & lautis mugire Carinis.

¹³ *Livy* pretends that the *Roman Tribes* were so called from the *Tributes* or Taxes which were levied in the several Quarters or *Tribes* of *Rome*. But *Varro* is of a different Opinion. He is so far from thinking the *Tribes* had that Name from the *Tributes* they paid, as to believe, on the contrary, that the *Tributes* or Taxes were so called from the *Tribes* which paid them. Whence then had the *Roman Tribes* their Names? They had them, says he, from the numeral Word, *tres*, *trium*, *tribus*, because *Romulus* divided *Rome* into three Parts or Quarters.

¹⁴ The *Tribes* of *Rome*, by *Servius Tullus's* Regulation, were in Number four. They took their Names from the four principal Quarters of the City. *Varro* calls the *Tribus Suburana* the first, the *Tribus Esquilina* the second, the *Tribus Collina* the third, and the *Tribus Palatina* the fourth. But *Dion. Hal.* on the contrary, places them according to the Order of Time, in which each Quarter was taken within the Compass of the City. So that according to him, the *Tribus Palatina* is the first. This *Tribe* contained the Hill *Palatinus*, the *Capitol*, the *Forum Romanum*, and also the Hills *Aventinus* and *Janiculus*, which were afterwards included within the *Pomærium*. It was also, in After-times, extended farther on both Sides the *Tyber*, Westward

In the other of these Valleys stood the Village of *Subura*, which gave the *Tribe* its Name. The ancient Inscriptions shew us that this Village was antiently called *Pagus Sucusanus*. And thus *Varro* speaks of it: *Suburam Junius scribit, ab eo quod fuerit sub antiqua urbe, cui testimonium potest esse, quod subest ei loco qui terreus murus vocatur. Sed ego a pago potius Sucusano puto Sucusam: nunc scribitur tertia littera C non B, Pagus Sucusanus, quod succurrit Carinis.* This *Tribe* received several Augmentations, in Proportion as *Rome* spread Eastward and Southward. The third *Tribe*, according to *Dion. Hal.* was the *Tribus Collina*, which then contained the Hills *Quirinalis* and *Viminalis*; and it was afterwards enlarged with the Hill of the Gardens, and the Ground that was added to the City Northward. *Tertia regionis colles ob quinque Deorum Fana appellati, equis nobiles duo colles, Viminalis a Jove Viminis, quod ibi ara fuit ejus, aut quod vimineta fuerunt, collis Quirinalis ubi Quirini sanum, aut a Curetibus, qui cum T. Tatius Curibus venerunt Romanam, quod ibi habuerunt castra.* Var. B. 4. de Ling. Lat. The fourth *Tribe*, according to *Dion. Hal.* was the *Tribus Esquilina*, which contained the Quarter of the *Esquilie*.

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ber of Burials, nor of Births, nor of such as had lately taken the *Toga Virilis*, (the Manly Gown,) might for the future be unknown, *Servius* made a Law, that on every Death a Piece of Money should be paid to the Temple of the Goddess *Libitina*¹⁵; another upon every Birth to the Temple of *Lucina*¹⁶; and another to the Temple of *Youth*¹⁷, as soon as any Person was passed the State of Childhood. By these different Pieces of Money, which were carefully preserved, the *Romans* annually reckoned the Number of their Citizens in general, and in particular of such as were able to bear Arms.



Brass



Brass



Brass

AND though no Regard was had to Slaves at *Rome*, yet the King extended his Care even to them. He ordered little wooden Oratories to be erected in all the Cross-ways of the several Quarters of the City, and dedicated them to the *Dii Compitales*, that is, *The Gods of the Cross-ways*, who were the same with the *Lares*. And *Servius* commanded that Slaves only should be Priests to these Gods, which he doubtless did, in order thereby to do Honour to his own first Condition.

¹⁵ The Office of the Goddess *Libitina*, was to preside at Funerals. According to *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Numa*, some confound her with *Proserpine*; but the same Author adds, that the most learned among the *Romans* did not distinguish her from *Venus*. From the Time of *Servius*, every Head of a Family carried a Piece of Money to her Temple, immediately after any one was dead in his House. By this means it was easy to know how many Persons died in *Rome* in a Year. Round this Temple; and in a Part of the City called *Libitina*, lived those who furnished all Necessaries for Funerals. People applied themselves for this Purpose to those Sorts of Men who were called in *Rome*, *Libitinarii*; and whose Office it was, according to *Servius's* Regulation, to receive the Piece of Money, and to provide every thing necessary for the Procession. The Business of those who were called *Pollinctores*, was to wash and perfume the dead Bodies. These were hired by, and were a sort of Domesticks to, the *Libitinarii*. Thus the same Goddess which gave Life, presided over Death, to shew, says *Plutarch*, that we are never born but to die. They, who had the Charge of the Treasure of the Temple of *Libitina*, took care to enter the Produce or Amount of every Year in a Book of Accounts which *Suetonius*, *ch. 39.* calls *Ratio Libitinae*; and *Eusebius*, *Chron. ad Ann. 2093.* gives it the Name of *Ephemeris*. And hence come the Phrases, *venire in rationem Libitinae*, in *Ephemeridem referri*, instead of the Verb *mori*. The Word *Libitina* it self had also different Significations. Sometimes it signified Death,

*Non omnis moriar, multaque pars mei
Vitabit Libitinam*——— Horace.

Sometimes it signified the Bed on which the Corps was carried to the Place of Burial, *Sidon. Ep. 11. 8.* *Acron in Val*; and sometimes it imported the Expences of the Burial, the Funeral Pomp, and the last Duties which were paid to the Dead.

¹⁶ In order to know exactly the Number of the Children which should be born in *Rome*, *Servius* commanded that a Piece of Money should be carried to the Temple of the Goddess *Lucina*, upon every Birth. *Lucina* was one of the Names of *Juno*, who was invoked when Women were in La-

bour. In a Medal of *Faustina the Younger*, we see a *Juno* holding a Child wrapt up in Swadling-clothes on her left Arm, and with a Child on each Side of her. On a Medal of *Lucilia*, we have a *Juno Lucina* holding a Flower, or, as others, a *Wreath*, the Symbol of Fruitfulness and easy Labours. Such were the superstitious Prejudices of the *Roman Women*, that they suffered the *Luperci* (who ran about the City with Whips in their Hands) to lash them in order thereby to obtain a happy Delivery. Thus *Ovid*,

*Nupta quid expectas? Non tu pollentibus heris,
Nec prece, nec magico carmine, mater eris.
Excipe secundæ patienter verbera dextra:
Jam socer optati nomen habebit avi.* Fast.

Some Authors have thought, that the Church at *Rome*, which now bears the Title of *St. Laurence*, in *Lucina*, was formerly a Temple dedicated to *Juno Lucina*.

¹⁷ This Goddess was called *Juventus*, or rather *Juventas*. When any one came to be seventeen Years of Age, or took the *Toga virilis*, he was obliged to carry a Piece of Money to the Goddess *Juventas's* Box. By this means, the Number of those who were able to bear Arms was exactly known. Men commenced Soldiers at seventeen. On the Reverse of a Medal, struck in Honour of *Marcus Aurelius*, when he was only *Caesar*, is the Goddess of *Youth*, before a portable Altar, holding a *Patera* in her left Hand.

¹⁸ We here ascribe the Institution of the *Compitalitia*, or Festival of the *Dii Compitales*, instituted in Honour of the *Lares*, to *Servius*; tho' some carry it higher, and ascribe it to *Tarquin the Elder*. It is true, the Accident which afterwards gave Occasion to the Honour done to the *Dii Lares* by the Slaves, happened in the Reign of *Servius's* Predecessor on the Throne: And yet it can scarce be denied, that the *Compitalitia* was first thought on by *Servius*. Besides that *Dion. Hal.* says as much, *B. 4. Antiq. Rom. Pliny, B. 36. c. 2.* says it expressly, in these Words: *Ita Servium natum, qui regno successit, Inde in regia puer ocubanti, caput arsisse visum, creditumque Laris familiaris filium, ob id compitalitia Ludos primus Laribus instituisse.*



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But however that be, it's certain these domestick Gods of the *Romans*¹⁹ had their own particular Festival, which was celebrated a little²⁰ after that of the *Saturnalia*. Then the Slaves came and offered these Gods, their Protectors, Cakes, which they collected in the Neighbourhood: and this Festival was solemnized²¹ with a great deal of Magnificence. The Masters gave their Slaves rest from all their Labours, on this Day; and by this Act of Humanity endeared them to their Service.

§. IX. THAT likewise an equal Order might be established throughout all the *Roman* State, *Servius* applied himself to regulating the Country in the same manner as he had done the City. Though the Lands of the *Romans* were well cultivated, yet they had but few Villages in their Districts. The Houses in the Country were all single, and at a distance from one another, every Man having built his own House upon his own Lands. So that the Peasants had no fixed Places to which they belonged, and whither they might have Recourse for Justice and Protection: And Religion, which is the Bond of Polity, suffered by this general Dispersion of Families, which were scattered all over the Country, and had no manner of Relation to, or Dependence upon, one another. *Servius* therefore corrected this Disorder. He divided²² the whole *Roman* Territory into fifteen Tribes,

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Venonius Ap.
Dion. Hal.
B. 4. p. 220.

¹⁹ The *Lares* were thought by the Pagans to be the tutelar Gods of Publick Places, of Cross-ways, of Houses, of Roads, and of Fields. So that they were honoured under different Titles and Representations, according to the Difference of the Places which were put under their Protection. The domestick *Lares*, or *Familiares*, who guarded Houses, were antiently represented under the Figure of a Dog, the Symbol of Fidelity; as we learn from *Plautus*, in his *Aulularia*. And for the same Reason *Plutarch* assures us, *Quæst. Rom.* 50. that the Images of the *Dii Lares* were always covered with the Skin of a Dog, and had the Figure of this domestick Animal standing by them. Thus in a Medal of the *Cælian* Family, we see two of these *Lares* with a Dog at their Feet. Over them is the Head of a *Vulcan*, which represents the Hearth, the Care of which was committed to the domestick *Lares*, according to *Ovid*;

*At canis ante pedes Saxo fabricatus eodem
Stabat, quæ standi cum Lare causa fuit.
Servat uterque domum, domino quoque fidus uterq;
Pervigilantque Lares, pervigilatque canis.*

Fast. 2.

An antient Stone has this Inscription; *LARIBUS. PRO SALUTE. ET. INCOLUMITATE DOMUS. Q. SERTORII.* The Offerings made to these Gods were Incense, Wine, and Flowers; and sometimes Hog was sacrificed in Honour to them.

*Si thure placaris & horna
Fruge Lares, avidaque Porca.* Horace.

The Cross-Ways, and High Roads, had likewise their own *Lares*; and so had Cities too, as appears by this antient Inscription, *Lares civitatis Puteolani*. Hence the different Epithets given them, of *Lares Publici*, *Lares Rurales*, and *Lares Viales*; whose different Offices *Ovid* gives us a particular Account of, in his 2d Book of *Fasti*. Those who were called *Lares Permarini*, were plainly appointed to take care of Shipping. Besides which *Festus* speaks of another Sort of *Lares*, whom he calls *Hostilii*, quod ab his hostes arceri putabant. And there was yet another Sort of *Lares*, called *Grun-*

diles, which *Romulus* set up in Memory of the Sow that farrowed thirty Pigs at once.

²⁰ Tho' this Festival of the *Compitalia* was celebrated in *January*; yet the Day of it was not fixed: it belonged to the *Prætor* to appoint it.

*Et nunquam certis redemptia festa diebus,
Cum sua per vicos compita quisque colit.*

Auson. Id. 7. l. 25.

²¹ In the Celebration of this Festival, every Slave set up his Post in the Cross-ways, and hung as many Images upon it, as there were free Persons in the Family to which he belonged. And when the Slaves had obtained their Liberty, they hung up their Chains to the *Dii Lares*.

²² If the Passage in *Dion. Hal.* which answers to this in our History, be to be understood in the Sense *Bessarion* fixes upon it, we must say the Country belonging to the *Romans* was divided into thirty-one Tribes, and not into fifteen. The Sense of *Bessarion's* Translation is this. *Venonius reports*, that *Servius Tullius* divided the Country into thirty-one Tribes; so that if we add the four City-Tribes to them, the Number of the Whole will be thirty-five, which Number continues to this Day. But it unluckily falls out, that this is an uncertain Interpretation of the Text, and would mislead the Reader. It will indeed hereafter appear, that the Number of the Tribes was increased afterwards, and came at last to thirty-five. But with respect to *Servius Tullius*, it is more probable, that he only divided the Country, as it was in his Time, into fifteen Tribes; and consequently, that the City-Tribes and Country-ones together, were then but nineteen in all. And the Reader need only have Recourse to *Livy* and *Florus*, to satisfy himself, that this is not purely an arbitrary Supposition. They both assure us, that some new Tribes were added to the old ones in the two hundred and fifty-eighth Year of *Rome*: and that then the whole Number of them was but twenty-one. And therefore it cannot be true, as some pretend, that there were seventeen rural Tribes, which, added to the four City-Tribes, made the Number of the whole twenty-one, so early as in the Time of *Servius*.

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which, with the four *Tribes* in the City, made the whole Number of them nineteen: And by this wise Institution, he provided for the Safety of the Husbandmen. Before his Time, as oft as an Enemy made any Inroads into the *Roman* Territory, these single Houses being entirely defenceless, their Inhabitants were exposed to Plunder and Captivity. He therefore commanded, that there should be at least one Place of Refuge in every *Tribes*, which should be situated on a steep Hill, and be strong enough for the Peasants to secure their Effects and Persons in it, upon sudden Alarms. And this was the Origin of Villages in *Italy*; each of which had its own particular Temple, its tutelary God, and its Magistrates. The Festival of these rural Gods²³ was annually celebrated by Sacrifices common to the whole *Tribes*: and the Concourse of People at it was exceeding great. And therefore *Servius* settled the Order and Ceremonies which should be observed at it, by Laws which subsisted ever after. He commanded that at these annual Assemblies in the Town, to which every Person in the *Tribes*, without Exception, was to repair, every one should pay a particular Piece of Money for himself. The Men, Women, Boys, and Girls, were all obliged to pay this Piece of Money into the Hands of the Priest of the Town; which Money was different, according to the Age and Sex of the Person that paid it. After this, these Pieces were reckoned up, and thereby an exact Computation was made, how many Men, Women, and Children there were in each *Tribes*: And, according to this Computation, the *Militia* and the Taxes of the Countrey were levied.

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S. X. IN the mean time, the Grandchildren of *Tarquin* advanced in Years. *Servius* had indeed brought up these dear Wards with all the Care and Tenderness of a Father: and he now had thoughts of securing their Fidelity to him, by allying them to his Family and Person by a double Marriage. His Wife *Tarquinius* had brought him only two Daughters, and their Manners and Inclinations were very different. The elder *Tullia* was naturally of a good-natured and tractable Disposition, was upright of Heart, and had a Taste for Virtue. Having always behaved herself like a dutiful Child, she continued to have an immovable Affection for the King her Father, after she was married. Though she was not utterly unaffected with the Charms of Grandeur, yet she had always a greater Love for her Duty. Her Ambition, which was often roused by her Husband's Earnestness to obtain the Throne, always kept itself within the Bounds of Respect and Equity. On the contrary, the younger *Tullia*, her Sister, was born with a furious Inclination to Vice. She was haughty and imperious, and loved to govern, for no other Reason but to make herself feared. And as all her Passions were upon the Extremes, her Ambition had no Bounds. She had no Sentiments of Humanity in her to soften the Barbarity of her Heart. And in short, if she did not carry her Incontinence to notorious Excesses, it was her Pride only that set any Bounds to her violent Love of Pleasure.

ON the other Hand, the two young Princes, Grandchildren to the late King, were as unlike one another in their Affections and Dispositions, as each of them was like one of the Daughters of King *Servius*. *Tarquin*, the eldest, had something unaccountably savage and turbulent in his Nature. You might read his great Opinion of himself, and the Contempt he had for all the rest of Mankind, in his Forehead. He was transported with violent Desires of Glory, but seemed never perfectly to enjoy the Pleasures of it, unless he had acquired it by some Crime. He made Honour to consist, not in the Esteem which Virtue procures, but in the Superiority which the highest Station gives one Man over others. And he therefore sighed after the Throne, without troubling himself about those good Qualities, which make Men worthy of it. His Brother *Arms* seemed more inclined to content himself with the sweet Enjoyments of a private Life, than to burden himself with the painful Cares of Government. But the Tranquillity of his Mind did not so much proceed from a Want of

²³ These Festivals were called *Paganalia*, and were celebrated in *January*, when all the Labours of the Countrymen for that Year were over. It is true this Festival is not set down in the ancient *Roman* Calendar; but that might be, because it was not celebrated in the City. *Ovid*, as well as *Dion*.

Hal. makes mention of them, in the first Book of his *Fasts*.

*Pagus agat festum, pagum illustrat coloni,
Et date Paganis annua liba socis.*

Weakness of Genius, as from the Indolence of a lazy and timorous Disposition. He was naturally peaceable, without being stupid; and by a Refinement of Self-Love, he stifled in its Birth every Wish that had the least Tincture of Ambition.

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SERVIVS had studied the Inclinations of his two Pupils, and knew the Character of his two Daughters. And in order therefore to match them properly, he thought it necessary to give his elder Daughter to *Tarquin*, and the younger to *Arunx*. He, by this means, not only married them according to their Ages, but hoped, that the elder *Tullia's* sweet Disposition would temper *Tarquin's* Impetuosity; and the younger *Tullia's* Vivacity rouse the Indolence of *Arunx*. Accordingly, the wise King's Project succeeded for a while; but in time, all these just Measures were disconcerted by those violent Passions of the Great, Incontinence and Ambition. We shall in a few Years see the incestuous Combination of a cruel Woman, with an ambitious Man, prove fatal to *Servius*; who, tho' he foresaw the Consequences of it, yet could not avoid them.

§.XI. WHILEST the Royal Family was rejoicing in this double Marriage, the *Hetrurians* were making Preparations for a new War with the *Romans*. The twelve *Lucumonies* had not yet engaged with *Servius*, in a national Body. The *Veientes* indeed first, and after them the Inhabitants of *Cere* and *Tarquiniæ*, had been conquered; and the King had triumphed over them twice: but now all *Hetruria* rose up together, to shake off the *Roman* Yoke. Nevertheless, as the Historians have been more careful to give us an Account of *Servius Tullius's* political Virtues, than of his Battels; we only know that he fought several, but always with the same Nation, *viz.* with the *Hetrurians*, and always with Success: till at length these inveterate Enemies of the *Roman* Name were forced to submit to the Will of their Conqueror. Being tired out with a War, in which they had always been unsuccessful, they assembled a general Council of the Deputies of all the *Lucumonies*, as they had done in *Tarquin's* Time: and the Resolutions which were taken in it, were to submit to *Servius* on the same Conditions, on which they had submitted to his Predecessor. All *Hetruria* therefore joined in sending Embassadors to *Rome*, who by their Supplications prevailed on the *Romans* to re-establish them in their Rights, and preserve the antient Government of their Country, only reserving to themselves the Sovereignty over the Conquered. As for the first Aggressors, they continued still to be deprived of their Estates, which had been taken from them, and distributed among the Citizens of *Rome*: where a War, which brought so much Glory to the King, and had been carried on between whiles, for twenty Years, was crowned with a third Triumph, which the People decreed for *Servius Tullius*. We know the Day on which he triumphed, but know not either the Month or Year. It was on the third of the *Nones* . . . . . but the Injuries of Time have robbed us of the rest of this *Epocha*; it being entirely effaced out of the Marble on which it was recorded.

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§.XII. SERVIVS being thus disengaged from the Trouble of a long and difficult War, returned immediately to the Pursuit of the political Schemes he had formed. It was about this time ²⁴ that he put in execution that Master-piece of Policy, which *Rome* received and made use of ever after, and which established a perpetual Order and Regularity in all the Members of the State, with respect to Wars, the publick Revenues, and the Suffrages of the *Comitia*. This Institution, which was of such great Use to the *Romans*, was called *Census*; and the Magistrates who presided over it, after the *Kings*, and some of the *Consuls*, were called *Censores* ²⁵. But the Word *Census* did not originally signify, as it is generally understood to do,

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<sup>24</sup> It seems to me probable, that *Servius Tullius* did not establish the *Census*, or general Survey of the *Romans*, till after he had entirely finished his War with the *Hetrurians*. The Reasons which convince me of it, are these: 1<sup>st</sup>, *Livy* does not speak of the *Roman Census*, till after *Servius's* War with the *Hetrurians*. Nevertheless, as this War was renewed three times, and *Livy* does not sufficiently distinguish these three different Renewals of the War with the *Hetrurians*, his Testimony is not decisive. I considered that, according to the *Fasti Capitolini*, *Servius* kept only four *Lustra*, which were renewed every five Years; and that these *Lustra*

were made at the same time as the Survey. From whence I concluded, that *Servius* lived but a little more than twenty Years, after he instituted the first *Census*. And I have therefore placed this first *Census* about twenty Years before his Death.

<sup>25</sup> In the time of the *Kings*, and the first *Consuls*, there were no *Censores* at *Rome*. They did not begin till the three hundred and tenth Year of *Rome*. Then the *Consuls* discharged themselves of the Trouble, of taking care of making an Estimate of all the Estates of the Citizens, and created Magistrates for that Purpose, under the Name of *Censores*. We shall say more of them in a proper Place.



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an Enumeration or mustering of all the Subjects of the *Roman* State; it at first only imported an Estimate or Valuation of Estates. The *Romans* had indeed been, from the Time of *Romulus* to their sixth King, utterly ignorant of the private Possessions of their People. So that the publick Supplies were raised by Taxes equally laid upon all the People, at so much a Head, without any Distinction of Rich and Poor. Whence it likewise followed, that when Levies were raised for the War, the Rich and the Poor were all equally obliged to take the Field, according to the Order of the *Tribe*. And as those who then served in the Army, did it at their own Expence, and neither received Advance-Money nor Pay, it from hence often happened, that those of the poorer sort were not able to bear the Burden of a Campaign, and support the Expence of it. Besides, as the most indigent of the People saw themselves burdened with the same Taxes as the Rich paid; they therefore pretended to an equal Authority in the *Comitia*. So that, the Elections of Kings and Magistrates, the Decision of Affairs of Peace and War, and the Judgment of Criminals, were given up into the Hands of a vile Populace, who were easy to be corrupted, and had nothing to lose.

*Arist. & Plut.  
in Vit. Solon.*

ALL these Inconveniences in the Government of *Rome*, *Servius Tullius* saw, and took proper Measures to provide against them. Whether he was the Inventor of the Law, which established Order and Distinction among the *Roman* Subjects, or whether he borrowed it from the *Greeks*, is uncertain: it is at least plain, that *Solon* had done the same thing at *Athens*, which *Servius* was now doing at *Rome*. The King began with enacting a Law, all the Consequences of which were not foreseen by the Publick. It required all the Citizens of *Rome* to bring in an Account in Writing, of their own Names and Ages, and of those of their Fathers, Wives, and Children. It commanded every Head of a Family to deliver in upon Oath the Value of his Effects, upon a just Computation; and to add to it the Place of his Residence, whether in the City or Country: and this, upon pain of suffering a severe Punishment, if they disobeyed. Whoever did not bring in an Account of his Effects, was to have them confiscated to the Use of the Publick; and the Man himself was first to be beaten with Rods, and then set up to publick Sale, and reduced to Slavery.

*Dion. Hal.  
B. 4. p. 221.*

By these particular Accounts, which might be pretty well relied on, and which all the Inhabitants, both of City and Country, gave him, *Servius* undertook to divide those who were richest from such as were only in moderate Circumstances; and these latter, from such as were poor. His View, in this Division, was to make the greatest Part of the Burden of the publick Taxes fall on those who were in the best Circumstances, and to ease those of it, who were not in a Condition to bear it: Whilst, on the other hand, he proposed to make the Rich amends, for the heavy Taxes which would be laid upon them, by Honours and Prerogatives. So that every Inconvenience being balanced with some Advantage, he hoped that the Rich would make no scruple of sacrificing a Part of their Riches to the new Distinctions they were to receive; and that the Poor would readily give up that Equality of Rank, for their Interest, which had hitherto confounded them and the Rich together. Nor was the wise King deceived in his Expectations; for no body so much as murmured at these Regulations. The manner in which he divided the whole Multitude of his Citizens, whether in *Rome*, or the Country-*Tribes*, was this.

\* *Arbuthnot.*

§. XIII. *SERVIVS* divided all the *Roman* People into six *Classes*: and as all the Soldiery was to be raised out of them, he appointed them offensive and defensive Arms, according to their Dignity and Pre-eminence. The first *Class* consisted of those, whose Estates in Land and Effects were worth at least an hundred thousand *Asses* of Brass<sup>26</sup>, according to the *Latin* Way of computing, or ten thousand *Drachmæ*, according to the *Greek*; that is, five thousand *French Livres*, [or three hundred fourteen Pounds, eleven Shillings and eight Pence \* *English*.] This would have been no considerable Sum in our Time; but it was so in a rising City.

<sup>26</sup> Antient Authors differ about the Estate it was necessary to have, in order to be admitted into this first Class. *Pliny*, B. 33. *Nat. Hist.* says, a Man must have been worth 110000 *Asses* of Brass, and *Aulus Gellius*, B. 7. 125000. We have followed

*Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* who agree in the Sum, tho' one reckons after the *Latin* manner, and the other after the *Greek*. The *As* of Brass weighed a Pound, which consisted of 12 Ounces.



which was yet a Stranger to Commerce. This first *Class* was sub-divided into fourscore *Centuries*, or Companies of Foot, consisting of an hundred Men each; forty of which Companies were made up of young Men; that is, of such as were from seventeen to forty-five Years of Age, who alone were obliged to take the Field, and make War abroad: and the other forty Companies of the same Class were old Men; that is, such as were past forty-five: whose only Duty was to defend the City in case of an Attack. The Mark of Distinction given to this Body of Infantry, which consisted of the Richest of the *Romans*, was their Armour, which was an oval Buckler after the *Greek* Fashion, an Helmet, and a Cuirass, and *Cuisses* of Brass; and their Weapons were a short Javelin and a Sword. To these fourscore *Centuries* of Foot, *Servius* joined eighteen *Centuries* of *Roman* Knights, who never fought but on Horseback. Till this sixth King of *Rome's* Time, the *Romans* had had but six *Centuries* of Knights<sup>27</sup>. *Romulus* had instituted only three, and *Tarquin the First* had doubled them. But *Servius* added twelve new *Centuries* to the *Roman* Horse, and appointed that this considerable Body should be at the Head of the Class of the Rich: because, doubtless, the Estates of these Knights exceeded the Sum necessary for being admitted into this first *Class*. But tho' they were rich, yet the Publick supplied them with Horses: and a Tax was laid on Widows, who were exempt from all other Contributions, for maintaining their Horses. So that this first *Class*, including Infantry and Cavalry together, consisted of ninety-eight *Centuries*, that is, nine thousand eight hundred Men.

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*Tubero Cit. ab  
Aul. Gel. B. 10.*

*Livy, B. 1.*

THE second *Class* comprehended those *Romans*, whose Estates were valued at least at 75000 *Asses* of Brass, or 7600 *Drachmæ*. It was divided into twenty *Centuries* of Soldiers, all Foot; and no Horse were added to them. Ten of these *Centuries* were young Men, and ten old. And to them were joined two other<sup>28</sup> *Centuries* of Carpenters, Locksmiths, and other Artificers for the Engines of War; so that the second *Class* contained in all twenty-two *Centuries*. Those of this *Class* had almost the same Armour with those of the former; the only Difference was, that they had no Cuirass, and had a square Buckler instead of an oval one. Their Weapons were the same, *viz.* the little Javelin and the Sword.

*Dion. Hal.  
B. 4. lib. 1.  
L. s. d.  
235, 18, 9.  
Arbutnot.*

IN the third *Class* were those, who were esteemed worth at least 50000 *Asses*, or, which amounts to the same, 5000 *Drachmæ*. These wore no Armour but the Helmet and square Buckler; but they fought as the others did, with the short Javelin and Sword.

*L. s. d.  
157, 5, 10.  
Arbutnot.*

THE fourth *Class* consisted of such as were thought worth at least 25000 *Asses*, or 2500 *Drachmæ*. They were divided into twenty *Centuries*, old and young; and in this *Class* were included two other<sup>29</sup> *Centuries* of Trumpets and Drums; that is, they furnished the whole Army with them. The Soldiers of this *Class* had no defensive Arms but a square Buckler; their offensive ones were the Sword<sup>30</sup> and Javelin.

*L. s. d.  
78, 12, 11.  
Arbutnot.*

<sup>27</sup> I don't think the three hundred Horse, which *Romulus* took for his Guard, and called *Celeres*, ought to be included in these six *Centuries* of *Roman* Horse. *Numa* had suppressed them; but the other Kings had re-established them: and they were looked on as Troops belonging to the King's Household. There were other Horse in the *Roman* Armies, besides these *Celeres*. The *Roman* Knights were perpetual, and had their Horses given them by the Publick, as a Mark of Distinction.

<sup>28</sup> *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* disagree with regard to the Artificers. The one places them in the first Class, the other in the second. But *Dion. Hal.* seems to have most Reason on his Side. There were never reckoned more than ninety-eight *Centuries* in the first Class; whereas they must have been a hundred, if these two *Centuries* of Workmen were added to them.

<sup>29</sup> I here differ from *Livy*. This Author places these military Musicians only in the first Class; whereas I have followed *Dion. Hal.* and put them in the fourth. The *Greek* Historian seems to me a better Guide than the *Latin* one, in any of his Enu-

merations relating to the *Roman Census*. And another Difference between these two Authors, is this; that *Livy* adds to these two *Centuries* of Drums and Trumpets, a third consisting of those whom he calls *Accensi*. And it is a Question, who were meant by that Word, and what their Functions were. According to *Sextus Pompeius*, they were Men who were always ready to supply the vacant Places in any of the *Centuries*, and were a sort of Recruits, consisting of such Persons, as were ambitious of being incorporated into one or other of the Classes. But, according to *Varro*, the Word *Accensi* signifies Men chosen out to be *Aid-de-Camps* to the Generals and *Tribunes*, to disperse their Orders through the Army. And, which Opinion forever of the two we follow, it is scarce probable, that they should have made a separate *Century*: and therefore *Dion. Hal.* makes no mention of any such *Century*.

<sup>30</sup> Instead of the Sword, *Livy* gives this fourth Class the *Pennum*, a sort of Javelin, which, according to *Polybius*, was three Cubits long. It was square, and pretty much like a Spit.



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\* 39, 6, 5 1.  
Aul. Gel.  
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Livy, B. 1.  
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IN the fifth *Class* were included those whose whole Substance did not amount to more than 12500 \* *Asses*, or 1250 *Drachmæ*. They were divided into thirty *Centuries*, fifteen old, and fifteen young. They were not suffered to wear any Armour, and their only Weapons were Slings and Darts.

THE sixth *Class* comprehended all those who were neither born to any Estate, nor were worth so much as the Soldiers of the fifth *Class*. They were a great while exempted both from paying Taxes, and going to the War. The Number of them was so great, as to exceed any of the other *Classes*.

By this Enumeration it is clear that the *Roman* People were, in *Servius's* Time, divided into an hundred and ninety three *Centuries*, reckoning the whole sixth *Class* as but one *Century*. In short, after many Enquiries, it appeared, that the Number of Men who were capable of bearing Arms amounted to eighty four thousand, <sup>31</sup> seven hundred. But then it must be observed, that according to this Calculation, the *Centuries*, especially those of the five inferior *Classes*, must have contained more than an hundred Men each.

§. XIV. THE wise King drew all the Advantages from these Regulations, which he had expected from them. The first *Class* being the most numerous, at least as to the Number of *Centuries* in it, from thence were taken the greatest Number of Soldiers, and the greatest Supplies of Money for the publick Use.

THE Levies for the Army were no longer raised by *Tribes*; nor were the Taxes laid as formerly, at so much a Head, without Distinction: all was levied by *Centuries*. When, for instance, an Army of 20000 Men, or a Million of Money, was wanted for the War, every *Century* furnished its *Quantum* both of Men and Money. So that the first *Class*, which had more *Centuries*, though fewer Men in it, than all the other *Classes* taken together, furnished out more Men and Money for the publick Use, than all the rest of the *Roman* State. And by this means, the *Roman* Armies consisted for the most part of the rich Citizens of *Rome*; who having Lands and Effects to preserve, their Interest made them the more brave in Engagements; and their Riches enabled them easily to bear the Expence of a Campaign, for which they had no other Recompence, but the Esteem which naturally attends Valour. Hence it is, that every *Roman* is said to have been born a Soldier: because he came into the World under an Obligation to serve in the Army at the Age of seventeen, if the Lot fell upon him, in his *Century*.

HOWEVER, it was but just that the King should make the first *Class* amends for the Weight he laid upon it: and therefore *Servius* gave it almost the whole Authority in publick Affairs. To his Time, the important Affairs of the State had been determined by the People in the *Comitia*, that is, in Assemblies to which all the *Curia* were summoned. Every Citizen had a Right of Suffrage in them, and every one in reality gave his Vote. So that the Mob often prevailed in them, because the most numerous Part of the People. But *Servius* changed these *Comitia* by *Curia*, into *Comitia* by *Centuries*: in which the Majority was not reckoned by single Persons, but by *Centuries*, how few soever there might be in a *Century*. And consequently, as the first *Class* was divided into more *Centuries* than all the rest of the State, almost all Decisions must therefore be made by that *Class* only. But if this *Class* of the Rich, who were first called into the Place <sup>32</sup> where they gave their Votes, disagreed among themselves, then the second, the third, and so on to the other *Classes*, were called to vote, according

<sup>31</sup> I here again prefer *Dion. Hal.*'s Authority to *Livy's*. The latter makes the Number of Men to be in all only 80000. But he had no Authority for it but hear-say: Whereas the *Greek* Historian quotes the antient Tables of the *Censors*, in his Favour. This is indeed a great Number of fighting Men for a rising City; and yet all that innumerable Populace, who were not rich enough to be incorporated in one of the five *Classes*, is not comprehended in this Calculation.

<sup>32</sup> It is proper to explain here, once for all, the manner in which the *Romans* gave their Suffrages in the *Comitia*, in the first Ages of *Rome*. When

the Assembly had been summoned by the Head of the Republick, whether *Consul* or *Dictator*, &c. and the Day had been fixed for it, some time before; if the *Augur* brought no Obstruction to their meeting from Religion, the People met in the *Campus Martius* for the *Comitia* by *Centuries*; or in the *Forum Romanum* for the *Comitia* by *Curia*. There the *Consul* ascended *The Tribune*, and from thence stated the Affair to the People; in which they were desired to give their Votes. After this the *Classes*, according to their Order, or the *Curia* by Lot, were brought into a Place enclosed with Stakes, like a Sheepfold. Inasmuch that it was sometimes



to their Order. Though it never once happened, that even the fourth *Class* was ever called in to vote. The Affair was almost always determined by the 98 *Centuries* of the first *Class*, which were more in Number by three, than the *Centuries* of all the other *Classes* taken together. So that by this good Order *Servius* brought the Affairs of the publick to be determined by the Judgment of the most considerable Citizens; who were doubtless much better able to judge of them than a Populace, who never know much of what they are about, and are seldom capable of any Sentiments or Impressions of Equity and Honour.

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§. XV. AND now that the State was thus prudently divided into different Orders of Men, this Regulation well deserved to be solemnized by some publick Act of Religion, that it might be the more respected, and the more lasting. The King therefore published an Edict, commanding all the Citizens who were comprehended in the new *Census*, to repair to the *Campus Martius*, on a Day appointed, upon pain of Death. And the *Roman* Knights<sup>33</sup> had Orders to come thither on Horseback, and under Arms. The Foot marched thither by *Classes*, with the new Arms which had been distributed among them. So that all the Forces of *Rome* appeared early in the Morning in that vast Plain, which *Acca Laurentia* is said to have given to the *Roman* People, and which *Romulus* had consecrated to *Mars*. It lay close by *Rome*, between the City and the *Tyber*. There the *Centuries* were drawn up in Order of Battle, according to *Servius's* new Division of the People; and then three Victims crowned with Flowers, and adorned with Garlands, were led with great State through all the Ranks. These were a Bull, a Ram, and a Boar-Pig, <sup>34</sup> perfect Males, to shew the masculine Courage of the *Roman* People. They were offered up in Sacrifice to *Mars*, and the whole Ceremony was called \* *Lustrum*; most probably from the Name of the Goddess *Lua*<sup>35</sup>, whom *Servius* honoured in a particular manner, and to whom he had dedicated a Temple. She was invoked in all Expiations, and when People had settled their Accounts, and paid their Debts. So then because

\* *A. L. cudo.*  
*Tacit. Annal.*  
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sometimes called *Ovile*, tho' more frequently *Septim*. They went into it one by one, through a very narrow Passage, between two Rails; and this Passage was called *Pons*, or *the Bridge*. At the Door of this inclosed Place, stood a Person to take every Man's Vote: Which Votes, for the first 619 Years of *Rome*, were always given by Word of Mouth, in the Words *Uti Rogas*, for the affirmative; and *Antiquo* for the Negative. But in order to understand the Meaning of these Words, it must be supposed that the *Comitia* were assembled for three Things: 1st. For the making of some Law. 2dly. To pass Judgment on a Citizen accused of some capital Crime, concerning which he had appealed to the People. And, 3dly. To elect Magistrates. When the Business was that of passing a Law, or judging a Criminal, the *Consul*, in an Harangue he made to the People, before they went into the *Septim*, explained to them the Reasons for and against that Law, and the Proofs for and against the Criminal. And then concluded either for the making or rejecting that Law; and either for condemning or absolving the accused: And this Conclusion of his Speech was called *Rogatio*. So that the Words *Uti Rogas* signified, *Let it be as you have determined*; and the Word *Antiquo* imported, *I annul or refuse to accept of what the Consul asks*. In the Election of Magistrates, the People only repeated the Name of him for whom they voted, at the Gate of the *Septim*, and then went into it. Whilst the Scribes marked down the Number of Votes for and against; which were afterwards reckoned up, and according to the Majority of them, the Law was accepted or refused, the Accused was condemned or absolved, and the Candidates for the Magistracy obtained or lost it. But afterwards the People did not give their Votes by Word of Mouth, but by little Tables of Wood, on which were written the Letters *U. R.* for *Uti Rogas*, and *A.* for *Antiquo*. One of these they gave to Persons who stood at the Gate of the Voting-Place, and gathered them into Baskets, and counted the Numbers of

them. In the Election of Magistrates, every Voter had as many of these little Tables given him as there were Candidates, and the Names of the Candidates were written on them. Then every one delivered up that, at the Gate of the Voting-Place, on which was written the Name of the Candidate for whom he voted; and the Candidate who had most Ballots succeeded. The other Forms observed in the *Comitia*, will be spoken of in their proper Place.

33 The *Roman* Knights were the first in Rank in the *Comitia*, being always at the Head of the first *Class*. They voted first, and consequently went first into the Voting-Place.

34 This Sacrifice of the *Roman Lustrum* was called in the Pontifical Law, *Suovetaurilia*: A Word which comprehends the three Sorts of Animals which were offered up in the Ceremony of the *Lustrum*; *Su* signifying a Pig, *Ove* a Ram, and *Taurilia* a Bull. It may indeed be imagined that it was a Sheep which was then offered up, because the Word *Ove* seems to signify as much. But besides that it is known to have been always a Ram, the Word *Ove* is here a general Term, which includes the Male of the Species. The Name of *Suovetaurilia* was likewise given to this Sacrifice, because, says *Festus*, only such Males were offered up in it as had not been cut, *Solida animalia*.

35 *Justus Lipsius*, in his *Commentaries on Tacitus*, has brought this Goddess to Light again, who had been lost thro' the Ignorance of Editors. *Tacitus* says, that *Servius Tullius* dedicated an Altar to the Goddess *Lua*. But the Editors, neither understanding the Word, nor knowing who the Goddess was, changed the Word *Lua*, of their own Heads, into *Luna*, and gave us to understand that the King built a Temple to *the Moon*. But *Lua* was the Goddess to whom the Sacrifice of the *Lustrum* was offered; or at least, she, being the Goddess of Expiations, was most concerned in it. From hence the *Lustrum* had its Name, as *Lua* took hers from the Verb *Luo*.



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every one on that Day paid his Proportion of the Tax laid on his *Century*, there-fore the whole Ceremony was called *Lustrum*<sup>36</sup>. This Festival returned only once in five Years, because it always followed, and was the Close of the *Census*, or Valuation of the Effects of every *Roman*. *Servius* enjoined, that every five Years, a new Estimate should be taken of the Estates of all Families, and the People numbered anew. He thought that in this Space of Time there might be Alterations enough in the Fortunes of private Persons, to entitle some to be raised to an higher *Class*, and to reduce others to a lower one. And from that Time<sup>37</sup>, the *Romans* began to compute Time by *Lustra*, as the *Greeks* did by *Olympiads*. Nevertheless, the *Lustra* were not always afterwards regularly enough observed, at the Time appointed by the Institutor of them; and sometimes the *Lustrum* was deferred, tho' the *Census* had been regularly made in the fifth Year. All that was inviolably observed concerning it was this, that the Ceremony of the *Lustrum* was always performed<sup>38</sup> in the *Campus Martius*.

It is likewise not improbable, that *Servius Tullius* at this Time coined the first Money which appear'd at *Rome*. All agree, that the *Romans* had never seen any stamped Money, before their sixth King, or at least none stamped by publick Authority, and to be used in Trade. Before *Servius's* Time Lead and Brass were taken in Payments only by Weight<sup>39</sup>; for as to Gold and Silver, they were not made into Money till long after. The Circumstance of the Animals then, which were the Victims offered up in the Sacrifice of the *Lustrum*, might perhaps lead the King to stamp the Impression of an Ox, Ram, and Boar<sup>40</sup>, on Pieces of Brass of a certain Weight; in order thereby to facilitate the Payment of the Taxes, and save the Trouble of continually having Recourse to the Scales. It's certain, this Money was called *Pecunia*, from the Word *Pecus*, [which signifies *Cattle*;] and the Impressions on these Pieces made the *Romans* give the general Name of *Pecunia* to all the Money they then had: A Name which continued to be given to all Coins, when the Impressions on them were changed into nobler Figures.

§. XVI. THE Government of the City being thus established in so regular a manner, the next thing was to guard against Inconveniencies from the great Concourse of People, which so wise an Establishment might naturally draw, from all Parts of *Italy*. Hitherto all Strangers had been indiscriminately admitted to the Privilege of Citizens, whom either the Glory of the *Romans*, or their own Interest, had engaged to come and reside at *Rome*. And the Addition which

<sup>36</sup> *Varro* derives this Word from the Verb *luere*, which signifies to *expiate*, *cleanse*, or *purify*: Perhaps either for the Reason given in the Body of the History, or because the Sacrifice which was offered up in the *Lustrum*, served to *expiate* the Mistakes that might have been made in the Valuation of Peoples Effects, and the Enumeration which had been given in. Certainly the Origin which *Livy* gives to the Word *Lustrum*, is unintelligible. His Words are: *Idque conditum lustrum, quia in censendo finis factus est*. It is past all Doubt, that the *Lustrum* was not so called, because it was the last Act of the *Roman Census*.

<sup>37</sup> It is true the *Romans* reckoned their Ages by *Lustra*. I have already lived, said a Man, so many *Lustra*. But after all, it is not a sure Way to set down the Years of an History by *Lustra*. It often happened that the *Lustrum* did not immediately follow the *Census*, which was taken every five Years. This *Livy* declares, B. 3. in these Words: *Census actus eo anno. Lustrum propter Capitolium captum & Consulem occisum conditum religiosum erat*. So that we don't find there were any *Lustra* at *Rome* without *Census's*, but there were sometimes *Census's* without *Lustra*. We likewise find, that the *Census* of the *Romans* was not taken exactly every five Years.

<sup>38</sup> We are not to think that the *Census* of the People, and the Ceremony of the *Lustrum*, which was the Close of it, were always performed in the same Place. It generally happened, that the *Census* was made within the Walls of the City, in that

Part of the *Forum*, which was called *Comitium*. But as for the *Lustrum*, we don't find any Instance of its being performed any where but in the *Campus Martius*, which was without the City. The great Army which was purified by the Ceremony of the *Lustrum*, could meet no where but in a vast Plain.

<sup>39</sup> That Brass was the first Metal used in Trade at *Rome*, no one doubts. And it is certain Lead Money was current there. Besides what *Plautus* says of it in his Comedy called *Trinummus*, there is a Leaden Medal in the Cabinet belonging to the Jesuits at *Paris*, which learned Men judge to be truly antique.

<sup>40</sup> The most ancient Money the *Romans* had was stamped with nothing but the three Animals which were offered up in the Sacrifice of the *Lustrum*. We can find no other Figures upon it, but those of a Bull, a Ram, and a Boar; other more noble Animals, such as the Horse and Dog, were not stamped upon it, according to *Plutarch*, whose Words are these: *Βούν ἢ πρόβατον, ἢ σὺν ἱππῶν καὶ κυνῶν νομισμάτων τοῖς παλαιοτάτοις*. Is there not then Reason to conjecture from hence, that the Animals sacrificed in the first *Lustrum*, led *Servius Tullius* (who caused the first Money the *Romans* ever had to be coined) to give it the Impression of a Bull, a Ram, and a Boar, and no other Animals? In later Times we see other Animals enough on the Reverse of Medals: Which often were either Beasts offered to the Gods in some Sacrifice, or such Beasts as were shewn to the People in publick Sports.



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was lately made to the Extent of the City, was another Inducement to many to come and people the Hills, which were lately inclosed. *Servius* therefore considered that his Predecessors had been too lavish in honouring Strangers with the Titles of *Roman* Citizens, which now began to be highly reputable. He likewise remembered his former servile Condition, and had Compassion for those whom the Misfortunes of an unsuccessful War had reduced to Slavery. Generally speaking indeed, the Slaves of that Time were often Men well born in their own Country, whom the Fate of War had made Prisoners, and who had been exposed to publick Sale. The King therefore thought that such of these unfortunate Men as by their long and faithful Services to their Masters had deserved their Freedom, were much more worthy of being made *Roman* Citizens, than Vagabonds, who are often seditious and untractable. And for this Reason, he gave the *Freed-Men* their Choice, either to return into their own Countries, or to continue at *Rome*. Such as chose to continue, he divided into four *Tribes*, and settled them within the City; and tho' they were distinguished from the *Plebeians* by Name, inasmuch as they continued still to be called *Freed-Men*, yet they enjoyed all the same Privileges which the Right of Citizenship gave other Citizens. But the *Patricians* were offended at this Regard which the King shewed for such mean People, who had but lately shaken off their Fetters. The Truth is, the Senate continued yet to be but ill affected to *Servius Tullius*, whose Inclinations always led him to favour the People: And they therefore talked against *Servius's* Goodness to the *Freed-Men*, more out of Malice, than from any reasonable Motives. The Senators were delighted to have an Opportunity of mixing with their Murmurs, malicious Stories of the contemptible Condition from which this Prince had been raised, before he came to the Throne: And therefore the King, in order to silence these Complaints, assembled the Senate, and addressed himself to them in this manner.

If Nature has made any Distinction between Slaves, and such as are born free, we ought indeed to observe the Order she has established, and to divide those from the rest of Mankind whom she has separated from them: But if the placing some in a State inferior to others, be owing to Fortune only; does it not become your Wisdom to rectify the capricious Determinations of a blind Goddess? Has this Fortune, who now inspires you with so much Contempt for Men taken in War, promised you that your Happiness shall be perpetual? Are you sure you and your Children shall uninterruptedly enjoy this Prosperity which renders you so haughty? Brave and illustrious Nations have been often known to experience the Vicissitudes of the Fortune of War. Such as have played the Tyrant over those they had conquered, have been themselves reduced to undergo Tyranny and Oppression from them in their Turn. How many Instances of these unexpected Revolutions have we in Greece, and the barbarous Nations? But to return to our Romans; how inconsistent are their Proceedings, when they grant Liberty to those very Men, whom they refuse the Right of Citizenship? If your Slaves were vicious, why did you set them free? And if they were Men of Probity, why are they not to be incorporated with our Citizens? We ought to judge of and esteem Men, by the Rules of Equity and Truth, and not by the Frowns of inconstant Fortune. You have hitherto admitted to be Citizens, all such Persons of the neighbouring Nations as the Love of our Laws has drawn to your City. And have you enquired whether their Birth was not blemished by the Slavery which their Fathers underwent? Why then are you carried away with those Reflections to the Disadvantage of your Slaves, which have no Weight with you against Fugitives who are utter Strangers? In short, if we must compleat the peopling of *Rome*, let us fill it with such as have for the most part breathed its Air from their Infancy, such as Education has already made entirely *Roman*, and whose Probity has shewn them worthy of recovering their Liberty. The publick Interest invites you to this, and it is the private Interest of every noble Family, that it should be done. The more of your *Freed-Men* you see made Citizens of *Rome*, and incorporated in our Comitia, the greater Credit and Influence will you have there. They will not be able in Gratitude to refuse you their Suffrages; and your Authority will encrease in proportion to the Number of your new Clients.

A Discourse so full of Reason, made an Impression on the Senators. They passed



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passed *Servius's* Institution into a Law, which continued in Force from that Time, even down to the *Emperors*, notwithstanding the many Changes the *publick* took delight in making, in the antient Government as it was under the *Kings*. And by this wholesome Establishment, the Manners of the Slaves were regulated and improved. All Families saw them animated with fresh Zeal for the Service of their Masters. They were now attached to it by the double Hope, not only being set at liberty, but likewise of becoming Citizens of *Rome*.

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§. XVII. THUS were all the different Bodies of the State reformed by the Order of this wise King. He had tempered the Authority of the Senate, established Order among the People, and encouraged the Slaves to Virtue. And now, who could think it possible! *Servius* undertook to reform even the regal Power itself. His Equity, which was the main Spring and Foundation of all his Conduct, led him to act contrary to his Interests, and to sacrifice one half of the royal Authority to the publick Good. His Predecessors had reserved to themselves the Cognizance of all Affairs, both publick and private. Few Processes, either in civil or criminal Cases, were determined by any body but the *Kings*. *Servius* therefore considered, that in that vast multitude of Causes which he was obliged to hear, it was impossible for him to take all the Care that was necessary, in discussing the Rights of the Parties. Besides, he found himself overburthened with the Weight of Foreign Negotiations, and the Affairs of War, either with Enemies, or Rebels. It is true, the Senate and People bore a Part in the Determination of publick Affairs; but it was the King's Business to examine into them, prepare them for their Hearing, and conduct them. After he had done this, he reported the matter ready drawn up in Form to the Senate and People, who confirmed or rejected them by their Votes. So that, properly speaking, the whole Weight of the Government lay upon the King. *Servius Tullius* therefore, who found himself overwhelmed with it, not so much to avoid Trouble, as the Danger of hasty Determinations, reserved only Affairs of State to himself, and committed the Cognizance of ordinary Suits to the Senate. It's true he laid down a Form of Proceedings to the Judges he had chosen, and prepared a sort of *Code* for them. But he absolutely transferred the Care of judging of private Causes from his own to other Hands. Though at the same time he was not ignorant, that a King, who is not entirely independent, can scarce ever recover the Rights and Prerogatives of his Crown when he has once deprived himself of them; especially if the Body, with whom he entrusts them, pretends to a sort of Equality with him. But *Servius*, without Hesitation, preferred the publick Interest to his own.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 4. p. 228.

§. XVIII. EVERY thing was now regulated both in City and Country, throughout the whole *Roman* State. All that remained, was to determine what sort of Dependence the conquered Nations were to have on the Government of *Rome*. Upon every Succession to the Crown, some one at least of the Nations who had been subdued, shook off the Yoke of its Conquerors. By the Treaties of Peace the *Romans* had hitherto made with the Nations they had conquered, they had left them the Liberty of enjoying still their own Laws. So that the Sovereignty of *Rome* pretended to have over them, seems to have been only an empty Title which they ventured to despise, whenever they had Confidence enough in their own Forces to renew the War. The *Latins* especially, and the *Sabines* had been often vanquished, but never brought into Subjection. The Time was now come for putting their Country upon the same Establishment as the Lands of the *Roman* State. But *Servius* found out an Expedient to secure their Fidelity for the future. He had found means to cultivate a Friendship with them, throughout his whole Reign; insomuch that when the *Hetrurians* revolted, no one City of the *Latins* or *Sabines* declared for the Rebels. In order therefore to continue them in these good Dispositions, the King thought it necessary to attach them to the *Romans* by such social Ties as should be strengthened by Religion.

It appears by *Servius Tullius's* whole Conduct, that this great Politician had well considered the Manners and Government of the *Greeks*. He knew that *Ambition*<sup>41</sup> had formerly united the Cities of *Greece*, which before his Time he

<sup>41</sup> All agree, says *Pausanias* in *Phoc.* that *Ambition* established a general Diet at *Delphos*, consisting of the different Nations of *Greece*. This national Assembly of the united *Greeks* was called the *Amphictyonic*.



been independent of one another, into one Republican Body, under the Direction of a Council, consisting of Deputies from all the united Cities; and that this Body was become formidable to the *Barbarians*, by whom the *Greeks* were surrounded. Neither was he ignorant, that the *Ionians*, who went from *Greece* into *Asia*, and the *Dorians*, their Neighbours, had joined themselves into one Body for their mutual Defence. These two united Nations had agreed to meet every Year to deliberate about their common Interests; and fixed the Place of their Assemblies to be one Year, at *Gnidus* <sup>42</sup> in *Doria*, and another, at *Ephesus* in *Ionia*. And in order to invite their People to this useful Congress, each Nation erected two Temples, one at *Ephesus*, in Honour of *Diana*, and the other at *Gnidus*, in Honour of *Apollo*. These annual Solemnities were accompanied with Sports, Shews, and a Distribution of Prizes to the best Poets and most skilful Musicians. The Design of them was to draw the Citizens of the confederated Cities, by Curiosity, to serious Deliberations.

THE Scheme which *Servius* formed was very like this. He resolved to have a Sanctuary built, which should be a general *Rendezvous* for the Inhabitants both of the *Latin* and *Sabine* Cities. *Rome* had gained a Superiority over them; and to denote it, he proposed to erect this Building on the *Roman* Lands, and almost at the Gate of the City. When he had formed the Plan of this new Undertaking, he summoned the *Latin* and *Sabine* Cities, to send their Deputies to *Rome*, to consult about an Affair of Importance. They came, were admitted into the Senate, and he addressed himself to them thus.

YOU are not ignorant that Concord is the Foundation of publick Felicity, as well in great States as private Cities. Nothing can be more destructive to any Body politick, than to see the Members of it refusing one another that Assistance which they have a Right mutually to expect. Since our Union we make but one People. Your Safety is ours, and our Grandeur tends to your Glory and Tranquillity. If therefore we strengthen an Union which can never be too close, we shall make our Empire great; and shall no longer fear any of the Attempts of our Neighbours. We cannot indeed at present complain of any Breaches of this Union: But have we as much reason to congratulate one another upon having given any sensible Proofs of a perfect Correspondence? The Power of *Rome* is indeed supported with Dignity in your Cantons: it is even respected. But that is not enough; it ought likewise to be loved. Let us therefore unite our Hearts, as we have done our Countries. Let common Gods, and common Altars call us together by Intervals; and let the Blood of Victims be made use of to cement a good Intelligence between us, which may last as long as *Rome*.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 4. p. 230.

AFTER this, the King gave a particular Account of his Design: which was, to build a Temple in Honour to *Diana*, at which the *Latins* and *Sabines* should meet every Year, and both join with the *Romans* in offering Sacrifice to the Goddess who was worshipped at *Ephesus*; that this Festival should be followed by a Council, in which all the Disputes which had happened between the Cities should amicably determined; that there proper Measures <sup>43</sup> should be taken to pursue their common Interests: and lastly, that the Populace should be drawn thither by a fair, at which every one might furnish himself with what he wanted. The *Latins* had yet some Remains of their antient Rusticity. They were not to be drawn to the Solemnity by the Charms of Poetry, Musick, or Theatrical Entertainments, which the politer *Greeks* affected. The common Necessaries of Life had greater

the Name of its Founder, *The Amphictiones*. But the Account of *Pausanias* does not agree with the Relation of *Androtion*. He assures us in his *Attick History*, that the *Cantons* of *Greece* assembled at *Delphos* before *Amphiction's* Time; and that he was the Restorer of this Confederacy, or rather States-General.

*Dion. Hal.* and *Herodotus* give the City of *Triopia*. The latter says a deal of the Temple of *Apollo* in that City, which is now called *Capo-Chio*.

It may perhaps be objected, that I have here joined the *Sabines* with the *Latins*. It is true, *Livy*

and *Dion. Hal.* speak only of the *Latins*, in that Union of the *Romans* with other Nations, which was confirmed and established by the Assemblies in the Temple of *Diana*: and yet I have added the *Sabines*; but not merely upon Conjecture. Besides that *Livy* often comprehends the *Sabines* under the general Name of *Latins*; it will hereafter appear, that according to the Historians, the *Sabines* likewise partook of the Sacrifices of the Temple of *Diana*, and were present at the Assemblies held in it. They were therefore in the Confederacy, as well as the *Latins*.



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Allurements for them, than all the Charms of the Liberal Arts. A Fair therefore better suited their Taste than publick Sports.

THIS Design of the King, when thus explained, appeared to be so rational and wise, that it met with no Opposition. Only the Deputies added to it, that the Temple to be built should be an inviolable *Asylum* for the united Nations; and that all their Cities should contribute towards the Expence of building it. They left it to the King, to chuse a proper Place for it, and to draw up proper Regulations to be observed, that every thing might be regular and orderly in these annual Assemblies. The Place pitched on, was the Hill *Aventinus*. Hither the Confederate Nations were to resort, and here the Temple was to be built. This Hill overlooked *Rome*, and was so near it, that it would have been enclosed within it, as well as the other seven, if Superstition had not prevented it. It was by no means thought proper, that a Hill on which *Remus* had had ill Omens, should be made a Part of *Romulus's* City. On the top of this Hill *Aventinus* there was a vast Plain, eighteen <sup>44</sup> *Stadia* in Circumference: and in this Plain *Servius* chose to erect his intended Structure, as near the *Tyber* as he could. This Temple did not indeed equal that of *Ephesus* in Riches and Magnificence. But it may be observed of it, that in the Assemblies which were held in it, those great Designs began first to be formed, which gradually prepared *Rome* for the Conquest of the Universe. In short, the Temple was finished, and the Assemblies were annually held there. The Laws which were to be observed in them, as well with respect to their Sacrifices as their Deliberations, were engraven on a Pillar of Brass. And they were yet to be seen in *Augustus's* Time, in *Old Latin*, written in the Characters of the antient *Greeks*. So true is it, that the *Latin* Tongue borrowed a great deal from the *Greeks* and *Trojans*, who had often founded Colonies in *Italy*.

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§.XIX. BUT these Acts of Religion which united the *Latins* and *Sabines* with *Rome*, did not always keep these two Nations free from Jealousy. They envied the Capital of the Confederacy the Superiority she had assumed. The *Sabines* especially hoped that the Dominion which *Rome* then enjoyed, would some time or other be removed to one of their Cities: And of this they had the following Presage. There happened to be calved in the Territory of the *Sabines* a Cow-Calf of a surprising Bigness, and upon consulting the *Augurs* about it, (which was never failed to be done on any extraordinary Event) they answered, that whoever should offer up that prodigious Animal to *Diana*, of the Hill *Aventinus*, should make his Native City the Mistress of all the Cities in *Italy*. But *Antro*, which was the Name of the *Sabine* who owned the Calf, divulged the *Augur's* Answer, and thereby his own Expectations were frustrated. He led his Victim to the Temple of *Diana*, near *Rome*, and was already preparing to offer it up in Sacrifice; when *Cornelius* the Priest, or, as others, the Guardian of the Temple, having been informed of the Prediction, made use of an Artifice to elude the *Augury*. *What*, says he to the *Sabine*, dare you sacrifice so fine a Victim to the Goddess, without first purifying your self in the Water of the River? *Antro* runs along at the Foot of the Hill. Upon this, *Antro*, that he might not be wanting in any Ceremony which was appointed, goes down to the River, and washes himself in it. But in the mean time, *Cornelius* taking the Advantage of his Absence, slays the Victim, and thereby confirms *Rome* in the Possession of her Dominion over *Italy*, and destroys the Hopes of the *Sabines*. The Horns of this monstrous Beast are said to have been hung up in the Temple of *Diana Aventina*; and in

<sup>44</sup> *Dion. Hal.* contradicts himself about the Number of *Stadia* he gives the Hill *Aventinus* in Circumference. *B. 3.* he says it was eighteen, and *B. 10.* he reduces them to twelve. We must therefore suppose there is an Error, in one Place or the other: And it would be very difficult to rectify the Historian's Mistake now, because the Hill *Aventinus* is almost entirely levelled.

<sup>45</sup> What is here said, after *Dion. Hal.* of the Conformity of the *Greek* Letters with those of antient *Rome*, is confirmed by the Testimony of *Pliny*, in these Words: *Veteres Græcos fuisse easdem pene quæ nunc sunt, indicio erit Delphica Tabula antiquioris, quæ est hodie in palatio, dono Principum Mi-*

*nervæ dicata, in Bibliotheca cum Inscriptione* *B. 7.*

NAYCIKPATEC TIC M NOY AΘENAIOC  
KOPAI KAI AΘENAI ANEΘEKEN.

This Inscription is transmitted to us by *Dr. Huet* in his *Notes upon Dionysius Halicarnassensis*: the only Question that remains, is, whether it thus in the antient Manuscripts. In the mean time it's certain the Words of this Inscription give an imperfect a Sense, that *Father Hardouin* would admit of it. He chuses to correct it almost in the same manner as *Scaliger* does. *ΝΑΥΚΙΡΑΤΗΣ ΤΗΣ*



very credible, that this Monument gave Occasion to the inventing <sup>46</sup> the Fable we have mentioned.

§. XX. BUT now *Servius Tullius* grew old. He had already seen three *Lustra* past, since their Institution, and was not far from the fourth, which he saw completed before he died. The Ambition of the eldest *Tarquin* revived, in proportion as the King advanced in Years. He had already shewn some Marks of an unquiet and factious Spirit. When *Servius* distributed the Lands, which had yet no Owners, among the People, and dispossessed those *Patricians* of them, who had usurped them, his eldest Son-in-law made his court to the Senate, by joining with them in opposition to his Father-in-law's Designs. And the more *Servius* laboured to gain the Affections of the People, the more industrious *Tarquin* was, to gain over the Nobility to himself. So that, as the King and his Son-in-law were engaged in different Parties, there could not be a very good Understanding between them.

*TULLIA*, *Tarquin's* Wife, sometimes checked the Rashness and Fury of her Husband. But all she could gain by her Moderation, her Complaisance, and her Tears, was only to prevent the Divisions of the Royal Family from breaking out into open Acts of Violence and criminal Attempts. It was a wise Disposition of Providence, for the Happiness of the *Romans*, and the Preservation of *Servius*, that a wise and discreet Woman should temper *Tarquin's* natural Fierceness. As for *the Younger Tullia*, she was a domestick Fury, always obstinately bent upon disturbing the Quiet of her Husband. Had her Vivacity indeed confined it self barely to awakening *Arunx's* Indolence, it had been blameless. It was natural enough for her to rouse the unactive Temper of her Husband, in order to gain the Affections of the People, and the Great, who would certainly have declared for him after *Servius's* Death, and excluded his Brother. But *Arunx* placed all his Happiness in a private Life, or at least waited for the Crown, without the least Impatience or Concern about it; Whilst his Wife pressed him even to villanous Attempts, to hasten his Rise to the Throne. She was perhaps the maddest and most cruel Fury of a Woman the World ever saw. In her Transports, she would loudly lament her Fate, in being tied to a peaceable Husband. She was always lamenting without measure, and without discretion, that she had neither continued a Maid, nor was yet a Widow. Inasmuch that her Complaints were publickly known, and reached *Tarquin's* Ears. He, from the natural Similitude of their Manners and Sentiments, took great pleasure in his Sister's Conversation; and her Beauty was another Charm, which made him frequently visit her. But after all, Proximity of Blood kept his Love for some time within the Bounds of Friendship. Nevertheless, *the Younger Tullia* judged, by *Tarquin's* Assiduity in coming to her, that she was something more to him than bare Amusement; and therefore took him aside, and bespoke him thus: *May I, my Lord, open to you, without danger, the inmost Recesses of my Heart, and depend upon your keeping an inviolable Secret? Upon which, the Prince promising every thing she desired, and confirming these Promises by Oaths; she added: Why, my Lord, do you defer reigning so long? Can you reproach yourself with an obscure Birth? or have you Reason to fear any Rivals, whose Pretensions to the Crown will be more regarded than your own? Your Ancestors wore a Crown at Corinth, and your Grandfather was honoured with one at Rome. Nor does it only belong to you by Right of Inheritance, it is likewise due to your personal Qualities. What Courage! what Penetration of Mind! what a noble Greatness of Soul! Ah! would to God Arunx..... But what do I say? Effeminacy is by no means comparable to Courage, or Imbecillity to Valour. And I make no doubt, but you would already have put the Crown upon your own Head, if a Woman, whom I scorn to own for my Sister, had not suspended your Resolutions, and weakened your Courage. Let her perish then, since she opposes your Advancement. The Hy-* men, my Lord, I say *the Hymen who matched me to Arunx, was a blind God. Why did he not unite two Hearts, whom the same noble Sentiments had formed for one another? But the Sword and Poison may provide us with a Remedy for*

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*Livy, B. 1.  
ch. 47. and  
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B. 4. p. 231.*

<sup>46</sup> The Number of the Historians who relate the Adventure of the prodigious Cow, is not always very certain Proof of the Fact they attest. *Livy* and *Valerius Maximus* are often credulous. *Plu-*

*tarch* is indeed a more judicious Author; tho' he gives into the vulgar Opinion in this Case. But *Dion. Hal.* has suppressed this frivolous Event.



Years of *the unsuitable Matches Chance has made. Let us therefore make use of them, to*  
 R O M E *unite us, and to gain a Kingdom. Crimes are no longer such* 47, *when a Sceptre is*  
 CCXV — *the Fruit of them. Yes, my Lord, your Air, your Behaviour, and your Courage,*  
 CCXIX. *make you worthy both of the Throne, and of my tenderest Affection.*

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BUT bold and impudent as *Tullia* was, she could not pronounce these last Words without blushing. These Remains of Modesty therefore made her the more beautiful, and she soon yielded to *Tarquin's* Embraces. The private Conference ended in anticipating the Pleasures of that incestuous Marriage, for which they paved the Way, by the most enormous Iniquities.

§. XXI. IN the mean time, *Servius Tullius* was in pain about the Choice of a Successor. He knew the People would follow his Inclinations, and that the Seeds he should sow in his Life-time, would bring forth Fruit after his Death. Besides, it was time to incline the People to favour his Sons-in-law: but *Tarquin* was unworthy of the Crown, and *Arunx* seemed incapable of it.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 4. p. 240.

IN this Irresolution, the King is said to have had thoughts of committing the Government entirely into the Hands of the People, and of making *Rome* a Republick. And in fact, he seems to have settled every thing upon the Foot of the Republicks in *Greece*. However, the Crimes of his eldest Pupil and younger Daughter, compleated the Aversion he already had for *Tarquin*. The Consequences of the scandalous Intercourse which the latter kept up with *the Younger Tullia*, were the Assassinations 48 of *Arunx* and *the Elder Tullia*. The one was murdered by his Wife, the other by her Husband. We may likewise infer, from the manner in which one of the Historians 49 expresses himself, that *Tullia* and *Tarquin* became so unnatural a Mother, and so barbarous a Father, as to take away the Lives of their own Children, which he had had by his Wife, and she by her Husband.

Livy, B. 1.  
ch. 46.

By this means the way was paved for the Marriage of *Tullia* and *Tarquin*: and tho' the *Romans* murmured at it, Ambition and Love stopped the Ears of the two Parties concerned. They were the only Persons who were unaffected with the publick Clamours. They were even bold enough to ask the Consent of King *Servius* and Queen *Tarquinia*; who, tho' they did not give it, yet continued silent. Old Age, and the Remains of Affection for a guilty Daughter, drew Indulgence from a Father and Mother, whose whole Hopes of Posterity now depended upon her. *Tarquin* and *Tullia* therefore thought nothing unlawful for them, which they had no Reason to apprehend would be punished by the Laws.

Livy, B. 1.  
ch. 47. and  
Dion. Hal.  
B. 4. p. 234.

§. XXII. BUT these criminal Nuptials were only the first Step towards a yet greater Iniquity. The Union of the two Monsters threatned the *Romans* with nothing but Ruin. The Ambition of the new-married Couple first shewed it self in their

47 *Euripides* puts this detestable Maxim in the Mouth of *Eteocles*. The *Greek* Passage taken from the Piece called *The Phœnician Women*, is thus render'd by *Tully* in the first Book of his *Offices*. *Nam si violandum est jus, regnandi gratia violandum est, aliis rebus pietatem colas.*

48 *Dion. Hal.* accuses the antient Annalist *Fabius* of Error and Negligence, as to the Time of the Death of *Arunx*. He is mistaken, says the *Greek* Author, in supposing that *Arunx* was *Tarquin the Elder's* own Son, and in saying that his Mother *Tanaquil* took care of this young Prince's Funeral. *Tarquin the Elder* was at least twenty-five Years old, when he came from *Hetruria* to *Rome*, since he was old enough to aspire at publick Honours. And if we suppose, that he came not to *Rome* in the first Year of *Anus Marcius*, as *Gellius* pretends, but in the eighth, according to *Licinius*; we must necessarily say, that *Tarquin* died eighty Years old: for he spent seventeen Years in *Anus's* Service, whom he succeeded; and he reigned himself thirty-eight. Besides, Historians agree, that *Tanaquil* could not be less than twenty, when she came from *Hetruria*, and settled at *Rome*, with her Husband. She was therefore seventy-five when *Tarquin* died. Now, according to this Account, *Arunx* must have been at least twenty-five, supposing it to be true that *Tanaquil* bore him when she was fifty; and his Brother *Lucius* must have been about twenty-seven. So

that we must either give the lie to almost all the Historians, who say they were both very young when *Servius Tullius* ascended the Throne; or we must suppose *Tanaquil* to have been a most unnatural Mother, and a very silly Woman, to deprive her own Children of a Crown which belonged to them, in order to put it upon the Head of a Stranger, to their Prejudice. Besides, would *Arunx* and his Brother *Tarquin* themselves have suffered such crying Injustice? It must therefore be true, that these two Princes were the Grandchildren, and not the Children of *Tarquin*. As to *Fabius's* saying that *Tanaquil* took care to bury *Arunx*, it is a Fact which cannot be proved. She was seventy-five Years old when *Servius* was declared King; and he had now reigned above forty Years: So that she must have been near an hundred and fifteen, if we suppose, contrary to all Truth, that she survived *Arunx*.

49 This Historian is *Livy*, whose Words seem not only to signify, that *Tarquin* murdered his Wife, and *Tullia* her Husband; but also, that they each of them made a clear House, and ridded themselves of all their Children, if we translate him literally. His Words are, *Prope continuatis funcribus, cum domos vacuas novo matrimonio secissent.* But *Dion. Hal.* says nothing of the Massacre of the Children. So that the Reader is at liberty to judge of it as he pleases.



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Intrigues against the King. They declared publickly, that the Crown belonged to them; that *Servius* was an Usurper; that having been only appointed Tutor to his Pupils, he had made himself Master of the finest Part of their Inheritance; that he could never have ascended the Throne, had he not been supported by the Rights of the two Children, whom he had not suffered to take Possession of those Rights, even when they were above forty Years old; and that it was high time for an old Man, who was but little able to support the Weight of publick Affairs, to give Place to a Prince who was of a mature Age. And these Pretences had a fair Shew enough to impose upon the *Romans*. *Tarquin* first got the Senate over to his Interests, whom *Servius* had taken great Pleasure in humbling, throughout his whole Reign. Then by distributing Money, he gained that mean Populace, which the King had thought too poor to deserve to be included in any of the five Classes he had instituted.

THESE Transactions were too publick not to be known by *Servius*. And in order to prevent the Effects of them, without a publick Disturbance, he had frequent Conferences with his Son-in-law and his Daughter, in private. *The Crown*, said he to them, *was never yet hereditary in Rome*. *Tarquin*, who wore it, had no Right to transmit it to his Grand-children. *The People have always given it to whom they pleased; and from them I received it. And you may in your Turn obtain it of them, after my Death, and merit their Suffrages, if you behave your selves regularly and well, and do not suffer your Conduct to be stained with any Reproaches of Ingratitude to a faithful Guardian and a good Father.*

BUT *Tarquin* and *Tullia* loved violent Measures, and to make a Noise. They despised the wise Counsels of the King, and pursued their own ambitious Scheme. They declared they were resolved to lay their Pretensions before the Senate, and submit to its Judgment. So that the Affair became a formal Process, which the King was obliged to defend against his Son-in-law and his own Daughter; and the Cause was of great Importance. It concerned the dethroning a Prince who had governed *Rome* forty two or forty three Years, had made her victorious, and had regulated and improved her Polity by wise Laws. *Servius* therefore assembled the Senate, and spoke first. *The factious Plots of Tarquin to take away the Crown from me, are, said he, unknown neither to you, nor me. I therefore come to demand he may give an Account of his unworthy Proceedings, in your Presence. What personal Injury have I done him, or what Complaint has he to make of my publick Administration? Speak, Prince, explain your self. We are now before the Judges you your self have chosen.* MY Pretensions then, replied *Tarquin*, are very reasonable, and I cannot but hope the utmost Justice will be done me, at the Tribunal before which I have brought them. King *Tarquin*, whom I represent, merited the Crown by the Services he did the *Romans*. All Nations, both Greek and Barbarian, whose Government has been monarchical, have transmitted the Father's Scepter to his Children. The Throne is therefore an Inheritance, the Right to which devolved upon me; but you invaded it. And by what Means did you ascend it? You despised the Law of the Interregnum; and neglected the Suffrages of the Senate. You bought the Votes of the People; and you settled your self in your usurped Authority, only by promising you would, some time or other, restore it to your Pupils. And have you kept your Word, which you formerly gave the credulous Populace? There was indeed a Time when it was very proper to suffer you to give Law to the City. I and my Brother were young; and you held a Place which ought to have been restored to us, whenever we should arrive at a sufficient Maturity of Age to govern. Don't you then, to this Day, unjustly detain a Scepter from me, which I am able to yield? Had you resigned it into my Hands ten Years ago, you would have gained glorious Reputation for Probity among the People, and merited eternal Acknowledgments at my Hands. But your Delays bring Dishonour to your self, and free me from the Gratitude, I should otherwise owe you, for the Benefits I have received.

IN Answer to this, *Servius* thought it more to the Purpose to shew the Weakness of *Tarquin's* Reasoning, than to make any Reply to his Invectives; and he therefore spoke to this Effect: *Unfortunate Pupil, what would have become of you, without my Care! I was not invested with the Royal Authority, so much under an obligation of preserving it for you, as with a View to secure your Life against the two powerful Adversaries who threatened it. The Sons of Ancus had the same*

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same imaginary Right to the Throne, when I ascended it, as you now pretend to have. And if their Pretensions had been hearkened to, would they not have cut off every the least Shoot of the Stock of the Tarquins? But Rome did not favour their Pretensions, because she thought them unreasonable. Will she then yield to your criminal Desires? Yes; those Princes were more nearly related than you, to the King they represented. They are allowed to be Ancus's own Sons; whereas you are only Tarquin's Grandson. If it be absolutely necessary then that the Roman Scepter descend from Father to Son, recall the Murderers of the King your Grandfather, and place them on it. At least, let their Children fill my Place, and give up the Claim you pretend to have to their Inheritance. But what am I saying? The Greeks and Barbarians have their Laws, and we have ours. With them the Crown is hereditary; with us it is elective. The People bestowed it upon me, as they had given it to Tarquin. We were both Foreigners; and I have the same Right to keep it for my self, and exclude you, as your Grandfather had to detain it, in Prejudice to the Sons of his Predecessor. Either don't build on a Foundation which would make your Grandfather an unlawful King, or give up the Royalty to those whose Rights are before yours. Take your Choice, either to lay aside all Hopes of Reigning, till after I am dead, or to submit, from this Instant, to obey a Race who are stained with your Grandfather's Blood. If we believe you I usurped the Throne by unjust Means. Let us therefore, Tarquin, go up to the Fountain-head, and enquire of the People. It was they gave me the Crown; they therefore ought to vindicate the Justice of their own Choice. They have it now in their Power to take the Scepter from me, and give it to you, if they please. Let us then try our Fate in the Comitia, and come to a Sort of new Election, where in the People shall determine the Dispute between you and me, as between two Competitors for the Throne. I honour the Senate, but I disapprove of the Conspiracies which have been formed in it, against Justice, as well as against me. What have I done to deserve the Hatred of the Senators; or rather, what have I not done, to merit their Affection? Have I not deprived my self of the Right of judging in private Causes, in Favour of them? If to have preserved the People from being vexed and oppressed by them, be sufficient to cause their Displeasure, let them look out for some other King, who will trample all the Laws of Equity under Foot, and authorize Oppression.

§. XXIII. AFTER Servius had spoken in this Manner, he dismissed the Senate, and appointed an Assembly of the People, which was proclaimed by Heralds, all over the City. The *Forum Romanum* was soon filled with Auditors, and the King harangued them from *The Tribune*, and gained all their Affections. He began with an Account of his Exploits in War: He gave them the Particulars of the Battles he had fought, the Victories he had won, and the Triumphs he had obtained. And then passed on to the wholesome Institutions of which he had been the Author. The People repeated their Applauses, upon the Mention of every Action of *Servius*; and were a great while in Suspense, not knowing to what this long Preamble tended. Till, after an exact Enumeration of all the Benefits for which the Publick was indebted to his Government, he fell at last upon *Tarquin*. *A new Competitor for the Throne, said he, offers himself to you, and comes to dispute with me the Remains of a Reign which I have dedicated to the Happiness of the Publick. If the Hardships of a tyrannical Administration have given you a Distaste to me, or if the Virtues of *Tarquin* have made him more worthy to reign, resume the Crown which I received from you. I don't think my self at liberty to place it in any Hands but yours, and to you therefore I restore it. In Vain does *Tarquin* demand it as his Right by Inheritance, and thereby endeavour to rob you of the Right of disposing of it by your Votes. Nevertheless, if you take it from me, to adorn him with it, I shall not indeed respect in Him, the Work of your Hands; but will my self retire and linger away the inglorious Remains of my Life, in the Privacy and Solitude to which you will have reduced me.*

AT these Words, the People cried out, *Let Servius reign; let him continue to make the Romans happy.* And amidst their confused Noises, these Words were likewise heard, *Let Tarquin perish, let him die, let us murder him!* This Language therefore frightened him, and he retired to his House in great Haste: Whilst the King was conducted back to his Palace with the Acclamations of the People.

§. XXIV. THE ill Success of this Enterprize seems to have a little cooled *Tarquin's* precipitate and ardent Desires of reigning: But his Ambition made him act a new Part. Being convinced that he could not easily arrive at the Throne, if the King his Father-in-law did not open him the Way to it, he undertook to regain his Favour. Caresses, Submissions, and Protestations of a sincere Regard and Affection, were all made use of by *Tarquin* and *Tullia*. Accordingly the King, who judged of other Mens Probity by his own, and still continued to have the Affection of a Father for his Daughter, was sincerely reconciled to his Son-in-law. Tranquillity appeared to reign in the Royal Family; and the Senate it self seemed not to have the same Impatience for raising *Tarquin* to the Throne. So that *Servius* was lulled into an agreeable Security. Whilst the cruel *Tullia* thought she found *Tarquin* as insensible and stupid as *Arunx*, and by her Discourses with him roused the Fury of her Husband. She beset him Day and Night, and was ever importuning him with her Complaints. *Have we then, said she, begun our Union by Murders and Parricides, to leave the Business, for which we were guilty of these Crimes, unfinished? Had I been content not to have aspired to the Crown till after the Death of my Father; Arunx, even the dastardly Arunx, could have satisfied my Desires. When I preferred you to him, I thought I should have found in you a Man of Spirit, a true Tarquin, and one who was more capable of invading the Throne, than of idly languishing away his Days in the Expectation of it. No; I shall no longer love you as an Husband, till I can salute you King. Dare any thing; attempt every thing. There is no Reason, Tarquin, for you to be affrighted at the Danger of putting this Design in Execution. There is no Necessity for you to cross the Seas, to come back from Corinth to Rome, and to merit an Election by long and painful Services, in order to settle your self upon the Throne. The Royal Palace yet resounds with the Name of Tarquin, and those Walls will always preserve the Memory of him. Could Tanaquil then by her Counsels give the Crown to two Kings, and shall not Tullia be able to put it upon the Head of her Husband? Go, Coward! return to Corinth, or Tarquinia. Thou hast, I find, the same Blood in thy Veins as thy weak Brother, and neither of you have inherited the Bravery of the King your Grandfather.*

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THESE importunate Sollicitations of an imperious Woman emboldened *Tarquin* to attempt every thing. He soon appeared taking Steps to form a Party. He went from House to House to beg Votes. He opened his own to all the young Nobility of *Rome*, and made it a Rendezvous of Pleasure for them. He gained over to him those new Senators, whom his Grandfather had added ⁵⁰ to those of the old Institution, and who were the least considerable for their Birth of any in the Senate. He pressed upon them the Gratitude they owed him, for the Benefits they had received from his Family. And when he had formed his Party, he thought of a Stratagem, which surprized the People by its Novelty, and succeeded by the Boldness of its Execution.

THE greatest Part of the Inhabitants of *Rome* had Lands in the Country, which they kept in their own Hands. So that in the Time of Harvest the City was almost utterly deserted by the most considerable of its Citizens. This therefore was the Crisis which *Tarquin* seized, to strike the Blow he intended. He knew that his Father-in-law's Interest was chiefly among the most flourishing Citizens: And he therefore took Advantage of the Absence of his Father-in-law's Friends, put on

Dion. Hal.
B. 4. p. 240.

⁵⁰ We have already said that *Tarquin the First* had introduced an hundred new Senators into the Senate, and that they were called *Patres Minorum Gentium*. It now remains that we enquire into the Reason of this Denomination. I at first thought they were so called, because they were taken out of those who had been brought to *Rome* from the little neighbouring Nations, after the Destruction of their Cities. But this Opinion I afterwards found not to be well grounded. The true Account of it is, I believe, this: In order to understand it, we must suppose what *Dion. Hal.* relates, *Antiq. B. 3.* namely, That *Tarquin the Elder* when he added an hundred new Senators to the two hundred which had been created in *Romulus's* Life-time, chose them out of the *Plbeian* Families. And from hence, without

doubt, came the Name of *Minorum Gentium*; which is as much as to say, *The lower People*, or, *People of meaner Families*. Indeed the first two hundred Senators had been chosen by *Romulus* and *T. Tatius* only out of the most illustrious *Romans*, and most noble *Sabines*. On the contrary, *Tarquin the First*, when he added an hundred new Senators to the two hundred of the first Creation, chose them out of the People, without Regard to their Nobility. Hence the Surname of *Senatores Minorum Gentium*, which was given them as a Nick-name, and was never authorized by any publick Edict. They had in reality the same Authority and Regard in the Senate, as the other Senators, and their Children were deemed *Patricians*.

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the Royal Robes, and caused *Fasces* to be carried before him by some of his Domesticks. He was followed by a great Number of his Party, who had Swords under their Robes; and with this Train he crossed the *Forum Romanum*. When he came to the Gate of the Temple ⁵¹ where the Senate assembled, he sent Expresses to all the Senators, commanding them, in King *Tarquin's* Name, to repair immediately to the Senate. Then he went up the Steps which lead to the Hall of the Assemblies, where he found the Senators of his own Party already seated, he having given them Notice beforehand, to be early there. From thence he went on with a grave Pace, and seating himself on the royal Throne, personally exhorted those of his Faction to stand out resolutely against the vain Opposition of an old Man. After him, the young Men who favoured him did their Part to encourage those who were more fearful: And in the mean time, the rest of the Senators made all the Haste they could, to the Place to which they were summoned. The greatest Part of them thought *Servius* was dead, since *Tarquin* already assumed the Name, the Place, and the Functions of King. And no one durst keep away from the Assembly, for fear his Absence, in the Beginning of a Reign, should be thought criminal. When therefore the Assembly was formed, *Tarquin* repeated the Invectives they had so often heard him make against his Father-in-law, and even reviled him. *He is a Slave*, said he, *who owes his Fortune to my Grandfather's Liberality. He is an Intruder, who has possessed himself of my Right, merely by the Suffrages of a mercenary People, without any Authority from the Senate, or first admitting of an Interregnum. Since which, he has maintained himself in it, by the Favour of a Populace as vile as himself; for whose sake only, he instituted the Classes so much boasted of, which have produced no Advantage, but that of sacrificing the Interests of the most wealthy to those of the most indigent.*

WHILE he was yet speaking, *Servius Tullius* appeared. He had been informed of the Part his Son-in-law was acting in the Senate, and immediately ran thither with scarce any Attendants, and with more Boldness than Discretion. As soon as ever he set his Eyes on *Tarquin* in the Throne, he cried out at a distance, and with a loud Voice, *What has made thee so audacious, as to assemble the Senate, and take Possession of my Throne, while I am alive? What has made thee assume these Marks of my Dignity? Thy Iniquity*, *Servius*, replied *Tarquin*, *thy Usurpation has forced me to it. I have at last done myself the Justice, which thou hast so often refused me. I here fill the Place of my Grandfather. Is it not rather due to me, than to a vile Slave, who has already ruled too long over his Masters?* This threw the old King into a Transport of Passion, which made him rashly give way to the Motions of his Courage, without considering his Strength. He came near the Throne, to throw *Tarquin* down from it; which raised a great Out-cry in the Assembly. The People crowded into the Senate-House, and none durst part the two Rivals. *Tarquin* therefore, who was most strong and vigorous, coming down from his Seat, seized the old Man by the Wrist, and hurrying him through the Hall, threw him down from the Top of the Steps into the *Forum*. The King, who was grievously wounded, and covered with the Blood he had lost, raised himself up with some difficulty, but saw none but his Enemies about him: All his Friends, and almost all the People, had deserted him; only two or three Persons, either of his own Followers, or of the People, touched with Compassion, lent him their Arms to lead him to his Palace. And as they were dragging him on slowly, and with difficulty, the cruel *Tullia* appeared in the *Forum*. She came hastily in her Chariot, upon the first Report she had heard of what passed in the Senate. She found her Husband on the Top of the Steps of the

⁵¹ Is it true, that the Senate did as early as this, assemble in a Temple, or rather, that the Place of their assembling was called a Temple? I know a Law was afterwards made, which forbade the Senate to assemble in a prophane Place, that its Edicts might be made venerable by Religion. But as for my self, I believe this Law was made only to renew the ancient Custom of holding the Senate only in a consecrated Place. Indeed, from the Time of the first Kings of Rome, the Place where the Senate assembled

was called *Curia*. *Tullus Hostilius* built a Place for the Senate under this Name; it was called, *Curia Hostilia*. But every Body knows, the Word *Curia* signified among the Romans a parochial Temple, of which *Romulus* appointed thirty, when he divided the City into thirty *Curie*. However, it is at least certain, that the Place where *Servius* was abused by *Tarquin*, had the Name of *Curia*, and that its principal Gate opened upon the *Forum Romanum*, and joined to the Place of the *Comitia*.

Hall ⁵², and being transported with Joy at it, was the first who saluted him King. Upon this, the Senators of *Tarquin's* Party followed her Example; and all proclaimed him King of *Rome*. Nor was this enough for an unnatural Daughter. She took her Husband aside, and suggested to him the Thought of not leaving the Work of so glorious a Day imperfect. *You will never be independent, never be safe*, says she, *as long as the Usurper of your Rights hath any Breath left in his Body*. *Tullia* desired her Parricide might be compleated; and she was obeyed. *Tarquin* instantly dispatched some of his Domesticks, who took away the Remains of the unfortunate *Servius's* Life. His Body they left extended upon the Place, and it lay quite across a very narrow Street, which was till that time called *The Street Cyprius* ⁵³, or *The good Street*; but the following Event changed its Name.

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Dion. Hal.
B. 4. p. 242.

As soon as Orders were given for the Parricide, the ambitious *Tullia* got again into her Chariot, as it were in Triumph. She returned to her House through *The Street Cyprius*; and as she was passing, the Coachman who drove her, saw a Body lay stretched out upon the Ground, swimming in Blood, and yet panting. At this Sight he pulled in his Horses Bridle, and made a difficulty of going forwards. Upon which, *Why don't you go on?* cries *Tullia* to the Coachman; *what stops you?* The Coachman turned about to the Princess, but could only answer her by his Tears. *I say again*, cried she, *what stops you?* *Alas! Madam*, replied the Coachman, *it is the Body of the King your Father*. At these Words *Tullia* became furious, and catching up the Stool which was in the Chariot, and threatening to strike the Coachman with it; *Go on*, said she to him, *and don't be afraid of treading a dead Corpse under your Horses Feet*. The Coachman obeyed; and the Blood of the Father dyed the Wheels of the Chariot, and flew upon the Clothes of the inhuman Daughter. And from hence the Street, which before was called *The good Street*, was afterwards called *The wicked Street*.

§. XXV. SUCH was the deplorable End of the most glorious Reign *Rome* ever saw. *Servius* left it uncertain, whether he was greater in War or in Peace. He subdued all his Enemies, and never made it his Business to create new ones: Equity was indeed the Soul of all his Undertakings. He did not refer his Conquests to his own Glory: He rated the Value of them only by their Tendency to the publick Good. One Triumph did not make him ambitious of obtaining another. He loved to see his Neighbours in Peace about him, and to have them fear his Arms, and regulate their Respect to him by that Fear: He made *Rome* more formidable, by twenty Years of Peace, than his Predecessors had done by many Battels, and the sacking of an hundred Cities. All the Members of the *Roman* State, which before were divided, were by his Care united; and the Ties which bound them together, gave Vigour and Strength to the whole Body. He introduced Order in the *Militia* and publick Revenues; he rectified the Confusion of the Assemblies of the People; he extended the Jurisdiction of the Senate, and yet limited its Authority. He distinguished the Rich, only in order to make them bear the heaviest Burdens; and he discharged the Poor from them, only to keep them contented, and without murmuring, in their Inferiority. He was beloved by his People even in Adoration, was esteemed by the *Patricians*, and, in truth, had no Enemies except in his own Family. But a Fury disturbed the Quiet of it. In short, he received his Death from those Hands which ought to have taken part in his Glory, and promoted his Security. He died at seventy-four Years of Age, after he had reigned forty-four Years ⁵⁴.

Dion. Hal.
B. 4. p. 219.

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⁵² What I have in another Place called a Temple, I here call a Hall; because both Names are proper for the Place where the Senate assembled. We must likewise observe, that *Livy* and *Dion.* don't exactly agree about the Story above related. The *Greek* Historian, whom I have followed, says *Tullia* found her Husband upon the Steps of the Senate-House. But the *Latin* Historian says he made him go out of the Senate, and saluted him King in the *Forum*; and that *Tarquin* sent her home.

⁵³ We are not to imagine *The Street Cyprius* took its Name from the Island of *Cyprus*. The Word *Cyprius*, says *Varro, de ling. Lat.* is an old *Sabine*

Word, which signifies *good*, or *happy*. The *Sabines*, adds he, had inhabited this Quarter of the City, and had given this Street the Name of *The good*, or *happy Street*, *Cyprius Vicus*. Thus *Dion. Hal.* who translates the *Latin* Words into *Greek*, says this Street was called, ὁ εὖωνος ὁλβίου; that is, *The happy Street*.

⁵⁴ All Historians don't agree how many Years *Servius Tullius* reigned. *Eusebius*, *Cassiodorus*, *Mesala*, and *Aurelius Victor*, give him only thirty-four Years Reign: and the ten Years they take from him, they allow to *Tarquin the Proud*. So that the *Roman* Chronology in general does not suffer by it. We have followed *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* who make

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Dion. Hal.
B. 4. p. 243.

THE disconsolate State into which the Death of so good a King threw the *Romans*, is not to be imagined. *Tarquin*, who was the Cause of it, would not suffer his Obsequies to be performed with the usual Pomp; or permit his Body to be carried through the Streets of the City, dressed in the royal Robes. *Tarquinius* alone, who was inconsolable at the Loss of so dear an Husband, conveyed him by Night to his Tomb, without any Attendance except a few faithful Friends. And when she returned to her Palace, she was so affected with the Remembrance of the tragical Scenes which had passed in her Family, that she died of Grief the Night following. Some indeed make her her own Executioner; others make her Death as a new Crime of the abominable *Tullia*. But be that as it will, *Rome* was certainly deprived of a faultless King, who could have no one Reproach justly thrown upon him, except that of having neglected the Law relating to *Interregnum*. And his Virtues made the *Romans* very ample amends for the Non-observance of this beloved Custom. Insomuch that the great Veneration the People had for *Servius* after his Death, seems to have placed him among the Gods. The *Slaves* annually celebrated his Festival in the Temple of *Diana Aventina*, on the Day he lost his Life. 'Tis also said, a wooden Statue of him, which stood in one of the Temples he had erected to *Fortune*, alone escaped a Fire which burnt down the whole Building. It was likewise remarked in *Rome*, that the Statues of the Prince and of *Numa*, which were preserved in the *Capitol*, had each a Ring on one Finger; a Symbol which Antiquity had not given the other Kings: Which was doubtless to shew, that these two Princes had been famous Law-givers, and great Politicians.

Pliny, B. 33.

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§. XXVI. WITH *Servius* ended the good Kings and happy Reigns at *Rome*. Had his Successor been ever so virtuous, he would have found it difficult to have made the *Romans* amends for the Loss they had suffered. And what Despair then must have ensued, when they saw themselves in the Hands of a brutal Man, who had no Rule to walk by but his Ambition, and knew no Laws but his own capricious Humour. They gave him the Name of *Superbus*, or *The Proud*, as soon as he had invaded the Throne: which is said to have been done, because he would not suffer Obsequies suitable to the Rank of his Father-in-law, to be performed. And indeed the *Lains* had at that time affixed to the Word *Superbus*, the two Ideas of a proud and arrogant, and of a cruel and inhuman Person; which was exactly the Character of the new Tyrant. *Tarquin the Proud* had no other Title to the Crown, but the Violence of which he had just been guilty. He despised the Law of the *Interregnums*, with the Neglect of which he had so often reproached his Father-in-law, and never so much as caused himself to be elected King by the Suffrages of the People, or even accepted as King by the Senate. His Invasion was to him a sufficient Title, without any of the Formalities which were requisite to the obtaining the Throne in a lawful manner. So that he overturned all the ancient Customs, and was indebted for the high Station he filled, only to Force, Artifice, Impiety, and a Subversion of the Laws. He did not make use of the Arts of Insinuation to establish and preserve himself in it; as the wise *Servius* had done: nor did he ascend *The Tribune*, and harangue the People, or so much as put a plausible Colour on his Usurpation. A Man of a proud and haughty Spirit was above these Condescensions. *Tarquin* would have lost a great deal of the Pleasure he had in being King, if he had been made so by any but criminal Means. He therefore began with making himself feared, without concerning himself about the Love of his People. He first chose him a Guard, consisting partly of Foreigners, and partly of *Roman* Citizens, who were all abandoned Men, fit for putting any thing in execution which their Master should direct. These stood Centinels before his Palace, Day and Night, and he never stirred out without a strong Guard with him. It may even be said, he made his House his Prison. The new King kept up no intercourse with his People, as his Predecessors had done, nor heard the Complaints or Representations of his Subjects. He never appeared in publick at any stated Times; but then only, when he was least expected. Almost all References of

Dion. Hal.
B. 4. p. 244.

Servius to have continued forty-four Years upon the Throne. When these two Historians agree, their Authority is of very great Weight. And if it were true, as is said, that the *Festi Capitolini* agreed

with them in this, it would put the Matter past dispute. However, *Solinus* has followed the Opinion we embrace.

Affairs of State to the Senate, or the lawful Assemblies of the People, were laid aside. The Fate of the State was determined solely by the King, and such of his Favourites to whom he thought fit to communicate his Secrets. And even his Confidence was somewhat formidable to his Friends: he always accompanied it with a surly Air and severe Threatnings. They never found him in Tranquillity, or in a chearful Disposition. He was always gloomy, and never affable or gracious: So that he made them pay very dear for the Honour he did them in permitting them to approach him.

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A kind of Government therefore, to which the *Romans* had hitherto been so little accustomed, could not but raise frequent Murmurs among the People. They complained, that the Usurper made himself the sole Judge of War and Peace, of Treaties and Alliances. And as they did not yet dread him so much as he was to be dreaded, Fear did not at once take away all Freedom of Discourse. But they soon found themselves under a Necessity of concealing their Tears, and groaning in secret, without daring to communicate their Grief. All the City was full of Informers. They crept into the Houses of the Great, first encouraged their Complaints by their own, and then acquainted the King with all that had been said and done. So that nothing was talked of but Complaints brought to Court against the *Patricians*, for capital Crimes. Sometimes it was for having spoken ill of the present Government, sometimes for having complained of the Death of the late King, and sometimes for having compared the present Administration with former ones. In all these Causes *Tarquin* made himself the sole Judge, tho' the only interested Person; and exercised an arbitrary Severity in his Judgments, without regarding even the usual Forms of Justice. Some were condemned to Death, others to Banishment; and all that were accused were sure to have their Estates confiscated to the King's Use. To be rich was Guilt enough to draw upon them a criminal Accusation, the least ill Consequence of which, was to be deprived of their Estates. *M. Junius*, the Father of the famous *Brutus*, was a memorable Instance of the Avarice of the cruel *Tarquin*. He was descended from some of the most illustrious Nobility in *Rome*; and could trace his Descent from one of *Aeneas's* Companions. His Nobility was supported by an ample Patrimony; and these were the Considerations which led *Tarquin the Elder* to give him his youngest Daughter in Marriage, who was Aunt to *Tarquin the Proud*. This venerable old Man lived in great Honour among the *Patricians*. His whole Attention was taken up with the Education of his two Sons, whom he instructed in all the Exercises proper to form both Body and Mind. And *Junius* particularly, who was afterwards called *Brutus*, perfectly answered the Expectations and Care of his Father. The covetous *Tarquin* therefore undertook to usurp the Estate of the Father, and to murder his two Sons. But *Brutus* saved his Life, and so wisely counterfeited Madness, that it was not thought worth while to cut him off. As for *Junius* the Father, and his other Son, *Tarquin* caused them to be privately assassinated, and possessed himself of the wealthy Inheritance of an Orphan, who was thought to be fallen mad.

Dion. Hal.
B. 4. p. 245.

Dion. Hal.
B. 4. p. 264.

SUCH ill Treatments, with which the most illustrious Families were at first oppressed, made a great Number of the Senators go into voluntarily Exile, and seek for that Peace and Security in other Places, which they could no longer find at *Rome*. *Tarquin* was not at all concerned at their Departure: he even promoted his own political Views by their Removal. The rest of the Senators which remained in the City, were so few in Number, and so low in Character, that the Senate fell of itself into Contempt. It was the Flower of the Senate, who had voluntarily banished themselves: and *Tarquin* gave himself no trouble about filling up the vacant Places. The fewer *Patricians* there were in *Rome*, the easier he thought it would be for him to exercise his Tyranny without Controul. The Senators of his own Faction expected indeed that their Interest at least should be advanced in his Reign; but in vain. The hundred *Plebeians* whom *Tarquin the Elder* had raised from their inferior Station, to place them in the Senate, experienced, as well as the rest, that they had adhered to the wrong Party. The new King deprived them all, without Distinction, of the Share they had in the publick Affairs; and struck the same Terror into them as into the most noble and antient of the Senators. Only as they had not the same Greatness of Mind as the *Patricians*

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CCXXIII.
Livy, B. 1.
ibid.

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Dion. Hal.
B. 4. p. 245.

cians of the first Institution, they could more easily confine themselves to Silence but they felt how little Dependence they ought to have had on an ungrateful Prince.

IN the mean time, the People triumphed at the Senate's being made contemptible. They hoped that *Tarquin*, following his Predecessor's Example, would court them the more, the more he endeavoured to debase the Senators. In short, said they, the royal Authority can no longer subsist, than while the King can cure one of the two Parties, of which the City consists, and which govern the State. But the People were deceived in their Expectations. The Storm fell upon the *Plebeians* in their Turn. *Tarquin* abolished the Laws his Predecessor had made in favour of the People. Not a Word was said in *Rome*, of the *Census* of the Citizens, of their Division into different *Classes*, of their Distribution by *Centuries*, or of the *Roman Lustrum*. All were equally taxed at so much a Head, without Distinction of Rich and Poor. From the first Tribute *Tarquin* laid on the People, all, to the very poorest, were obliged to pay 100 *Asses* of Brass. This was exhausting the poor Populace, who in *Servius's* Time were not obliged to contribute at all towards the publick Supplies. Soon after this, an Edict was published, forbidding all Assemblies of the People, either in City or Country. This was one of the suspicious Tyrant's Precautions to prevent Plots against his Government; but it at the same time deprived the People of one of their chief Diversions. The Inhabitants of *Rome* loved to go out of the City, to be present at the Festivals of the neighbouring Villages: and to rob them of these little Entertainments, was to affect them in a very tender Part. Besides, *Tarquin* had his Emisseries in all Parts of the City, who watched the Words and Behaviour of every Citizen; and the worst Construction was put upon every thing. So that the *Romans*, after they had lost their Freedom of Speech, thought themselves now reduced to a State of real Slavery.

§. XXVII. ALL Minds, both of the Senate and the People, were exceedingly exasperated against the King. Nevertheless, the mutual Hatred of the common Citizens and the *Patricians* was so inveterate, that each rejoiced in their turn over the Calamities the other suffered. But *Tarquin* was very sensible, that all the Orders of the State could not possibly be long oppressed, without uniting together against the Oppressor. For want therefore of the Friendship of the *Romans*, which he either despised, or despaired of gaining, he resolved to bring the Foreigners into his Interest. The *Latins*, as being the nearest Neighbours to the *Roman* State, were the People upon which he cast his Eyes. They were already allied to *Rome*, and King *Servius* had strengthened that Alliance. *Tarquin the Proud* added a personal Union to the publick one between the *Latins* and *Romans*. He had five Children by his Wife *Tullia*, four Sons and one Daughter. The Princess was now marriageable; and he gave her in Marriage to the Man of the greatest Interest among the *Latins*. His Name was *Octavius* ⁵⁵ *Mamilius*; and he resided at *Tybur*. He was of noble Extraction; for he is said to have been descended from *Telegonus*, the Son of *Ulysses* and *Circe*. And his personal Merit made him universally esteemed among the *Latins*. *Mamilius* had the Reputation of being a Man of Valour, and Experience in War; and was a General who, upon Occasion, would have headed an Army with Honour. Such was the Son-in-law which *Tarquin* preferred to the many illustrious Citizens of *Rome*, whom he was afraid to bring into so near an Alliance with him. He knew by himself, how much a Father-in-law might suffer by an ambitious Son-in-law.

⁵⁵ The Question here is, whether *Mamilius's* *Prænomen* was *Octavius* or *Octavus*. It is indeed of no great Consequence, but Criticism does often employ it self about Trifles. *Dion. Hal.* and *Livy* call him *Octavius*. Their Authority is considerable; but scarce sufficient to hinder *Sigonius's* Doubt about the *Prænomen* *Octavius*, from being a reasonable one. It was, says he, scarce ever customary among the *Romans*, to take the Name of a Family for a *Prænomen*. Now every body knows the *Prænomen* *Octavius* was the Name of the *Octavian* Family, from which *Augustus* descended. So that *Mamilius* must then have had the Names of two different Families, viz. of the *Mamilian* and *Octavian*. *Sigo-*

nus therefore concludes, the *Prænomen* *Octavius* ought to be changed into *Octavus*. And indeed nothing was more common than to give Children the *Prænomena* of *Quintus*, *Sextus*, *Septimus*, &c. according to the Order of their Birth. Might not therefore *Mamilius* have had the *Prænomen* of *Octavus*, because he was his Father's eighth Child? And yet after all, ought Reasoning to prevail against the Authority of Historians, who were better informed in the Customs of the *Romans*, than *Sigonius*? Besides, *Mamilius* was not a *Roman*, but a *Latin*; and we shall hereafter find another *Latin*, who had the Name of a Family for his *Prænomen*: it is *Herdonius*, whose *Prænomen* was *Turnus*.

Dion. Hal.
B. 4. p. 246.
and Livy, B. 1.
ibid.

THE Indignation of the *Romans* was increased by *Tarquin's* having chosen a Foreigner for his Son-in-law: But he let them murmur, and employed all his Thoughts to draw the best Advantages he could from this new Alliance. *Mamilius* indeed did his utmost to bring a great Number of the Chief Men of his Country into his Father-in-law's Interest; and his Sollicitations succeeded. But the King had like to have destroyed all *Mamilius* had done in his Favour, by his haughty Airs. The Affair, as related by the Historians, tho' with some Diversity, was this.

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§. XXVIII. *TARQUIN* had sent Invitations to the *Latins* to come to an Assembly of their Nation, on a Day appointed by himself. The Place of their Assembly was the little City of *Ferentinum*, in *Latium*. There was a Temple dedicated to *Flora*, otherwise called *Ferentina*, and a sacred Grove, in which the Deputies of the *Latin* Cities were to meet. Accordingly, the Regard People had for *Tarquin*, chiefly on *Mamilius's* Account, was such, that no one Person failed of coming. The Assembly was formed early in the Morning of the Day appointed, and the Deputies took their Places in the sacred Grove. But they waited long for the King of *Rome*. Several tedious Hours passed, but *Tarquin* did not appear. This made them first murmur, and then they grew impatient; and at length, towards the Close of the Day, *Turnus Herdonius* took this Opportunity to inveigh against *The Proud Tarquin*. *Herdonius* had long harboured a secret Hatred against the King of *Rome*. He was grown jealous of his Rival *Mamilius*, and had been very angry at the Preference given to him, by marrying him to the King's Daughter. It is true, *Herdonius* forgot himself: He was only a private Citizen of *Aricia*⁵⁶, but bold, enterprizing, factious, and at the same time eloquent, and able to carry all before him in publick Councils. He had likewise got himself a Reputation in the Army, and his Courage was extolled. With these Dispositions of Mind and Heart, he undertook to make *Tarquin* odious to the *Latins*.

Liv. B. I. c. 50.
Dion. Hal.
B. 4. p. 247.

I am not at all surprized, said he to the Assembly, *that Rome has given Tarquin the Surname of Proud. What Haughtiness, what Arrogance is this, to cause the most venerable Persons in all Latium to be assembled, and not to appear himself! Has he a Mind to put the Patience of the Latins to the Test, and try how far our Deference for him will carry us? Doubtless he means to judge, by our Weakness in bearing his Contempts, of the Ease wherewith he may make himself Master of our Country. Can it be doubted, by any who consider the Steps that have been taken in his Favour, whether he has it in his View to subdue us? And shall Tarquin then be suffered to usurp over us an absolute Authority? If his Administration had been tolerable in the City, the Government of which he has invaded by Barricide, there would yet be Reason for us to consider whether we should submit to a foreign Yoke. But if his People groan under the Burden of his Tyranny, if he has filled Rome with Mourning, and all our Country with proscribed Fugitives, can we expect a more favourable Treatment? Let us then avoid, by some noble Effort, the Slavery to which he would reduce us. Let us return to our Cities, and make the ambitious Tyrant know, that the Latins have too much Spirit to be awed by his haughty and imperious Airs.*

Livy, ibid.

THIS Harangue made some Impression upon the *Latins*: But *Mamilius* appeased them. He ascribed *Tarquin's* Delays to the Importance of the Affairs which detained him at *Rome*; and at length prevailed, with Difficulty, to have the Council adjourned to the next Day.

TARQUIN then appeared in the Assembly; but he was forced to be put in mind of making some Sort of Excuse to the *Latins*, for his Delays. *I was engaged*, said he very coldly, *in making up some Differences which had happened between a Father and his Son. Of all Business*, replies *Herdonius*, *that is the*

⁵⁶ Livy and Dion. Hal. differ about the City in which *Herdonius* was born. The Greek Historian says it was at *Corioli*; the *Latin* one at *Aricia*. I follow Livy's Opinion. The City of *Corioli* was in the District of the *Volscei*, who, tho' in *Latium*, taken in its utmost Extent, yet were not then a Part of the Body Politick of the *Latins*, nor were they summoned to the *Latin* Assemblies, at which nevertheless *Herdonius* was present. On the contrary,

Aricia was in the Confederacy. *Dion. Hal.* must therefore have been mistaken in making *Herdonius* a Citizen of *Corioli*. I have added, that *Herdonius* was but a private Citizen of *Aricia*. I observed, that no Author extols his Birth, tho' all the Historians celebrate that of *Mamilius*. Besides, *Dion. Hal.* says *Herdonius* would have been ashamed to have named his Great Grandfather.

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soonest dispatched. The one is easily brought to shew his paternal Tenderneſs, the other his Submission. This Beginning did not please Tarquin, who never loved to be contradicted. But he concealed his Resentment for the present, and came to the Business for which the Assembly was convened.

KING Tarquin my Grandfather, said he to the *Latins*, compelled you by Force of Arms to yield to him the Command of your Troops. He had the Power of leading them into the Field, whenever he pleased. The Right of commanding your Armies then, has descended to me with the Blood of my Ancestors. I am come now to demand the Restitution of it. Though my Right sufficiently speaks for me, I desire to have it confirmed by you. This will be a Favour on your Parts, which will deserve my Acknowledgments. The Preservation of your Privileges, the Security of your Cities under my Protection, and the Defence of the whole Nation against the Irruptions of your Neighbours, shall convince you, that an Alliance made with the Grandson, will not be less advantageous to you, than the Treaty made with his Grandfather.

THESE Words were spoken with an haughty Air, and were followed by a profound Silence in the Assembly. Herdonius was the first who broke it. He came from his Place, and standing in the Middle of the Circle of the Deputies, spoke thus:

TO see Tarquin here in the highest Seat, to see him usurp a Right of calling our Assemblies together, and of presiding in them, is to see a publick Attempt made upon the Liberty of the *Latins*. And does he also pretend to make himself Master of our Country by the same Violence with which he invaded the Roman State? His Discourse already shews us what he intends. If we believe him, he has an hereditary Right over us. What! Was it a Condition in the Treaties we made with his Grandfather, that we should be subject to his Posterity? Is it not the Height of Injustice, to demand, as his Right by Inheritance, the voluntary and temporary Donation we made to his Grandfather? He now makes use of the same Pretence of hereditary Right against us, which he has improved to the Ruin of Rome. *Latins*! your Slavery is as certain as that of the Romans. And will it be less severe? Their Lives, their Estates and Houses have been taken from them, by Murders, by Extortion, by Banishments. Will Strangers find Tarquin a less cruel and less covetous Master than his own Subjects? Judge of the Fate which is in Reserve for you, by the Calamities of Rome.

§. XXIX. THIS daring Discourse disconcerted even the proud Tarquin. He was ruffled by the Boldness of the Orator, and desired the Assembly might sit again the next Day, when he promised to answer Herdonius's Invectives. In the mean time the King of Rome consulted his Friends, who furnished him with several Expedients for regaining the Affections of the *Latins*. But he himself found out one which was agreeable to his own Temper. This was to destroy by an horrible Calumny, the Adversary who had insulted him, and at the same time to make his Villany Matter of Merit with the *Latins*. The Method he took for succeeding in his Design was this.

HERDONIUS had come to the Assembly attended with a great Number of Domesticks. Tarquin corrupted some of these vile mercenary Wretches with his Money; and engaged them to hide a great Quantity of Swords, and all Sorts of Arms, in their Master's Baggage. The Design of this Stratagem was to make his Adversary's Fidelity to his Country suspected. The next Day therefore Tarquin entered the Council with an Air of Confidence, which made it believed he would from being accused, turn Accuser. In short, he spoke thus: What I have to say in my Defence, is so convincing, that I don't refuse to accept of my Adversary himself to be Judge of it. One Word is sufficient to destroy the Invectives Herdonius ventured Yesterday to utter against me. He attempted to become my Son-in-law. This is the Substance of my Answer to the Calumnies he has thrown upon me. I was such a Person as he would have represented me to be, would he have sought for an Alliance with me? Of what new Crime have I been guilty, since I thought fit to reject his Suit? If my Adversary had had no Views but those of Equity, his Accusation then should have preceded the fruitless Attempts he made to obtain my Daughter. Yes, Herdonius, your Jealousy, turned into Fury, is the true Source of all your Reproaches. But what am I saying? I am, *Illustration*
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Latins, losing that Time in an unnecessary Defence, which I should employ for the Preservation of your Lives. They are threatened by the secret Plots of a perfidious Citizen. Who would have believed it? The barbarous Herdonius has formed a Design of making this Assembly fatal to you, by the Murder of the Deputies of which it consists. And when he shall have cut off the Chiefs who preside over the Cities of your State, he then designs to erect a Throne for himself, and give Law from it as Sovereign. I don't say this upon bare Conjectures. I have certain Proofs of the Accusation I bring. One of the Conspirators has disclosed to me the Secret, and for a Proof of it, assures me there are Arms hid in Herdonius's Baggage. Let it therefore be searched, that you may all be convinced of the fatal Attempt that was designed against your Lives, and the common Liberty.

THE Accusation was of great Importance; all were personally concerned in it, and every Man was afraid for himself. But *Herdonius*, who did not question but the Roguery would appear, was not at all frightened. He took his Accuser at his Word, and desired his Bundles might be searched. He readily condemned himself to suffer Death, if any other Arms were found in his Baggage, but such as a Soldier usually carried when he travelled. And then he demanded, that if he was found innocent, his Accuser should submit to the same Punishment which he was ready to undergo. Accordingly, the Proposal was accepted on both Sides. The Search was made, and Bundles of Arms were found packed up in *Herdonius's* Baggage. Then the innocent Man was immediately seized, and loaded with Chains: And the Arms which were found were brought into the Assembly. The Minds of the Deputies were disordered with Rage and Indignation, and therefore, without further Examination, or hearing the Defence of the Accused, they immediately condemned the unfortunate *Herdonius* to be drowned. He was fastened to an Hurdle loaded with Stones, and instantly thrown into the Bason at the Head of the Spring of *Ferentinum*. This was a new Punishment among the *Latins*, who became cruel by the wicked Direction and Knavery of the Tyrant of *Rome*.

Lib. B. l. c. 51.

§. XXX. BUT the Death of an Enemy was not the only Advantage *Tarquin* drew from his Villany. The chief Men of the Country looked on him as their Deliverer. They heaped Praises upon him in the Assembly, and all *Latium* resounded with his Name. The *Latins* were no longer in a Condition to refuse him any thing: Upon barely asking for them, they granted the King of *Rome* the same Rights which his Grandfather had been obliged to extort from them by Force of Arms. The Treaty with *Tarquin the Elder* was renewed, and *Tarquin the Proud* was declared General of the *Latin* Armies. And the Conditions of the new Alliance were engraven on Pillars, after it had been made sacred by mutual Oaths. Nor did *Tarquin* stop here. He carried his Negotiations beyond the Countries which were united by the Assembly of the Goddess *Ferentina*. He endeavoured likewise to enter into Alliance with the *Volsci*, and the *Hernici*; and the latter he found disposed to favour him. All the *Hernici* entered into a League with him, on the same Terms as the other *Latins*. But among the *Volsci*, only two of their Cantons, viz. those of *Eccetræ*⁵⁷, and *Antium*⁵⁸, joined themselves to him. The rest continued independent. The Author therefore of so many Alliances, wanted nothing farther, than to keep the confederate Nations firm to his Interest, and in Union among themselves. For which Purpose he erected a new Temple to *Jupiter Latialis*, which was placed in the middle of the confederate People, upon a Hill⁵⁹ which over-looked the City of *Alba*, before it was destroyed. There the Diets of the united Cantons were to assemble; and these Assemblies were called *Latia*. The 27th of *April* was the Day appointed for their annual Meeting, and was called *Feria Latina*. The *Romans* came ever after to this Assembly, and, as the principal Members of the Alli-

⁵⁷ The City of *Eccetræ* was considerable among the *Volsci*. It was situated upon an hilly Ground. No Footsteps of it are now remaining.

⁵⁸ The *Antiates* inhabited the Territory of *Antium*; a maritime City, the Capital of the *Volsci*, a day's Journey from *Ostia*, very near *Nettuno*, according to some; and according to others, very near *Antio Romano*. It stood upon the Point of a rock. *La Torre d'Anzo*, and *Capo d'Anzo*, yet preserve the Name of this ancient City. Fortune had a famous Temple in it.

⁵⁹ It ought to be observed, that the Temple of *Jupiter Latialis*, where the Assemblies of the *Latin* Cantons were held from *Tarquin's* Time, was very near the Temple of *Ferentinum*, or *Flora*, where the *Latins* formerly held their Diets. The latter was at the Foot of the Hill of *Alba*, the former on the Top of it. In Process of Time this Temple of *Jupiter Latialis* became so venerable among the *Romans*, that no Consul ever went into the Field, or the Provinces, without first visiting it, and calling an Assembly of the *Latins*.

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ance, presided at the Sacrifices and Deliberations. This Diet consisted of forty seven Deputies, who formed this *Latin*⁶⁰ Association, which was always the best Part of the Strength of the *Romans*, and contributed more than all the rest of *Italy* to the Conquest of the Universe. Such was the Fruit *Tarquin* reaped from a Crime which was for the present successful; but which we shall see Heaven hereafter revenge in its own time!

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§. XXXI. WITH this Assistance of the *Latins*, whom the King of *Rome* had made his Allies, he thought himself in a Condition to carry the War into the Country of the rest of the *Volsci*. They were a fierce and independent Nation, who braved the *Romans*, and scorned to enter into the Confederacy which so many other *Latin* Cities had made with them. If we believe some Historians⁶¹, *Tarquin* was the first King of *Rome* who made War upon the *Volsci*. But however that be, it is certain they were some of the most obstinate Enemies the *Romans* met with in *Italy*. Two hundred Years were scarce sufficient either to subdue or destroy them.

Liv. B. 1. c. 52.

BUT in order to this great Undertaking, *Tarquin* did not form his Army as his Predecessors had done, or raise it upon the Foot of the Division *Servius Tullius* had made of the *Roman* Soldiery into *Centuries*. He chose out but a very small Number among the *Romans*, and enlisted only such as he had least Reason to distrust. Under this General, the *Roman*⁶³ *Legions* were no longer made up of *Romans* only; nor did the Allies make a separate Body as formerly. *Tarquin* was too odious to his own Subjects, to comply with the antient Custom. He suspected the Fidelity of his *Romans*, and therefore chose to mix and blend his Friends the *Latins* in the same *Legions* with them. This Project was put in Execution at the Place where the *Latin* Assemblies were held, which was the general Rendezvous of all the *Roman* and auxiliary Forces. There *Tarquin* incorporated the *Latins* and *Romans* in the same *Centuries*, which were half of one Nation, and half of the other, and appointed such *Centurions*⁶⁴ over them, as he liked. With these Precautions

60 In what did this Union of the *Latins* and *Romans* properly consist? 1st. The *Latins* were not by this Treaty made subject to the *Roman* Laws. They had their own common Law, which they preserved; and which differed from those of *Rome*, as to Sacrifices, Marriages, Inheritance, Wills, Guardianships, &c. Nevertheless, if any one of the *Latin* Cantons was willing of its own Accord to make Use of the *Roman* Laws, it might: And then this People, which was become more strictly *Roman*, was called *Fundus*. 2dly. The *Latins* were not comprehended in the *Roman* Census. It is most probable, they did not pay any Tribute to the *Romans*, nor were subject to the Poll-Taxes, or those laid on the *Centuries*. 3dly. All the Dependence then of the *Latins* upon the *Romans*, consisted in furnishing as many Soldiers for the *Roman* Armies, as the King or Consuls required. And then these *Latin* Troops fought as Auxiliaries, and were not incorporated into the *Roman* *Legions*. 4thly. The *Latins* had no Right of Suffrage in the *Comitia* of *Rome*, unless called in, upon extraordinary Occasions, by the joint Consent of the two Consuls. 5thly. The *Latins* had nevertheless a Right of standing Candidate for Offices in *Rome*, especially if they had born any considerable ones in their native Country. This was a Privilege peculiar to the *Latins*, exclusive of all the other Confederates of the *Romans*. And when a *Latin* had obtained the *Quæstorship*, or *Edileship*, in *Rome*, he then became a *Roman* Citizen. All these Rights together were comprehended in one Word, and called *Latinitas*. Foreigners had often the Right of *Latinity* granted them, before they obtained the Privileges of *Roman* Citizens. The one was a Step to the other.

61 *Livy* pretends, that before *Tarquin the Proud's* Time, the *Romans* had no War with the *Volsci*. But *Dion. Hal.* assures us of the contrary. He says that King *Ancus Marcius* punished the Robberies the *Volsci* had just committed in the *Roman* Lands; that he besieged *Velitræ*, one of their Cities; and

that he forced them to sue for Peace. Who then are we to believe, the *Latin* Historian, or the *Greek*?

62 The Division *Servius Tullius* made of the *Roman* People into six *Classes*, and of each *Class* into different *Centuries*, made it very easy to raise Troops. If twenty thousand Men were at any time wanted, every *Century* was obliged to furnish Soldiers and Money for the War, according as there was occasion for them. But the common People, who made the sixth *Class*, were excepted out of this general Law, and were called *Proletarii*, or *Capite censi*. They were so called because they served only to swell the Number of the People in the Census, and made the State populous. *Proletarii officio proles edende appellati sunt*, says *Gellius*, 16. 1. *Capite censi vocabantur, qui ære aut nullo, aut proquam parvo, pene solo capite, censebantur*. On account of their Poverty, they were excused paying Tribute, and serving in the Army, at least in those Times when every *Roman* Soldier served at his own Expence.

63 In the earliest Times of *Rome*, it was the sole Prerogative of the *Romans* to be incorporated in the *Legions*. From the Time *Tullius's* Order was established, only those Citizens who were in the first five *Classes*, could serve in the *Legions*. The auxiliary Troops formed a separate Body, which was differently posted, according as Occasion, and Circumstances required. But this Custom of the first *Romans* suffered many Changes in After-times, and will appear in its Place.

64 Every *Century* had its *Centurion* to command it: Who was among the *Romans*, what a Captain is in *France*, with this Difference, that the *Centurion* was always at the Head of a Company of a hundred Men, or rather, an hundred and ten Men: the ten *Decurions* included, each of which commanded one of the ten *Decurie* of which the military *Century* consisted. There were sometimes more and sometimes fewer *Centurions* in the *Roman* *Legion*, according as the *Legion* it self was more

cautions he thought he might undertake any thing. It must be granted, *Tarquin* was a great Commander, and gained as much Glory by his Arms, as he deserved Reproach for his Barbarity, and his Oppression of his Subjects.

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Dion. Hal.
B. 4. p. 250.

SUESSA POMETIA was one of the most flourishing and most formidable Cities of the *Volsci*. It was proud of its Power and immense Riches, and made no scruple of plundering the Territories of its Neighbours. The *Latins* complained of these unjust Rapines; but when they demanded Satisfaction for them, they could get no Answer but this, that the *Suessans* were ready to decide the Difference by Arms. *Tarquin* therefore took hold of this Pretence, to revenge the Quarrel of his Allies; and marched his Troops towards *Suessa*: The *Suessan* Army waited for him on their Frontiers, and sustained the first Attacks of the *Roman* with Courage. But a general Battel determined their Fate. The *Volsci*, being vanquished, fled: some retired farther up into the Country, and others found a Refuge within the Walls of *Suessa*.

TARQUIN deferred not to lay siege to it. He surrounded it with a large Circumvallation, which he strengthened with a wide Ditch. However, the Valour of the Besieged was not inferior to the Courage of the Besiegers. The Assaults they sustained, turned always to the Disadvantage of the *Romans*, and weakened them; but without discouraging them. They persevered in attacking the City, hoping either to starve it, or wear out the Garrison with continual Duty: and they succeeded. The Inhabitants of *Suessa*, who received neither Succours nor Convoys of Provision, found themselves equally pressed with Hunger, and exhausted with Fatigues. But in their utmost Weakness and Extremity they scorned to surrender to the *Romans* by Capitulation. They chose to be killed on their Ramparts, and die in Defence of their Liberty. In short, the City was taken by Assault; and all who had borne Arms in its Defence were massacred without Mercy. The Women, Children, old Men, and Slaves, who were very numerous, became the Prey of the Soldiers. *Tarquin* gave up both City and Country⁶⁶ as free Plunder to his Troops: only the Gold and Silver which were found in this wealthy City was reserved, and carried to a Place appointed for that Purpose. The tenth part of it was applied to the finishing the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*; and the rest was distributed among *Tarquin's* Soldiers. The whole Sum amounted to forty Talents of Gold⁶⁷, or, which comes to

or less numerous; that is, had more or fewer *Centuries* in it. So that a *Legion* which contained sixty *Centuries*, had as many *Centurions*. He who was called *Centurio primum-pilus*, was a Man of Authority and Distinction among them. He was always at the Head of the first *Cohort*, and commanded four *Centuries*. The other *Centurions* were but subaltern Officers to him, and were to receive their Orders from him.
⁶⁵ *Suessa* was a City of a Canton of the *Volsci*, and was surnamed *Pometia*, to distinguish it from another *Suessa*, which was situated in the Country of the *Aurunci*, beyond the River *Liris*. For this Reason Historians give it the Name of *Suessa Aurunca*. The former of these stood between *Cora* and *Velitrae*, at a little Distance from these two Cities. But it is nevertheless difficult to point out its Situation exactly. *Dion. Hal.* reckons it among the principal and most wealthy Cities the *Volsci* had.
⁶⁶ *Dion. Hal.* and *Livy* differ much in several particulars relating to the taking of *Suessa*, and the Spoil which was found in it. 1st, *Livy* contends, that all the Plunder which could be gathered together out of the City, was sold for forty Talents of Gold and Silver, which were all applied to the finishing of the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. On the contrary, *Dion. Hal.* lays, that *Tarquin's* Soldiers had the Benefit of the Plunder, except what *Tarquin* reserved. And that even of the Money which was reserved, only one tenth part was dedicated to *Jupiter*, and the other nine distributed among the Soldiers. 2dly, The *Greek* and *Latin* Historians differ likewise about the Sum which was taken from the *Suessans*. *Dion. Hal.* assures us, that every Soldier's Share, in the Distribution that was

made among them of the Money taken at *Suessa*, amounted to five *Minae*^a; and that the tenth part which was consecrated to *Jupiter*, amounted to four hundred Talents^b. *Livy*, on the other hand, contends, that the whole Sum did not exceed forty Talents^c. And I think it would be in vain to endeavour to reconcile these two Authors. In order to this, *Pighius*, of his own Head, changes the Text of *Livy* from *Quadráginta Talenta*, which is the Reading in all good Copies of this Author, to *Quadríngenta*: and thereby seems to bring the *Latin* Author nearer to the *Greek*.

⁶⁷ It is difficult to adjust the Value of the *Talent* exactly to *French* Money. In order to this, it is necessary to know exactly the Proportions between the ancient and modern Species. Upon which Subject, *Budens*, *Bouterone*, *Petit*, *Du Cange*, *Salmatius*, *Gronovius*, &c. have communicated to us their learned Enquiries. And yet it may be said, that all the Fruit of their Labours amounts to no more than arbitrary Suppositions and happy Conjectures. The Variations in the Price of Metals, and the successive Changes they have undergone in their Value, according to the Exigencies and Circumstances of Times, will not admit this Reduction to be exact, which would suppose Money to have had always a fixed Value, which it never had. Nevertheless, it is certain that both *Greek* and *Latin* Writers understood by the single Word *Talent*, the *Attick Talent*^d, which was equivalent to sixty *Minae*, or sixty Pounds Weight of Silver, of 12 *Ounces* each. The *Mina* contained an hundred *Drachmae*, or, which amounts to the same, an hundred *Denarii*. The *Roman Denarius* may be supposed worth ten *Sols French*^e at the

l. s. d.
^a 16, 2, 11.
Arbutnot.
^b 77500 l.
^c 7750 l.

l. s. d.
^d 193, 15, 0.
Arbutnot.
^e 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ Engli. ..
the

Years of to the same thing, forty Talents of Silver ⁶⁸.

R O M E
CCXXIV—
CCXXVI.

TARQUIN
THE SECOND.

Years of
R O M E
CCXXVII,
CCXXVIII.

Dion. Hal.
B. 4. p. 251.

SCARCE was the War with the *Sueffans* ended, by the sacking of *Sueffa*, when new Enemies obliged *Tarquin* to turn his Arms against them. The King of *Rome* had been long dissatisfied with the *Sabines*. They had been the first who rose up against the Dominion he had usurped, and desired to extend, over all the Nations in alliance with the *Romans*. *Tarquin's* Design in entering into the *Latin* Confederacy, was to make use of their Succours against the *Sabines*. The *Volsca* drew upon themselves *Tarquin's* first Attacks, by an unforeseen Accident; but his first Resolution had been, to punish the *Sabines*. These therefore being suspicious of the Design that had been formed against them, prevented the *Romans* and made Incursions into their Territories. They carried away some Booty from thence, and instantly marching out all their Troops, divided them into two Bodies. The one encamped near *Eretum*, the other in the Neighbourhood of *Fidena*. No sooner then had the News of these Hostilities reached *Tarquin's* Ears, but he marched out of *Sueffa*, of which he had made himself Master, and led his Army against the *Sabines*. *Tarquin* had great Qualifications for a Soldier. He was brave, enterprizing, impenetrable in his Designs, and knew how to join Stratagem to Valour, in the Execution of them. He hastened to meet the *Sabines*, and posted himself advantageously near *Eretum*, in view of the *Sabine* Army. The ardent Desire of fighting was equal on both Sides: And that no time might be lost, the *Sabine* General sent an Express, with Orders to that Part of the Army which encamped near *Fidena*, to come and join the main Army with all speed. But the General's Letters were intercepted, and *Tarquin* made a good Use of what he learned from them. He likewise, in his turn, divided his Troops into two Bodies, and in the Night time commanded one of them to take the Road from *Eretum* to *Fidena*. By this means he eluded the Vigilance of the *Sabine*. Early the next Morning, *Tarquin* drew up the few Troops he had left, in Order of Battel: Upon sight of this, the *Sabines* took Courage; and depending upon being soon joined by the rest of their Soldiers, resolved to hazard a Battel. Their Number and Valour supported them a great while against the *Romans*: till at length the Body of Men *Tarquin* had sent towards *Fidena*, appeared on a sudden, and fell upon the Rear-guard of the *Sabines*. Upon this a sudden Fright seized them, and they, dispersing themselves, endeavoured to get off at the two Sides which the Enemy left open to them. But *Tarquin* had taken care to make

l. s. d.
322, 18, 4.
258, 6, 8.
328, 17, 6.
145, 6, 3.

387, 10, 0.
226, 0, 10.

a
3, 10 1/2
19, 4 1/2

the rate of fifty *Livres* for every Pound of Silver. But besides the *Attick Talent*, antient Authors reckon up several sorts of Talents; *The Talent of Aegina*^f, equal to 10000 *Drachmae*, or 100 *Attick Minae*; *The Talent of Egypt*^g, containing eighty Pounds or *Attick Minae*; *The Talent of Alexandria*^h, of 102 *Minae*; *The Talent of Rhodes*ⁱ, which, according to *Festus*, was worth 4500 *Drachmae* or *Denarii*; *The Talent of Corinth*, worth 10000 *Drachmae*; *The Talent of Cyrene*^k, worth 120 *Minae*; and *The Babylonian Talent*^l, of seventy *Minae*. The *Hebrews* likewise distinguished between the Talent of Silver and that of Gold; the former was worth 3000 *Shekels*, or 102000 *Attick Drachmae*; the latter was twelve times the Value of the former. I know Authors differ in the Value they set upon antient Monies; but without regard to any one's Authority in particular, we have settled the Value of the Talent upon our own repeated Calculations. Nevertheless, they who are for a mathematical Exactness, in so uncertain and controverted a Matter, will always have a Right to dispute about it, and to chuse what Opinion they like best. Some antient Authors have given room to modern Writers, to make a Difference between two sorts of Talents: They call the first *Magnum Talentum*, or *The great Talent*; and the other, *Parvum Talentum*, or *The little Talent*. They build upon *Plautus's* Authority, who expressly mentions *The Great*, or *Attick Talent*, and a *Common Talent*, to which they give a very small Value. They likewise quote some Passages in their Favour, which they pretend are not intelligible, unless we admit of this Distinction of the

Great and Little Talent. Thus they instance, in the Passage of *Plautus's Captives*,

*Eugepæ! Thalem Talento non emam Milesim.
Nam ad sapientiam hujus nimis nugator sum.*

If *Thales of Miletum* was to be sold, I would give a Talent for him. He is a Trifler in comparison of this Man. But however that be, it is certain this Difference between the *Great* and *Little Talent* was unknown to the *Greeks*. As to the *Romans*, they seem to have used the Expression *Magnum Talentum* to signify the *Attick Talent*, and to distinguish it from some other common Talents, which were current in *Italy*. Such was *The Talent of Naples*^m, which was worth but six *Denarii*; and *The Talent of Sicily*ⁿ, which went but for thirty *Roman Denarii*.

68 Several Writers distinguish between different sorts of Talents, some of Gold, others of Silver, and the least of Copper, which they value according to the different Value of the Metals. But they have not considered, that the Word *Talent* expresses a fixed and determined Sum, whether it be in Gold, or Silver, or Copper: much like the *French Livre* (or *English Pound*) which is always of the same Value, whether it be paid in Gold, Silver, or Copper. So that what some modern Authors call a Talent of Gold, a Talent of Silver, and a Talent of Copper, was the same Sum of Money, in Gold, Silver, or Copper. By this Explanation, we avoid the Confusion which has arisen, from the different Opinions of Men on this Subject.

Victory complete. The *Roman* Cavalry which was posted in the Wings of both the Bodies of the *Roman* Army, instantly joined one another, and surrounded the *Sabines* on all Sides. The Slaughter was therefore terrible. So few of the Enemy escaped, that there were not Men enough left to defend the Camp: it was taken and plundered. The *Romans* made themselves Masters of all the Baggage, and recovered the Prisoners taken, in the Incursions which had been made into their Territories.

Years of
R O M E
CCXXVII.
CCXXVIII.
TARQUIN
THE SECOND.

HOWEVER, *Tarquin* did not leave the Work of so glorious a Day imperfect. He fell with surprising Expedition upon the Body of the *Sabines* which encamped near *Ardena*. These had not stirred from their Post; the Orders for their advancing having been intercepted. Besides, they yet knew nothing of the Battel, and of the Victory *Tarquin* had gained over the rest of their Army. The first News they had of it was brought by the King of the *Romans*. He shewed himself to them, and the *Sabines* marched out of their Camp. But they were struck with exceeding great Terror, when they saw the Heads of their principal Officers stuck on the Tops of the Lances of the *Roman* Cavalry. Then they knew the main Body of their Army was defeated, and prognosticated thereby their own Destruction. They despaired of escaping, and did not so much as attempt to defend themselves. Their only Recourse was to Supplications; for they delivered themselves up to the Mercy and Discretion of the Enemy. So that the whole Nation of the *Sabines*⁶⁹, who feared their Country would be laid desolate, after the Rout of their two Armies, fled to the Conqueror for Peace. *Tarquin* complied with the Ambassadors, heard their Petitions, shewed Favour to their Cities, contented himself with making the whole Nation tributary; and, after so successful an Expedition, returned to *Suessa*. But he tarried there no longer than was necessary, in order to gather together the Spoils he had taken from the two conquered Nations. This done, he set out for *Rome*, and led thither his Army, which was enriched with their Booty.

70 It is probable the King of *Rome* then decreed himself two Triumphs, one for having overcome the *Volsci*, the other for having subdued the *Sabines*. The Historians seem to have affected to omit giving any Account of *Tarquin's* Triumphs, tho' they mention his Victories. But Monuments as venerable as Histories tell us he triumphed twice: and it is almost certain it was over the *Volsci*, and the *Sabines*. We don't find he could have merited any Triumphs, unless by the Defeat of these two Nations.

Year of
R O M E
CCXXIX.
Fasti Capitol.

TARQUIN had been long absent from *Rome*. He did not care to reside in his Capital, whilst being weak, and without Glory, he was forced to bear the Murmurs of both Senate and People, whom he continued to oppress. But when his Confederacy with the *Latins* had set him above the Want of any Assistance from the *Romans*, and his Triumphs had secured him against Plots, he fixed his Residence at *Rome*. The City was no otherwise sensible of his Presence, than by the hard Labours he imposed upon its Inhabitants. He had chosen but very few of them to serve in his Troops; the rest he employed in painful Drudgeries. It was *Tarquin's* Maxim, that an idle Populace becomes formidable in the End to a Prince who is not beloved by his Subjects. He therefore resolved to employ the *Romans* in finishing the great Works *Tarquin the Elder* had begun. For the Common-Sewers, for carrying the Waters which stagnated in *Rome*, especially in the *Forum*, into the *Tyber*, were left unfinished. The King⁷¹ obliged the poor People to come and work: and their Maintenance, which was but a very poor one,

Years of
R O M E
CCXXX—
CCXXXIV.

Dion. Hal.
B. 4. p. 257.

⁶⁹ The *Sabines* formerly possessed that Tract of ground, which now makes a Part of the Dutches of *Spoleto*, and the Further *Abruzzo*.

⁷⁰ We have already observed, that *Tarquin* usurped Power in *Rome* independent of both People and Senate. And it is not therefore to be imagined, that he obtained the Honour of the two Triumphs, either by the Suffrages of the one, or the Authority of the other. And perhaps this is the Reason why the Historian mentions them: they doubtless thought these Triumphs unlawful ones. How then do we know *Tarquin* did triumph twice? By the *Fasti Capitolini*, which say it. It's true, they are become, through Time, a little defective even as to them. The Names of the People over whom he triumph-

ed, are effaced out of the Marble: but what remains entire in them, plainly tells us, *Tarquin* did triumph twice. Neither does the Marble shew in what Year, or on what Day, *Tarquin* entered *Rome* in Triumph. Probable Conjectures must therefore supply its Defects.

⁷¹ According to *Pliny*, some, even of the Populace, whom *Tarquin* forced to work upon the Common-Sewers, chose rather to kill themselves, than be enslaved to such painful Drudgery. Besides, the Workmen who were employed in digging these subterraneous Canals, ran the hazard of their Lives; or at least came out of them quite spent with Fatigue, and brought from thence mortal Distempers, caused by the Infection of the muddy Waters.

Years of
R O M E
CCXXX—
CCXXXIV.
TARQUIN
THE SECOND.

was all they had for their Labour. Some were forced to hew Stone, others to carry them on Hand-barrows, others to dig up the Ground, others to build Arches. Blacksmiths and Coppersmiths were taken out of their Shops, and forced to work for the Publick. By these vexatious Methods did the King complete the finishing the Common-Sewers, and the *Great Circus*. This last Work had nothing yet but Rows of Seats, and wanted Galleries, to put the Spectators of the publick Sports under Shelter. So that the Grandson brought these two Structures of his Grandfather to Perfection.

Years of
R O M E
CCXXXV—
CCXL.

EVERY Day great Numbers of the discontented *Patricians* left *Rome*, and carried their Grievances into the Neighbourhood. But *Gabii*, a City of *Latium* received the greatest Number of these voluntary Exiles. It was but natural to its Inhabitants to have a Compassion for so many illustrious Persons under Persecution, whose Merit and Innocence were known to them. Accordingly, the *Gabini* engaged warmly in the Cause of their new Guests, and prepared to make War with the King of *Rome*. In the first place, they depended on the Valour of this great Number of *Romans*, who were fled to them for Refuge, and on the good Intelligence they would be in, with their Fellow-Citizens, who were left in *Rome*. And in the next place, they expected to see the *Volscei* fly immediately for their Assistance. Besides, *Gabii* was a City, rich, very populous, and capable of being animated against *Rome*, by a noble Emulation.

Plin. B. 1.
and 36.
Dion. Hal.
B. 4. p. 253.

TARQUIN either knew, or guessed, the Preparations the *Gabini* were making against him. Therefore, before they appeared in the Field, he thought it necessary to guard *Rome* against the Insults of these new Enemies; who were the most formidable to her, in that they were Neighbours, had many sincere Friends, Acquaintance, and Correspondents in the City; and the War they designed, would become in a manner a civil one. So that *Tarquin* resolved to fortify *Rome* on the Side of *Gabii*. He had observed, that this was almost the only weak Part of the City. It was surrounded every where else with high Hills, which were a kind of natural Rampart to it: but on the Side of *Gabii*, it lay exposed to the Approaches of an Enemy, by a great open Plain. Here then the King built the Fortification, which was so much boasted of in After-Ages. It consisted of a stately Bulwark, which commanded the Country. It was supported on the Outside by a strong Wall, and Towers, which being placed in the different Angles of the *Curtain*, made it difficult of Access: and the whole was surrounded by a deep and wide Ditch, which reached from the Gate *Esquilina*, to the Gate *Collina*.

NEVERTHELESS, these Preparations of the *Roman* did not discourage the *Gabini*. Their Troops were already increased by a great Number of *Suessans*, who had fled to *Gabii* for Refuge, after the sacking their City, and the plundering of their Territory. So that, the most implacable Enemies ⁷² *Tarquin* had, either made up the Armies, or resided in the City, of the *Gabini*. Then Hostilities began, but with various Success. Sometimes the *Gabini* repulsed the *Romans* to the Foot of their Walls; sometimes the *Romans* put the *Gabini* to flight, and forced them to take to their Ramparts for Shelter. So that, these continual Inroads of two neighbouring Nations upon one another, were followed by an equal Devastation in the Territories of both Parties.

Dion. Hal.
B. 4. p. 252.

AND this sort of War was long ⁷⁴, for it lasted seven Years. Inasmuch that

⁷² *Dion. Hal.* places this City, which was an ancient Colony of *Albans*, 100 *Stadia*, or 1250 Paces from *Rome*, upon the Road to *Prænestæ*, in *Latium*. In *Tarquin's* Reign, *Gabii* was a City very populous, and inferior to none, either for Grandeur, or Number of Inhabitants. But in *Dion. Hal.*'s Time, it was so ruined, that there was nothing in it but a few Inns, for the Convenience of Travelers. Nevertheless, its Extent might then have been judged of, by the vast Ruins of its Buildings, and the Compass of its Walls, great part of which were then remaining. We have shewn the true Situation of this ancient City, in another Place.

⁷³ *Dion. Hal.* adds, that the *Volscei* sent an Embassy to the *Gabini*, to desire an Alliance with them, and to assure them that they were ready to declare War with *Tarquin*.

⁷⁴ Tho' antient Authors have neglected to place the Events of *Tarquin's* Reign, according to the Order of Years; yet we may pass our Conjectures upon them. If the War with the *Gabini* lasted seven Years, as *Dion. Hal.* assures us, it did not end till the Beginning of the twenty-third Year of *Tarquin's* Reign. Now as to the two following Years, the first was employed in building the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, according to *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* and the second in the War *Tarquin* declared with the *Ardeates*. So that between the sixteenth Year of this Prince's Reign, and the twenty-third, we find seven Years for the War with the *Gabini*, which was immediately preceded by that of the *Volscei*. What passed between his first and sixteenth Years is fixed to no particular Part of that Time, by the Historians.

Year of
R O M E
CCXXXV—
CCXLI.
TARQUIN
THE SECOND.

As the People could neither sow their Lands, nor reap any Harvest from them, there was a general Want of every thing both at *Rome* and *Gabii*. But the Famine was most sensibly felt at *Rome*. The People, who were already enraged against *Tarquin*, now kept within no Bounds. They publicly complained, that the present Calamities were not owing so much to their Neighbours Hatred of the City as of the King; that a great Nation was perishing with Hunger, on account of his personal Quarrels; and desired, they might either have Peace, or Bread. These Complaints were encouraged by the Emisaries and Friends of the *Romans*, which had taken Refuge at *Gabii*.

§. XXXII. THESE publick Clamours seemed to have a necessary Tendency to a general Sedition, in the Heart of a City, continually besieged by an Enemy's Army, who waited only for such an Opportunity to come and deliver so many unhappy Citizens from the Oppression of their Tyrant. Then *Tarquin* found himself beset on all Sides, either with the Fear of making a shameful Peace, or with the Apprehensions of a general Revolt of his Subjects. But *Sextus* ⁷⁵ *Tarquinius*, who, according to some, was the eldest, according to others, the youngest of his four Sons, extricated his Father out of this Difficulty. He proposed an Expedient to him, which he approved. It was to deceive the *Gabini* by an Artifice, which would not indeed be very honourable, but might prove an useful one. The Scheme was this. The Son pretended to be upon very ill Terms with the King his Father. He was heard to inveigh publicly against *Tarquin's* Obstinacy, in continuing a War, which must necessarily occasion the Ruin of the State. He complained of the rigorous Severities of a Tyrant, whose Conduct was as intolerable to his own Family, as odious to his Subjects. *His Suspicions and Jealousies*, said he, *make him afraid of being murdered by his own Children: He will soon force us to leave his Palace, as he has so many illustrious Citizens to fly from Rome.* Liv B. 1. c. 53.

THE Murmurs of the young Prince did not seem affected. In the mean time, he sent trusty Persons before him to *Gabii*, who there published his Discontent. They artfully mixed the Praises of the Son with their Imprecations against the Father; and in short, engaged to get *Sextus* out of *Rome*, and to prevail on him to prefer *Gabii* to his Father's Palace. Accordingly, they pretended to have happily negotiated the Matter with the young Prince, and only required of the *Gabini*, that they would promise never to deliver him up to the Cruelty of his Father, under Pretence of a Peace and Reconciliation with him. This the Citizens of *Gabii* consented to, and suffered themselves to be imposed upon by an Intrigue so dexterously carried on. They made no doubt but the Son was irreconcilable to the Father, when they were told ⁷⁶, that *Tarquin* had had him publicly beaten with Rods, as a Rebel. Every Body was ready to receive the young Prince with open Arms, whenever he should come and join the other Fugitives from *Rome*: And at length he came to *Gabii*. He brought a great Number of Clients who were dependent on his Family, and some of his Friends, in his Train: And his Father had furnished him with large Sums of Money, for carrying on his Designs. Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 254.

§. XXXIII. It is not to be imagined, how agreeable *Sextus's* coming was to the *Gabini*, or what Hopes they founded upon their gaining over a Prince, who was so much valued by the *Romans*. They, from that time, reckoned upon the Surrender of *Rome*. And indeed, the artful Son of *Tarquin* played his Game with all imagin-

⁷⁵ I find Authors divided about *Sextus Tarquinius*. *Livy*, *Ovid* in his *Fasts*, *Enropius*, *Poliennus* *Cratag.* B. 8. and many others, make him *Tarquin's* youngest Son. But *Dion. Hal.* makes him the eldest. Now, besides that the greatest Number of Writers ought to have more Weight than one only, the Prænomén of *Sextus*, which signifies the sixth Child, is a strong Presumption, that *Sextus Tarquinius* was younger than some of his Brothers. But on the other hand, *Sextus* always acted the chief part. His Father entrusted him with the Enterprize at *Gabii*. He made him King of that City, and always gave him the Preference. Besides, *Titus* and *Lucius*, *Sextus's* Brothers, who were sent to *Delphi* by their Father, to consult the Oracle, received this among other Answers, That he, of them, who should first embrace his Mother, should be Mai-

ter of *Rome*: And this *Livy* himself tells us, they kept secret from their Brother *Sextus*, whom they designed to supplant. *Tarquinius, ut Sextus qui Romæ relictus fuerat, ignarus responsi experisque imperii esset, rem summa ope taceri jubent.* B. 1. In short, the Violence offered to *Lucretia* by *Sextus*; let the *Romans* see what they had to fear, from the Government of a Man who had neither any Fidelity or Modesty in him. These Reasons therefore favour *Dion. Hal.*'s Opinion. But the Reader may choose which Opinion he likes best.

⁷⁶ That the *Gabini* might the more readily fall into the Snare, *Tarquin* caused his Son to be treated in an ignominious Manner. He ordered him to be beaten with Rods in the *Forum*, and inveighed against him wherever he came.

Years of
R O M E
CCXXX—
CCXXXIV.
TARQUIN
THE SECOND.

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⁷² *Dion. Hal.* places this City, which was an ancient Colony of *Albans*, 100 *Stadia*, or 1250 Paces from *Rome*, upon the Road to *Præneste*, in *Latium*. In *Tarquin's* Reign, *Gabii* was a City very populous, and inferior to none, either for Grandeur, or Number of Inhabitants. But in *Dion. Hal.*'s Time, it was so ruined, that there was nothing in it but a few Inns, for the Convenience of Travelers. Nevertheless, its Extent might then have been judged of, by the vast Ruins of its Buildings, and the Compass of its Walls, great part of which were then remaining. We have shewn the true Situation of this ancient City, in another Place.

⁷³ *Dion. Hal.* adds, that the *Volscei* sent an Embassy to the *Gabini*, to desire an Alliance with them, and to assure them that they were ready to declare War with *Tarquin*.

⁷⁴ Tho' ancient Authors have neglected to place the Events of *Tarquin's* Reign, according to the Order of Years; yet we may pass our Conjectures upon them. If the War with the *Gabini* lasted seven Years, as *Dion. Hal.* assures us, it did not end till the Beginning of the twenty-third Year of *Tarquin's* Reign. Now as to the two following Years, the first was employed in building the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, according to *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* and the second in the War *Tarquin* declared with the *Ardeates*. So that between the sixteenth Year of this Prince's Reign, and the twenty-third, we find seven Years for the War with the *Gabini*, which was immediately preceded by that of the *Volscei*. What passed between his first and sixteenth Years, is fixed to no particular Part of that Time, by the Historians.

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as the People could neither sow their Lands, nor reap any Harvest from them, there was a general Want of every thing both at *Rome* and *Gabii*. But the Famine was most sensibly felt at *Rome*. The People, who were already enraged against *Tarquin*, now kept within no Bounds. They publicly complained, that the present Calamities were not owing so much to their Neighbours Hatred of the City as of the King; that a great Nation was perishing with Hunger, on account of his personal Quarrels; and desired, they might either have Peace, or Bread. These Complaints were encouraged by the Emissaries and Friends of the *Romans*, which had taken Refuge at *Gabii*.

§. XXXII. THESE publick Clamours seemed to have a necessary Tendency to a general Sedition, in the Heart of a City, continually besieged by an Enemy's Army, who waited only for such an Opportunity to come and deliver so many unhappy Citizens from the Oppression of their Tyrant. Then *Tarquin* found himself beset on all Sides, either with the Fear of making a shameful Peace, or with the Apprehensions of a general Revolt of his Subjects. But *Sextus* ⁷⁵ *Tarquinius*, who, according to some, was the eldest, according to others, the youngest of his four Sons, extricated his Father out of this Difficulty. He proposed an Expedient to him, which he approved. It was to deceive the *Gabini* by an Artifice, which would not indeed be very honourable, but might prove an useful one. The Scheme was this. The Son pretended to be upon very ill Terms with the King his Father. He was heard to inveigh publicly against *Tarquin's* Obstinacy, in continuing a War, which must necessarily occasion the Ruin of the State. He complained of the rigorous Severities of a Tyrant, whose Conduct was as intolerable to his own Family, as odious to his Subjects. *His Suspicions and Jealousies*, said he, *make him afraid of being murdered by his own Children: He will soon force us to leave his Palace, as he has so many illustrious Citizens to fly from Rome.* Liv. B. 1. c. 53.

THE Murmurs of the young Prince did not seem affected. In the mean time, he sent trusty Persons before him to *Gabii*, who there published his Discontent. They artfully mixed the Praises of the Son with their Imprecations against the Father; and in short, engaged to get *Sextus* out of *Rome*, and to prevail on him to prefer *Gabii* to his Father's Palace. Accordingly, they pretended to have happily negotiated the Matter with the young Prince, and only required of the *Gabini*, that they would promise never to deliver him up to the Cruelty of his Father, under Pretence of a Peace and Reconciliation with him. This the Citizens of *Gabii* consented to, and suffered themselves to be imposed upon by an Intrigue so dexterously carried on. They made no doubt but the Son was irreconcilable to the Father, when they were told ⁷⁶, that *Tarquin* had had him publicly beaten with Rods, as a Rebel. Every Body was ready to receive the young Prince with open Arms, whenever he should come and join the other Fugitives from *Rome*: And at length he came to *Gabii*. He brought a great Number of Clients who were dependent on his Family, and some of his Friends, in his Train: And his Father had furnished him with large Sums of Money, for carrying on his Designs. Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 254.

§. XXXIII. It is not to be imagined, how agreeable *Sextus's* coming was to the *Gabini*, or what Hopes they founded upon their gaining over a Prince, who was so much valued by the *Romans*. They, from that time, reckoned upon the Surrender of *Rome*. And indeed, the artful Son of *Tarquin* played his Game with all imagin-

⁷⁵ I find Authors divided about *Sextus Tarquinius*. *Livy*, *Ovid* in his *Fasti*, *Eutropius*, *Poliennus Stratag.* B. 8. and many others, make him *Tarquin's* youngest Son. But *Dion. Hal.* makes him the eldest. Now, besides that the greatest Number of Writers ought to have more Weight than one only; the *Prænomen* of *Sextus*, which signifies the *sixth* Child, is a strong Presumption, that *Sextus Tarquinius* was younger than some of his Brothers. But on the other hand, *Sextus* always acted the chief Part. His Father entrusted him with the Enterprize of *Gabii*. He made him King of that City; and always gave him the Preference. Besides, *Titus* and *Aruncus*, *Sextus's* Brothers, who were sent to *Delphos* by their Father; to consult the Oracle, received this among other Answers, That he, of them, who should first embrace his Mother, should be Mat-

ter of *Rome*: And this *Livy* himself tells us, they kept secret from their Brother *Sextus*, whom they designed to supplant. *Tarquinii, ut Sextus qui Romæ relictus fuerat, ignarus responsi expertusque imperii esset, rem summa ope taceri jubent.* B. 1. In short, the Violence offered to *Lucretia* by *Sextus*; let the *Romans* see what they had to fear, from the Government of a Man who had neither any Fidelity or Modesty in him. These Reasons therefore favour *Dion. Hal.'s* Opinion. But the Reader may choose which Opinion he likes best.

⁷⁶ That the *Gabini* might the more readily fall into the Snare; *Tarquin* caused his Son to be treated in an ignominious Manner. He ordered him to be beaten with Rods in the *Forum*, and inveighed against him wherever he came.

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able Dexterity. His publick and private Discourse turned upon nothing but the Tyranny of the King of Rome. *He is a suspicious Usurper, said he, who would not spare his own Blood, if he could thereby settle himself the more firmly on the Throne he has invaded. I have not so much fled from a Father, as from the Sword of a Barbarian, who threatened to destroy me. My Life will be safer among the Enemies of Rome, than in the Palace of an unnatural Father.* And, continued he, *if my ill Fortune should pursue me so far, as that I should be suspected at Gabii, I will go and declare my Misfortunes in all the Cities of Latium. I will travel even to the Volsci, the Hernici, and the Æqui. I shall there perhaps find a City, which will be affected with my Misfortunes, and be willing to give Refuge to an unfortunate Son, who is the Object of the Cruelty of a wicked Father.*

Dion. Hal.
B. 4. ib.

FROM Words, *Sextus* proceeded to Actions. No Enemy the Romans had appeared more vigorous and active than he. He often went and ravaged the Lands of the Romans, at the Head of a Party of Men, and returned to *Gabii* loaded with Spoil. His Father took care to facilitate his military Enterprizes, and sacrificed those Soldiers and Officers he suspected, to the Glory of his Son. He sent them to fight with *Sextus*, and at the same time took care that they should be weaker than he, and easy to be defeated. Thus the Reputation of *Tarquin's* Son was increased by the Craft of his Father, without so much as a Suspicion of any Intelligence between them. In short, the *Gabini* placed so much Confidence in the Valour and Fidelity of *Sextus*, that they chose him to be General of their Armies. Then his Exploits were more frequent, and his Victories got him more Credit. By which Means, he became as much Master in *Gabii*, as the Father was in *Rome*.

Liv. B. 1. c. 54.

WHEN therefore *Sextus* found his Authority was sufficiently established, he had nothing more to do, but to put the treacherous Project he had formed, into Execution. For this Purpose, he sent a Slave, in whom he could confide, privately to *Rome*, to enquire of his Father what was yet wanting to compleat the Work. *Sextus* gave the King to understand, that he was arrived to so high a Pitch of Power, among the *Gabini*, that he could succeed in any thing he undertook. However, *Tarquin* did not think proper either to commit to Writing the Advice he gave his Son, or to entrust it to be carried, by Word of Mouth, by a Slave. The King of *Rome* made known his Will to his Son, by a Sign, which the Bearer of it himself did not understand. He led the Slave into a Garden full of Poppies⁷⁷; and there, as it were by way of Amusement, cut off the Heads of all those Flowers⁷⁸ which grew above the rest. Then, after being asked more than once, what Answer was to be carried back to *Sextus*, he sent away the Courier, without saying any thing more to him. The Prince was a Man of Penetration: He easily understood what his Father's Intentions were, by this single Sign, and delayed not to put them in Execution.

Dion. Hal.
B. 4. p. 255.

§. XXXIV. THE Enterprize upon *Gabii*, which was begun by a Treachery unworthy of the Roman Bravery, was compleated by the blackest of all Crimes. Nevertheless, *Sextus* succeeded in putting a Colour of Justice upon the villanous Massacre he made of all the Persons of Credit, in the Place which had been a Refuge to him. He assembled the People, and spoke to this Effect: *I thought, Illustrious Gabini, that the Command of your Troops, with which you have honoured me, would turn to your Advantage and my Glory. But Jealousy has made even the Victories I have gained for you, fatal to me. Such is the Power of the Fate which pursues me. It will not even suffer me to serve my Friends and my Benefactors with Impunity. Whilst I am serving you, at the Hazard of my Life, against an inhuman Father, the very Persons whom I preserve from Tyranny, have formed a Design of delivering me up to the cruel King of Rome. Take back, Gabini, take back into your own Hands, the Authority you have entrusted me with. You will easily find more skilful*

77 Ovid puts Lilies, instead of Poppies.

*Illic Tarquinius mandata latentia nati
Accipit, & virgâ Lilla summa petit.*

Fast. B. 2.

78 *Tarquin* knew how to imitate, on this Occasion, the Example of *Thrasylulus* of *Miletus*, who made use of the same Artifice, to let *Periander* of

Corinth know the Way of establishing his Power. He led the Express which was sent to him, by the Tyrant, into a Field of Corn, and there he beat down the Ears which grew above the rest. By this *Thrasylulus* gave *Periander* to understand, that he would secure his Dominion, he must put the chief Men in *Corinth* to Death.

and more experienced Generals to command your Armies; but you will find none more faithful, or more zealous for your Interest.

THESE Words raised the Indignation and Concern, even of those who were to fall Victims to this horrid Calumny. All looked upon one another, and expected to have read in the Eyes of some guilty Person the Consciousness of his Crime. But a manly Confidence appeared in all their Faces. They therefore enquired of *Sextus*, and entreated him to declare, without Fear, who those Traitors were, those Enemies to the publick Good. At length, they extorted from him, as it were by Violence, the Name of *Antistius Petro*. He was the greatest Man in his Country, and respected for the Services he had done it, both in War and Peace. However, as he was not conscious of any Guilt, he despised the Accusation, and insisted that no Man could, without Injustice, suspect him of a criminal Correspondence with the Enemy of his Country. It was therefore necessary to come to Proofs. *Sextus*, by a Cheat very like that which his Father had put in practice to destroy *Herdonius*, and by the Force of Money, had corrupted some of *Antistius's* Slaves. And they had conveyed among his Papers, some Letters written with the King of *Rome's* own Hand, and on which the Impression of his Seal was still to be seen. As then Search was made all over *Antistius's* House, while he continued in the Assembly, there this convincing Proof was found of his supposed Crime. Then what Outcries did the mad Populace make, upon producing *Tarquin's* Letters, directed, *For Antistius!* The Accuser gave them the publick Officer to read; and they contained an Exhortation from the King of *Rome*, to finish as soon as possible the Affair depending. This was to convey *Sextus* to *Rome* alive, or at least to send his Head thither. In Return for so important a Piece of Service, *Antistius* was promised, besides the Rewards agreed on, the Privileges of a Citizen of *Rome*, Lands to cultivate without the Walls, and a House in the City; and lastly, Places of Distinction among the *Patricians*, for all those who should join in the Plot. Upon hearing this, the Person accused stood speechless, without making any Defence: And his Surprise was thought an Acknowledgment of his Crime. Instantly therefore, and without further Examination, the People took up Stones, and stoned him. And to *Sextus* was committed the Care of enquiring after his Accomplices, and appointing their Punishment.

§. XXXV. By this Decree of the People, *Sextus* found himself fully at Liberty to cut off the Heads of all the eminent Men in *Gabii*, who gave him Umbrage. He therefore ordered the Gates of the City to be shut, and sent Officers into the several Quarters of it, who cut off all the Flower of the Nobility, without Mercy. It may well be imagined, so horrible a Massacre could not be executed without occasioning a Disturbance. And therefore, whilst Blood was flowing in all Parts, *Tarquin* the Father advanced towards *Gabii*, with an Army which he led to the Assistance of his Son. He had timely Notice of the Insurrection the *Gabini* were likely to make, and *Sextus* had given Orders that the Gates should be opened to the King, as soon as he appeared. In short, he entered the City with all the Pride of a Conqueror, who had made himself Master of a Place taken by Assault. The *Gabini* sunk into the utmost Despair at the Sight of a Tyrant their old Enemy, who now had their Lives, their Estates, and their Liberty, at his Disposal. They represented to themselves all Sorts of Evils, and expected inevitably to suffer them all. But their Misfortunes were not so great as their Fears. As implacable an Enemy as *Tarquin* was, he made his Revenge give way to his Policy. No one of the *Gabini* was put to Death by his Orders. Estates, Life, Liberty, all were granted them. *Tarquin* even entered into a Treaty with the City, which was committed to Writing, and was yet preserved at *Rome*, in *Augustus's* Time, in the Temple of *Jupiter Pistor*⁷⁹, or *Sancus*; that is, *The God of Fidelity*. The Treaty was ratified by Oaths, taken at the Altars, and by the Blood of a Victim. This Victim was a Bull, which was skinned after his Throat had been cut; and of his

⁷⁹ The Articles of the Treaty were, according to *Dion. Hal.* written in antient Characters. Which proves, that the Form of the *Roman* Letters was not always the same.

⁸⁰ The Names *Pistor* and *Sancus*, signify the same thing. And *Sancus* may likewise signify the same thing as *Sancus*, from the Verb *sancire*. In-

deed all Compacts made *bona fide* were sacred and inviolable. Thus *Hercules*, the Preserver of Fidelity among private Persons, was called *Semo Sancus*. The Name of *Semo* was peculiar to those Divinities who were otherwise called *Heroes*. They were said, from having been mortal, to be become immortal.

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Skin a Buckler was made, on which were written the Articles of the League with *Gabii*. By this unexpected Moderation, *Tarquin* gained the good Will of a People, who afterwards looked upon him as their Deliverer. *Gabii* became a Refuge for him, against the Conspiracies of the *Romans*, who were his secret Enemies, and a Bulwark with which he defended himself against their Enterprizes. He left his Son *Sextus* in *Gabii*, and made him King of it. Another Refinement likewise of *Tarquin's* suspicious Policy, was to rid himself of his other Sons, and not to suffer them to be near him in *Rome*. We have just now observ'd, that *Sextus* was already provided for; being King or Governor of *Gabii*, he resided there. *Arunx* and *Titus* his two other Sons, were sent at a Distance from their Father, under Pretence of making them two Founders⁸¹ of Colonies. *Titus* was sent to *Signia*, to make a new Settlement of *Romans* there; and *Arunx* to⁸² *Circaum*. *Signia* was nothing but a Camp, which the *Roman Army* had pitched in an advantageous Place, and in which it had once taken up its Quarters. The King thought it might be made a City, and that by transplanting some *Romans* thither to people it, he should increase the Dependancies of *Rome*. Besides the Situation of *Signia*, must make it a convenient Place for keeping the *Volschi* within Bounds. This was the Portion *Tarquin* gave his Son *Titus*. As for *Arunx*, he sent him at the Head of a Company of *Romans*, to build the Walls of *Circaum*. This was then nothing but a Promontory on the Shore of the *Tyrhænian Sea*, where the famous *Circe* was said to have had her Palace. The City was placed by *Arunx* on the Top of a Rock, which equally commanded the Sea, and a vast Plain, in the Territory of the *Volschi*. So that, these turbulent People were kept in Awe by the new Establishments of *Tarquin the Proud*, and by the Vigilance of two of his Sons, whom he found Means to keep at a Distance from him, and at the same time make them useful to him. *Lucius Tarquinius* was probably too young as yet, to give his Father any Umbrage.

Dion. Hal.
B. 4. p. 259.
Et Varro ap.
Lactant.

§. XXXVI. *TARQUIN* now enjoyed a profound Peace in *Rome*. The *Romans* were grown accustomed to the Yoke of an imperious Master; and the Weight of his Oppression made them silent: when a very surprizing Accident put them in possession of a Treasure, which they ever after looked upon as a Present from Heaven. An unknown Woman⁸³ appeared at *Tarquin's* Court, loaded with nine⁸⁴ Volumes,

⁸¹ It is proper to declare, in the Beginning of this History, on what Occasions the *Romans* sent out Colonies, and what Privileges those Colonies enjoyed. The *Romans* never sent out their Citizens to found Colonies, but either to enlarge their Limits, or to curb some Nations who were yet unsubdued, or to ease their City of too great a Number of Inhabitants, or to get rid of a Multitude who were inclined to Sedition, or to reward the old Soldiers of the *Roman Legions*. Before this Sort of Citizens set out from *Rome*, a certain Quantity of Land was assigned them, in the Place where they were to settle, which was to be their own Property. And the Number of Families sent from *Rome* was proportioned to the Quantity of Ground which was to be given them. The Persons so transplanted, were generally such, as had neither Land nor Houses, either in City, or Country. They marched to the Place of their new Habitation, in Order of Battle. There they either built them a City themselves, or took Possession of one already built, which was left empty for them. Here they lived agreeably to the *Roman Laws*, but immediately lost the Right of Suffrage they had had in the *Comitia*. Nor could they stand for any Office in the Commonwealth, unless they were again made Citizens of *Rome*.

⁸² The ancient City of *Circaum* formerly stood in the Place where *Civita Vecchia* now stands, near the Village of *S. Felicità*, according to *Cluverius*; and between *Terracina* and the Place antiently called *Clostra Romana*, according to *Father Briet*. *Homer* took *Circaum* to be an Island; probably because it was surrounded by the *Pontina Palus*, or *Pontine Marsh*. In the Neighbourhood of this City, was the Promontory of *Circaum*, which is now called *Monte Circeo*.

⁸³ *Varro*, quoted by *Lactantius*, *Instit. Divin.* B. 1. pretends this Woman was the *Sybil* of *Cuma*, and that she came in Person, to bring the Books of her Prophecies, to *Tarquin the First*, and not to *Tarquin the Proud*. And this would appear more agreeable to the Order of Time, than what we have said above, if it was certain the *Sybil* herself brought her Books to *Rome*. She might be living in the Time of *Tarquin the First*; but she was dead when *Tarquin the Proud* reigned. We have followed the Opinion of *Dion. Hal.* which is adopted by *Aulus Gellius*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, &c. They place the Adventure of the unknown Woman, in the Time of *Tarquin the Proud*; but don't say, that it was the *Sybil* that brought her Books herself. Their Silence seems to imply that it was another Woman. It is very true, *Pliny* assures us, B. 22. c. 13. that the *Sybil* offered her Books to *Tarquin*: But this Woman, says *Salmasius*, was only called *Sybil*, because she was old, or because she brought the *Sybil's* Books.

⁸⁴ *Varro* and *Dion. Hal.* agree, that the unknown Woman offered nine Volumes to Sale: But *Pliny*, B. 13. c. 13. reduces them to three. According to him, she burnt but two, at two different Times, and there was but one left for the *Romans*. Whether his single Testimony ought to prevail, the Reader is Judge. Add to this, that these Books were not made of Barks of Trees, or Skins. *Symmachus* tells us these Oracles were written upon Cloth. *Cumanos monitus*, says he, *linthea sumpturunt*. And this is confirmed by *Claudian* in these Words,

— Quid carmine poscat
Fatidico, Custos Romani Carbasus avi.

which she offered to sell, and for which she demanded a considerable Price. *Tarquin*, who did not know the Value of these Books, refused to give so much for them. Upon this, the Woman withdrew, and without declaring that these Volumes contained the Prophecies of the *Sybil* of *Cumæ*, burned three of them. Some time after, she returned, and asked the same Price, for the six remaining Volumes, as she had done for the whole nine. She was therefore taken for a mad Woman, rejected with Scorn, and forced to be gone. Upon her return home, she burned half of those she had left, and preserved but three. In short, she ventured to go to *Tarquin's* Palace, a third time, without being discouraged, and offered the remaining Part of her Books, at the same Price she had asked for the Whole. The Novelty of this Proceeding, and the Constancy of the Stranger, made *Tarquin* curious to have the three Books examined. They were put into the Hands of the *Augurs*, who, directed by Signs peculiar to their Art, declared, that the Court had inconsiderately despised a Present sent from Heaven, and had been guilty of an irreparable Fault, in suffering two thirds of such venerable Oracles to be destroyed. The Woman was paid the Sum she asked, and then disappeared, after having advised the *Romans* to preserve her Books with Care. After this, *Rome* began to have a religious Respect for these Oracles. They were afterwards considered as a Source, to which they were to apply for Answers in all Difficulties of State; especially when any extraordinary Event had filled Mens Minds with Terror. *Tarquin*, either because he himself had a sincere Esteem for these Prophecies, or because he thought he might make use of them to serve his political Designs, nominated two Persons of Distinction, to be honorary Guardians of them; and two others, of a lower Rank, under them, to take care of them. These *Duumviri*⁸⁵, for so they were first called, were considerable Men at *Rome*. We shall see, at a proper Time, that the Number of them was afterwards encreased, and that they were brought up to fifteen; at least. As for the Books of the *Sybil*, they were locked up in a Vault, under the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, when that was built; and they were afterwards burned with the Temple it self. History tells us, the keeping of these Oracles became fatal to one of the *Duumviri*, who was first appointed to take care of them, by *Tarquin*. His Name was *M. Attilius*: He was accused by the Person under him (who had been placed as a Spy upon him) of being⁸⁶ unfaithful in his Office. Upon this, the Punishment decreed against him was both severe and ignominious. He was treated as a⁸⁷ Parricide; that is, was wrapped

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Silver



⁸⁵ These *Duumviri*, who were afterwards encreased so, as to become *Decemviri*, and then *Quindicimviri*, were considerable Men in *Rome*. They were successively called, in proportion as the Number of the Members of their College gradually encreased, *Duumviri*, *Decemviri*, *Quindicimviri*, *Sacris faciundis*. It was their Business to consult the *Sybilline* Books, whenever the Senate thought it proper. But recourse was never had to them, unless when under some great publick Calamity, as when a dangerous Sedition threatened the State, when the *Roman* Armies had been defeated, or when any of those Prodigies appeared, which were thought fatal to *Rome*; as for instance, an Eruption of the Fire of *Vesuvius* or *Aetna*, or some monstrous Birth of Man or Beast. Then the *Duumviri* had the Care of putting in execution, whatever they thought commanded by the Books of the *Sybil*. They presided over the Sacrifices, and publick Sports, which they appointed, to appease the Wrath of Heaven. And lastly, they ordered every thing that related to the *Seculares*. Their Office was for Life, and

they were exempted from Taxes, as well as from Civil or Military Employments. This sort of Magistracy continued at *Rome*, till the Time of *Theodosius*, when it was abolished with the rest of the *Roman* Superstitions. On a Medal of the *Manlian* Family, there is the Head of a *Sybil*; and on the Reverse, a *Tripod*, with the Vessel used in Libations. Whence it is conjectured, that *Lucius Torquatus*, whose Name the Medal bears, was one of the *Quindicimviri*, to whom the Republick committed the keeping of the *Sybilline* Books. We shall have occasion to speak of the Authority of these Books, in another Place. It is sufficient to observe here, that the *Sybil*s were held in so great Reputation at *Rome*, that three Statues were erected to their Honour, before the *Rostra*.

⁸⁶ According to *Val. Maximus*, *Marcus Attilius* had lent the *Sybilline* Books to one *Petronius*, who took a Copy of them. The same Author gives *Marcus Attilius* the Name of *Marcus Tullius*.

⁸⁷ The same Punishment, says *Valerius Maximus*, was afterwards enjoined against Parricides. A
Z z Son

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CCXLI. wrapped up alive in the Skin of an Ox, and thrown into the Sea. This remarkable Punishment, which was perhaps the Effect of the Tyrant's Hatred and Artifice, gained great Veneration to these Prophecies, which were turned to any Sense, and arbitrarily applied to any Circumstances, and Purposes, to which those who governed *Rome*, for the Time being, thought proper to apply them.

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UNDER the same *Tarquin's* Reign, the written *Civil Law* had its Rise among the *Romans*. *Papirius*, who probably was then a Senator, (for the *Papirian* Family was *Patrician*) was the Author of it. He collected into one Body all the Laws the *Kings* of *Rome* had enacted to his Time; and this Code was called *The Papirian Law*. Some pretend, that *Papirius's* Work did not continue long in Use, since the Laws of the *Kings* did not survive *Tarquin the Proud*, but were abolished with the regal Power. But this Opinion ought to be confined within just Bounds. It is true, the Laws that favoured the Monarchick State were abolished after the Revolution, which changed the Government of *Rome* into a Republick. But the Laws which related to good Polity in general, such as those of *Servius Tullius*, concerning Commerce, Contracts, the *Census*, and the *Lustra*, always continued in Force. It may likewise be affirmed, that the Laws of *Romulus*, *Numa*, and other *Kings*, were still respected, and ever continued to be, as it were, the Ground-work of the *Roman Law*.

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§.XXXVII. *ROME* still continued to enjoy Peace, tho' the Discontents of the People were as great as ever. The *Aequi* were entered into the *Latin* Confederacy, and the *Hetrurians* had renewed their Treaty with the King of *Rome*. *Tarquin* therefore took hold of so favourable an Opportunity, to carry on the magnificent Work his Grandfather had begun; namely, the famous Temple of the *Capitol*, the *Area* of which *Tarquin the Elder* had levelled, and formerly dedicated to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*. This stately Edifice was not yet raised above Ground, nor were so much as the Foundations of it laid. Nevertheless, the Grandson fully executed his Grandfather's Vow. The Money necessary for this magnificent Structure, ⁸⁸ had been laid by for it, ever since the taking of *Suessa*. *Tarquin* therefore got Architects and Workmen from *Hetruria*: and as to the laborious Part, he made his Subjects the Drudges, in carrying on this Building, as he had done, in so many other Undertakings, which were not coloured with the least Pretence of Piety. The Plan of this so boasted a Monument of the Religion of the *Romans*, is preserved by the Historians; and *Dion. Hal.* gives us a very particular Description of it. Tho', after all, it is uncertain whether this Author has not rather represented it as it was, when he saw it in *Augustus's* Time, than as it was, immediately after it was first erected. However, we will here give the Reader, in one View, all that Antiquity has told us of it.

THE Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* ⁸⁹ was situated on the Top of the Hill *Tarpeius*, which had been long since made a Part of *Rome*. The Original of this new

Name



Silver

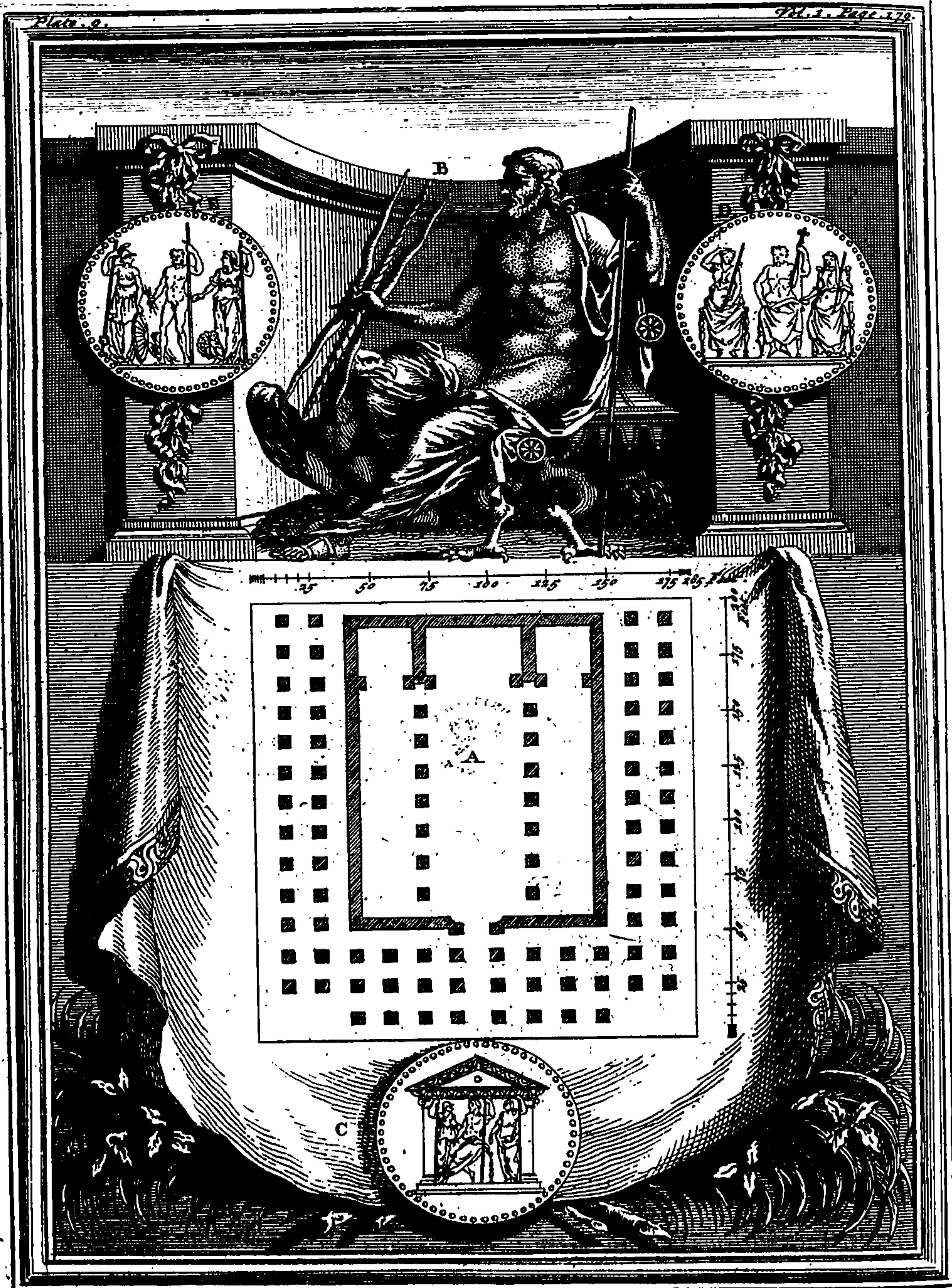
Son who rebels against his Father, and a Man without any Religion, or Respect for the Gods, are equally criminal, and deserve the same Punishment.

⁸⁸ It was said in *Plutarch's* Time, that *Tarquin the Proud* had expended 80000 Marks of Silver, only for the Foundations of the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. And *Piso*, in *Livy*, declares the same thing. But *Livy* himself rather chuses to believe *Fabius*, who reduces this Sum to forty, or rather as we read it, in the best Editions of *Livy*, to 400 Talents; which amounts to 1200000 Livres, at 1000 Crowns the Talents.

⁸⁹ We have the Form of the Temple of *Jupiter*

Capitolinus, on many Medals; among others, on one of the *Petilian* Family. On it, is a Frontispiece of only six Pillars, because of the Narrowness of the Medal. According to *Nardini*, who has given us a Plan of this Temple, it had two Rows of Columns without it, which made a double Portico, like the *Diptera*, or Temples with two Rows of Pillars. In the Front, there was, beside the two Rows of Pillars, a third which stood farther out, and formed the Frontispiece: but this Frontispiece was only the Breadth of the Temple it self, without the Colonnades; so that this first Row of Columns had but eight in it, whereas the second had twelve.

77500 l. according to Arbuthnot.



A. The Ichnography of y^e Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. B. The most common Figure of Jupiter. C. One of Trajan's Medals. D. Another of y^e Same Emperour. E. A Medal of Antoninus.

Name of *The Capitol*, which was given this Hill, is, by Historians, said to be this. It was first called the Hill *Saturnius*, then the Hill *Tarpeius*; and as the Workmen were digging the Foundations, or levelling the *Area* of the Temple of *Jupiter*, they are said to have found, very deep in the Earth, the *Head* of a Man ⁹⁰, whose Features were preserved entire, and the Blood of it looked as red as if it had been but lately spilt. This the *Romans* looked on as a Prodigy, and consulted ⁹¹ the *Hetrurians* upon it. And these Diviners inferred from thence, that *Rome* would some time or other become the Mistress and *Head* of *Italy*. The Prodigy, and the Answer of the *Augurs* therefore, encouraged *Tarquin* to spare neither Pains nor Cost, in the raising a Structure to the Honour of those Gods, who were the Authors of so glorious a Destiny. Accordingly, the Foundations of it were marked out, and the Temple was built of almost a square Form; for it was but fifteen Foot longer than it was broad. It stood upon eight Acres of Ground, and was reckoned to be two hundred Foot broad ⁹², and about two hundred fifteen Foot long. The Front of this great Building was to the South, that is, it faced the Hill *Palatinus*, and the *Forum Romanum*. An hundred Steps led up to it ⁹³ from the *Forum*, which were divided at certain Distances, by large Half-paces, or Landing-places, to give those

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Dion. Hal.
B. 4. p. 257.
and *Livy, B. 1.*
ch. 55.

To give the Reader the more perfect Idea of it, we have drawn out the Ichnography of it, (till such time as we come to give the Elevation of this Structure) according to the ancient *Roman* Foot, which was called *The Foot of the Capitol*. This Foot was divided into twelve equal Parts, which the *Latins* called *Unciæ*. They were equal to eleven Inches, or thereabouts, of the *French Royal Foot*. *Petilius*, whose Name is inscribed on the Medal, is evidently the same, who having been convicted of stealing a Crown of Gold, out of the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, corrupted his Judges with Money, and was acquitted. *Horace* is very satyrical on this *Petilius*.

Mentiosi qua

De Capitolini furtis injecta Petili

Te coram fuerit, defendas, ut tuus est mos?

B. 1. Sat. 4.

The Surname of *Capitolinus* gives room to imagine, that *Petilius* was either a Priest of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, or had some Right of inspecting the Temple, or, lastly, had the Government of the *Capitol*, as most of the Commentators on *Horace* pretend.

⁹⁰ If we may believe *Arnobius, B. 6. contra Gentes*, the Name of the Man, whose *Head* was found, was *Tolus*. So that the Word *Capitol* is compounded of *Caput* and *Tolus*. This *Tolus* must have been beheaded, since, according to *Dion. Hal.* there yet remained Blood in the Place where the *Head* had been separated from the Body: which Blood, adds he, was yet fresh and red. It was doubtless nothing more than a natural Effect, which the Superstition of the *Romans* turned into a Prodigy. According to *Riccius*, the Name of *Capitol* was given the Hill *Tarpeius*, only because it was the *Capital* or chief Fortress in *Rome*.

⁹¹ The manner in which this Consultation was held, is related by *Dion. Hal.* This we thought in it self too trifling a Story to insert in the Body of the History: but it may not be improper to mention it here; that the Reader may from thence form a true Notion of the Cheats and Juggles of these Diviners, to whom too much Credit was given. *Tarquin* sent Deputies into *Hetruria*, to consult the most famous Pretender in the Countrey. When they came to the Diviner's House, they found only his Son at home; the Father was gone out. Nevertheless, the young Man enquired of the *Romans* what the Subject Matter of their Consultation was. The Reason of his Curiosity, he said, was to prevent their making any Mistakes in the Questions they should put to the Prophet: Whereas, in all probability, it was only to inform his Father beforehand of their Business. Upon this, the Envoys gave the Son an Account of the Accident of the *Head* that had been

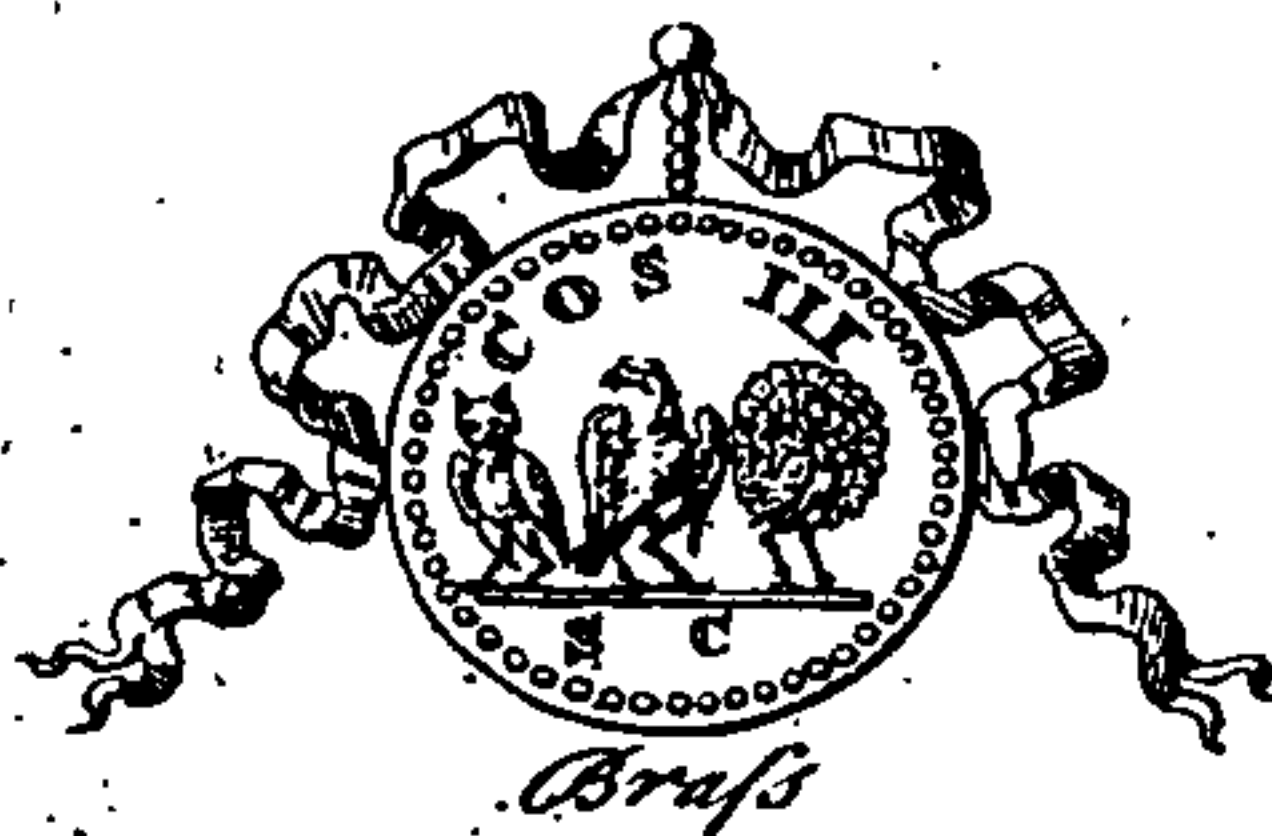
found in digging the Foundations of the Temple. Take care then, replied the young Man, how you are ensnared by the Questions my Father will put to you. He will mark out the Topography of the Hill *Tarpeius* with his Rod upon the Sand: He will divide the Hill into four Parts, and then will ask you whether it was found in the East, West, &c. But do you make him only a general Answer; Without this, you will be in danger of receiving only an ambiguous Answer from him. The *Romans* waited for the Return of the Diviner; who performed all the Ceremonies of his Art before them, and asked them about the Place where the *Head* had been found. To which the Deputies only answered, that it was on the Hill *Tarpeius*. Then the Prophet, when he found he could delude the Deputies no farther, declared, that the *Head* which was found, was a Sign that *Rome* would be the *Head* of *Italy*. But *Livy* says more than *Dion. Hal.*; he makes the Diviner foretel, that *Rome* would be the *Head* or *Capital* of the World. The one was then much more difficult to divine than the other. However, *Pliny* differs a little in the Circumstances of this Story. By the help of Charms, says this Author, one can guard against Presages, and so far change the Decree of the Fates, as to transfer the Thing prefaged from one Country to another. To which he adds, that *Olenus Calenus* was the *Hetrurian* Diviner, to whom the *Romans* applied themselves; and that he, foreseeing the future Grandeur of *Rome*, in the new Event, tried all Ways, to transfer the happy Destiny of that City to his own Country, by captious Questions, which the Deputies evaded. In short, continues he, it was expressly declared, in the Annals, that the Fortune of *Rome* would have befallen *Hetruria*, if the Embassadors had suffered themselves to be surprized.

⁹² *Dion. Hal.* affirms, that this Temple was near two hundred Foot long, by near as many broad. At least he assures us, that there was not fifteen Foot difference between its Length and Breadth.

⁹³ The greatest part of the Antients, and after them *Justus Lipsius*, agree, that there were an hundred Steps which led up to the *Capitol*. But did these Steps reach from the *Forum* to the *Capitol*, or did they begin in the Court of the *Capitol*? This is Matter of Dispute among the Moderns: and they support themselves with all the Authorities they can, upon this Subject. Some think they have reason to say, the Steps did not reach from the *Forum* to the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*; but that you went up from the *Forum* by an easy Ascent, till you came to the Court of the Temple, where the Steps began. They found their Opinion, upon the Custom of those who triumphed, which was, to be drawn in a Chariot from the *Forum* to the Top of the

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those who went up time to breathe, before they came to the Top of the Hill, and the Foot of the *Portico*. This Front consisted of three Rows of Pillars; and the two Sides ⁹⁴ of the Temple were adorned with a *Peristyle*, consisting of a double Row of Pillars. It was, in After-ages, burnt down more than once ⁹⁵; and the *Romans* always rebuilt it, still preserving the same Proportions: till at last, the Embellishments ⁹⁶ that were added to it, made it one of the richest Sanctuaries in the World. The whole Arch of this prodigious Building was gilt, both within and without. It contained three Chapels ⁹⁷, if we may use the Expression, one dedicated to *Jupiter*, another to *Juno*, and the third to *Minerva*. These were as



it were three Temples ⁹⁸ under the same Roof. It was observed, that the *Romans* assisted in the raising this stately Work, with more readiness and pleasure, than in the building of the other publick Monuments. Religion encouraged them in their Labours. And it is likewise probable, that they contributed towards the Charges of this magnificent Undertaking, out of their Estates. At least, it's certain, the Money taken at the sacking of *Suessa*, was scarce sufficient to raise the Foundations of this Building. Nevertheless, Heaven did not permit *Tarquin* to put the

the Hill. Others contend, that the Steps reached from the Foot of the *Capitol*, where the *Forum* ended, to the Temple. There must have been this Height, say they, by the Number of Steps *Tacitus* mentions. The Reader is therefore at liberty to chuse which Opinion he pleases. As for myself, I think one might reconcile the different Parties, without heaping together so many Passages of Authors, by saying, that there was an ascending Way, on one Side for the Triumphal Chariots, and Steps, on the other, for such as walked. Those who are very nice about these minute Circumstances, may consult *Donatus de Urbe Rom.* and *Riccius de Capitolio Rom.*

⁹⁴ The End opposite to the Front had no *Portico*. This Part, which was indeed the End of the Temple, was taken up with three great Oratories, or Chapels, consecrated to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*.

⁹⁵ 1st, The *Capitol* was burnt in *Sylla's* Time, by the Negligence of those that kept it. *Sylla* rebuilt it, and made it more magnificent than before. And *Livy* seems to say, that the *Capitol* was destroyed when *Rome* was taken by the *Gauls*. His Words are, *Capitolium quoque saxo quadrato substructum est*: and this is the Sense of this Passage, which has been misunderstood. *Livy* intended to say, that after the Ravages of the *Gauls*, that *Terras* was rebuilt with hewn Stones, which supported the Ground, on which the *Capitol* stood, and which *Tarquin the Elder* had only built with rough Stones. 2dly, The *Capitol* was burnt a second time in *Vitellius's* Reign; and *Vespasian* repaired it. 3dly, It was burnt again under *Titus*, and *Domitian* rebuilt it; but always upon the old Foundations of *Tarquin*. It is said this Temple would conveniently hold about eight thousand Men.

⁹⁶ The gilding of the whole Arch of the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* was a Work the *Romans* undertook, says *Pliny*, B. 33. after the Destruction of *Carthage*. He adds, that it was doubted in his time, whether it was *Catulus* who had gilt all the Outside of it. The Presents that were made towards it, exceed all Belief. If we reduce the 12000 *Talents* *Plutarch* speaks of, to *French* Money, the

gilding only of this great Building will appear to amount to seven Millions *French*. The Gates of this Temple were of Brass, covered with large Plates of Gold. The Inside of it was all Marble, and the Columns which supported it, were of a valuable Marble brought from *Athens*. The Proportions of them were a little injured, in cutting them at *Rome*, and by too much polishing.

⁹⁷ The Medals shew this. On one of *Trajan's*, *Jupiter* is sitting between *Juno* and *Minerva*. On another of the same Emperor, we see these three Divinities standing. On a Medal of *Antoninus*, they are all sitting. And on the Reverse of another of this Emperor, we see the Figures of three Birds, an Owl, an Eagle, and a Peacock, which Animals are well known to be the Symbols of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*. The Eagle was consecrated to *Jupiter*, the Peacock to *Juno*, and the Owl to *Minerva*. A Medal of *Vitellius* represents *Jupiter Capitolinus* sitting in the inner Part of his Temple. The Medals agree with the Writers in generally giving him that Posture. The Statue of this God was first made either of coloured Plaster, or of some common Materials: but it was afterwards made of massy Gold. The Ornaments of Architecture with which this Temple was embellished within and without, the Goldsmith's Work, and the immense Riches which were expended in its Decorations, seem to have exhausted the Art of the Workmen, and the Magnificence of the *Romans*; as will appear in the Course of this History. Both ancient and modern Authors have laboured to give us an exact Description of this stately Structure.

⁹⁸ The Inside of the Temple was divided into three Parts, by two Rows of Columns, which made the Nave and the two Isles. The Nave answered to the Chapel of *Jupiter*, and the two Isles ended in those of *Juno* and *Minerva*. These three Divinities were, under the same Roof, or, according to the *Greek* Text of *Dion. Hal.* under the same Eagle; that is, according to the Interpretation of *Donatus* and *Riccius*, the Top of the Temple was of a triangular Form, and was like an Eagle planning in the Air.

last Hand to it⁹⁹, and dedicate it: This Honour was reserved for a *Roman Consul*, in the Time of the Republick.

§.XXXVIII. *WHILST Tarquin* was employed in erecting this Temple, a cruel Plague ravaged *Rome*. *Livy*, who gives every thing the Air of a Miracle, either describes it under the Character of a Prodigy, or makes it foretold by a miraculous Event. According to him, a Serpent came suddenly out of a wooden Pillar, and at the Sight of it, the People fled away in Confusion, and sought for Refuge in the King's Palace. And this Commotion, says he, gave *Tarquin* more Trouble than Fear. But the Truth contained under this figurative Way of speaking is, that an epidemical Disease destroyed the greatest Part of the *Roman* Youth. It chiefly seized the Children of both Sexes, and reached even to Women with Child. All Parts of the City were soon infected with it; the dead and dying lay in Heaps one upon another, in all the Streets of *Rome*, and no Remedy was to be found. The Usurper was suspicious; Superstition, from which he was not free, increased his Distrusts; and another extraordinary Event had likewise intimidated him. A great Palm-tree raised its Head high in the Air, pretty near his Palace; upon the Branches of which an Eagle had made her Nest in the Beginning of the Spring. But Vulturs came whilst the Eagles were out after Prey, destroyed the Nest, and devoured the young Eagles; and when the old ones returned, the Vulturs beat them off with their Beaks, and made themselves Masters of the Palm-tree.

BUT whatever there be in this Story, which seems to have been invented *ex post facto*, and is but too natural a Representation of the Expulsion of *Tarquin* and his Children, from a victorious City, signified by the Palm-tree; it is at least certain, that the King sent at that time to consult the Oracle of *Delphos*¹⁰⁰, either about the publick Misfortunes, or his own private Apprehensions. The Circumstances of this Deputation, to which *Tarquin* resolved to give as much Lustre, and make it as safe as possible, were as follow.

HE did not think it proper to entrust any but his own Children with the Secret of this Embassy; and therefore *Arunx* and *Titus* were pitched upon to go to *Delphos*. And *Junius*, the Son of that venerable *Patrician*, whom *Tarquin* had caused to be murdered, in the very Beginning of his Reign, in order to take Possession of his Estate, was one of the Attendants on the two Princes. He had long acted the Part of a Madman, at Court, and the brutish Stupidity he counterfeited, gained him the Name of *Brutus*. His affected Follies had something inexpressibly amusing in them, and as he was Master of them, he knew how to make use of them with Art, and suppress them when they would be unseasonable. Perhaps never was a more profound Wisdom than what he concealed under the Appearances of Stupidity. *Brutus* had been brought up, ever since his Father's Death, in the King's Palace, with the Princes his Cousins; and as he made Sport for them, he was inseparable from them. He was therefore appointed to take the Journey with them, and got ready to set out for *Delphos*. The Princes prepared magnificent Presents for *Apollo*, whose Oracle they went to consult: And *Brutus* likewise, in his Turn, resolved to carry his offering too. But the Present he intended to make the God, was Matter of Diversion for the whole Court: It was an Elder-stick. However, as he was persuaded that the Gods of that Time (that is, their Ministers,) were somewhat affected

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Dion. Hal.
B. 4. p. 261.

Dion. Hal.
B. 4. p. 264.
Liv. B. 1. c. 56.
Val. Max.
Plin. Ec.

⁹⁹ As we advance in this History, we shall find that both the *Romans* and foreign Nations gloried in contributing to the Decorations of this Temple, and enriching it with their Presents. And indeed, it grew into such high Veneration, that the *Emperors* and *Generals* of the Army made their Vows there, before they set out on any military Expedition. The Conquerors, when they returned from their Armies, brought their Presents to it, and came and there paid their Homage for their Victories. The *Consuls*, out of Respect to it, put on their *consular Robes* in it. In a private Part of the Temple, were kept two Crowns of Gold; one of which had been consecrated to *Jupiter* by the *Gauls*, and the other had been sent by the *Carthaginians*, in way of congratulating the *Romans*, on the Victory they had gained over the *Samnites*. And, among other rich Spoils and Trophies, with which

this Temple was adorned, there was a Statue of *Victory*, of massy Gold, of 320 Pounds Weight; which was a Present of *Hiero*, King of *Syracuse*. In the same Temple were preserved the Tables of the *Roman* Laws, a Copy of which was kept in the Archives.

¹⁰⁰ *Delphos* was formerly a City of *Phocis*, situated near the South Part, of the Hill *Parnassus*. It became famous for the great Concourse of People, which came thither to consult the Oracle of *Apollo*, and for the stately Temple which was built to the Honour of this God, in that City. It is now nothing but a vast Heap of Ruins. Near it is a little Village, which bears the Name of *Castri*, according to *Sophicenus*; but others call that same Place *Salona*. We have the History of the Oracle of *Delphos* at length, in *Pausanias*, *B. 10.* *Dio. B. 62.* *Diodorus*, *Cedrenus*, *Suidas* and *Orosius*.

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with the Value of the Presents that were made to them, he had the Precaution to inclose a Rod of Gold in his Stick, without any Body's Knowledge. This was a true Symbol of his own Mind and Conduct. *Brutus* concealed the most valuable Gifts of Nature under a contemptible Out-side. All things being got ready, they set out for *Delphos*, and arrived there safe. The Oracle was consulted in *Tarquin's* Name, on the Business of the Deputation; the Presents were offered, and the Answers given. Which it is probable declared there would soon be a new Reign, since the King's Sons, and *Brutus* with them, ventured to ask the Oracle which of the three should succeed *Tarquin*. In all probability, the Name of *Brutus* was put into the Question, merely by way of Jest. However, a Voice was heard from the Bottom of the subterranean Cave, from whence the Answers of the God came, which declared that the Government of the *Romans* was destined to him, *who should first give a Kiss to his Mother*. At which Words *Brutus*, who counterfeited Aukwardness, tumbled down, and, without being perceived, kissed the Earth, that common Mother of all living. And by this means, he is said to have secured to himself a Dominion in *Rome*, under the Name of *Consul*, which was less durable indeed, but not of less Authority, than that of the *Kings*.

THE two Brothers agreed between themselves to keep the Oracle a Secret, lest if it should be known to their third Brother *Sextus*, he should be beforehand with them in the Execution of it. All the Dispute therefore between *Arunx* and *Titus* was, which should first give a Kiss to their Mother *Tullia*. In order to determine this, some say they drew Lots; and others, that they agreed first to salute the Queen together at the same Instant, and then to reign together. But be that as it will, for Contradictions signify little in a Fable, they returned to *Rome*, where the Revolution which changed the *Roman* Monarchy into a Republick, was just coming to a Head.

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§.XXXIX. AT their Return from *Delphos* the two Brothers found the City in a Commotion, on account of the War the King had declared with the *Rutuli*. Their Country was situated on the Sea-shore, and was a Part of *Latium*; but it is doubtful whether they had entred into the Confederacy which *Tarquin the Proud* had made with the *Latins*. At least, it is certain, that notwithstanding the Alliance of the *Latins* with the King of *Rome*, the *Rutuli* had often given the voluntary Exiles, and proscribed Citizens of *Rome*, a Retreat among them. But after all, *Tarquin* was actuated by other Motives than that of the Defection of the *Rutuli*, to ruin and destroy them. *Ardea*¹⁰¹, their Capital, was a wealthy City. *Tarquin* promised himself, that the Spoil he should take in it would fill his Treasury, which was exhausted by the building the Temple of *Jupiter*, and so many other Works, which served either for the Decoration of *Rome*, or the Convenience of the *Romans*. Besides, the People murmured that those Hands were employed in servile Offices, which were more fit to signalize themselves in Battles. *Tarquin* therefore, whom Age and Experience had a little softened, then thought of regaining the Hearts of his Subjects, and bringing them into Temper, by the Hopes of sharing the Spoils of a Nation, which the Neighbourhood of the Sea had enriched. The *Roman* Army marched towards *Ardea*, with Confidence that they should take it without Opposition. But the Project did not succeed; they were forced to besiege it in Form. The Expences necessary for this new Enterprize, obliged the King to lay an extraordinary Tax upon his People. This Tax encreased the Number of the Malecontents, and the King did not reap the Advantages he had hoped for, from the War with the *Rutuli*. So far was he from gaining the Hearts of his *Romans* by it, that he found among them a general Inclination to a Revolt. Nevertheless, the King was too proud to go back. He pressed on the Siege with all the Ardour of a valiant General; but the Bravery of the Besieged kept him long before the Place. In the mean time, as the War was carried on but slowly, the General Officers of the *Roman* Army spent the Leisure they had, in agreeable Diversions. They went to one another's Quarters, and mutually invited one another to Entertainments. It happened, that *Sextus Tarquinius* entertained his Brothers and Friends, in his Turn; and *Collatinus* was at the Feast. This Gentleman was *Egerius's* Grandson.

Liv. B.1.c.57.

Dion. Hal.
B. 4. p. 261.

Livy, ibid.

¹⁰¹ *Ardea* was the Capital of the *Rutuli*, three Miles from the Sea, and twenty from *Rome*. The Place where it formerly stood retains the Name of *Ardea* to this Day.

and that Nephew of *Tarquin the Elder* to whom the fifth King of *Rome* had formerly given the Property of the City and Territory of ¹⁰² *Collatia*. There *Collatinus* had his Residence, and there enjoyed the Sweets of an happy Marriage, with his new Wife *Lucretia*. This Lady was esteemed throughout the whole Country, as the most accomplished Person in *Latium*. She was so beautiful as to charm the Eyes of all who beheld her, and yet so modest as to strike an Awe upon the most daring. Though formed to shine in publick Life, her whole Delight was in Retirement; and when Decency obliged her to shew her self, she never suffered her good Breeding to carry her so far, as to give room for the least Suspicion, to the Disadvantage of her Virtue. She was of a sweet and obliging Temper, and had nothing like Pride, but with respect to her Honour; but she thought that of so delicate a Nature, that the least Stain upon it was a Crime, not to be expiated, but with all her Blood. So many Perfections had therefore made her the Object of her Husband's tenderest Affections and Esteem. *Collatinus* loved her to Adoration, and took a Pleasure in boasting of his Happiness, wherever he came. Now it happened, that the Conversation, in the present Entertainment, turned, either by Accident or Design, on the Merit of Wives. Every one present exaggerated the good Qualities of his own; but none seemed more earnest in commending his, than the happy *Collatinus*. In short, they took that Method to end the Dispute, which Joy and Wine inspired; and that was, immediately to mount their Horses, and go and surprize their Wives. They agreed, that she, whom they found employed in a Manner most worthy of her Sex, should have the Preference, and be allowed to have the greatest Merit. Instantly the three Sons of *Tarquin*, accompanied by *Collatinus* their Relation, set out for *Rome*, got quickly there in the Beginning of the Night, and went to their Wives; who were much surprized at the unexpected Return of their Husbands. They found the three *Roman* Ladies wholly taken up with their Pleasures; they had made a Feast among themselves, at which Joy and Plenty reigned. Then they hastened away to *Collatia*, without Delay; but the Night was already far advanced by that time they got thither. Nevertheless, they found *Lucretia* still up, with her Maids about her, spinning with them, and working in Wool. The Company her Husband brought to her, did not at all discompose her; and all were well satisfied with the Reception she gave them. Fatal Interview! in which *Sextus Tarquinius* conceived a Passion, which afterwards became fatal to his Father, Himself, his Brothers, and the unfortunate *Lucretia*! *Sextus* was even then very unwilling to leave *Collatia*; but there was an absolute Necessity for his returning to the Camp before *Ardea*.

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Liv. B. 1. c. 57.

THE Toils of War did not at all abate the unlawful Flame which devoured *Sextus*. His Impatience continually called him back to *Collatia*. He therefore soon returned thither under Pretence of giving Orders there, about the Siege of *Ardea*. He lodged at *Collatinus*'s House, who was his Relation and Friend; and, in the Absence of her Husband, *Lucretia* did the Honours of the House with great Dignity. They supped together, and after Supper *Sextus* was conducted to the Apartment which was appointed for him. And now his own Reflections tormented him, at the Approach of the Crime he was ready to commit. He represented to himself the Birth of *Lucretia*; the Affront he was going to offer to an illustrious Family, which had great Interest in *Rome*; (for *Lucretia* was a *Roman*;) the Injury he was going to do his Relation, who was Master of *Collatia*; the Danger into which he might perhaps run himself there; and the Violation of the Laws of Hospitality. But he hardened himself against all these Considerations, and promised himself either Secrecy or Impunity. What most discouraged him, was the invincible Modesty of *Lucretia*; that Steadiness and Constancy in Virtue, which would not suffer her to bear any Hint towards the least Deviation from it, and that modest Pride which had hitherto struck him with such an Awe, that he durst not

¹⁰² The ancient *Collatia* stood, according to *Cluverius*, on this Side the *Anio*, six Miles from *Rome*, near the Place where the *Martana* and the *Anio* join. He supports himself in this Opinion upon the Authorities of *Pliny* and *Strabo*, who place this City in *Latium*. *Holsenius* places it in the Territory of the *Sabines*, beyond the Conflux of the *Os* and the *Anio*, a little above *St. Symphorosa*. If we

may believe *Kircher*, *Collatia* stood between *Cras-*
timum and *Fidena*. But all we infer from the
different Authorities which are brought on all Sides,
is, that this City was in the Neighbourhood of *La-*
tium and *Sabinia*, and sometimes joined with the
Sabines, sometimes with the *Latins* and *Romans*, as
it appeared to be her Interest.

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so much as sigh before her. Nevertheless, he promised himself that he should gain by Fear and Violence, what he could never hope to obtain by Caresses. *Sextus* spent the best Part of the Night in a Struggle with these different Thoughts. Till at length, when he thought Sleep had closed all Eyes, he stole into *Lucretia's* Apartment, and past softly through her Women, who lay almost at her Door. But the first Noise waked the Lady; and how great must her Surprise have been, to hear *Sextus's* Voice! *It is I*, said the infamous Son of *Tarquin*, *if you but once cry out, you are a dead Woman*. Then mixing Threatnings with Caresses, he declared his Passion, and made her feel the Sword he had in his Hand. But neither the Fear of Death, nor the flattering Promises of *Sextus*, could stagger the chaste *Lucretia*. The Dread of dying in Infamy, was the only Consideration which violently extorted that Consent from her, which she otherwise would never have given. *Your Refusal*, adds the Ravisher, *shall not only cost you your Life, you shall with it lose likewise that Reputation for Virtue, which makes you so proud. After I have stabbed you, I will kill one of your Slaves, and put him by your Side, and will every where declare, that I only revenged the injured Honour of my Relation Collatinus. And when you are by this Means deprived of Burial, and thought infamous, what Good will it do you to have resisted my Will?* Thus, by taking the Advantage of her Weakness, *Sextus* found Means to subdue this generous Roman. The Love of Glory had made her chaste; and now the Fear of Infamy makes her yield to his Desires. So little Stress and Dependance is to be laid on the Principles of Pagan Virtue!

EARLY the next Morning, *Sextus* appeared again in the Camp: Whilst *Lucretia*, having now escaped the Danger of losing her Reputation, considered the Loss of her Life as nothing. She dressed her self in Mourning, took a Dagger under her Robe, wrote to her Husband to come to her Father *Lucretius's* House, got into her Chariot, and came to Rome. People were surprized to see her wear all the Marks of the deepest Sorrow, and often asked her, as she passed by, what was the Cause of her Grief: But she answered them only by weeping. And when she came to her Father's House, she threw her self at his Feet, and bathed them with her Tears, in the Presence of a few Relations, who were accidentally there. *You see prostrate at your Feet*, said she to him, *a Woman whom another Person's Crime has involved in Guilt, and who abhors the Light of the Sun. Be therefore neither so cruel as to despise me, for the Injury I have received; nor so fearful as not to dare to revenge it.* At these Words, they raised her up, and desired her to declare the melancholy Occasion which brought her to Rome, and the Author of the Injury of which she complained. To which she replied, *The Recital of my Misfortunes ought only to be made, in an Assembly of all our Relations, and all your Friends. Call them together therefore, and let every Person in Rome, if it be possible, hear it only from my own Mouth.* This said, she continued in a mournful Silence. She could not carry her Complaisance so far, as even to satisfy the Curiosity of her Father, and her Relations, concerning the Cause of her Grief. Whilst she continued under the most terrible Dejection, the best Part of the Roman Nobility ran to *Lucretius's* House. Among the rest, came *Collatinus*, *Lucretia's* Husband, and with him, *P. Valerius* 103, the Son of *Volesus*, and *Junius Brutus*, who seems to have only waited for this very Moment to throw off the Mask of Madness. When the Assembly was pretty numerous, *Lucretia* addressed her self to her Husband, in this Manner. *Return, my Lord, return to Collatia, and view the nuptial Bed, which Hymen had consecrated, and of which Chastity was the Guardian. You will there find Traces of my Shame, and your Dishonour. It is true, my Heart continued faithful, but my Body has just been polluted. A treacherous Enemy introduced himself into your House, under the spurious Cover of Hospitality. Sextus Tarquinius, by robbing me of my Honour, has made me an Accomplice in a Crime, which can never be expiated, but by his Death, and my own. As to the latter, I will desire the Assistance of no Arm but this, to put an End to my Days. And it is incumbent on you, Romans, to lend yours to punish a perfidious Villain, who is much more criminal than an unfortunate Woman, who condemns her self to Death.*

Liv. B. 1. c. 58.

103 This is the same *P. Valerius*, who was originally of *Sabinia*, and whose Ancestors came to Rome with *Tatius* King of the *Sabines*. He afterwards bore the Surname of *Poplicola*.

THESE Words raised Indignation and Pity in every Heart. The Company in vain endeavoured to comfort *Lucretia*, and to divert the Resolution she had taken, of putting an end to her Life. They represented to her, that the Body can never be criminal, when the Heart is innocent. But the *Roman* Heroine was attentive only to her Glory, and her Grief. She went, and embraced her Father and her Husband, in a Flood of Tears, as if to take her last Farewel of them; and then, without being perceived, stuck the Dagger she had brought with her ¹⁰⁴, into her Heart. She fell down, expiring at the Feet of her Relations; and the Blood which she shed, only to attest her Innocence, or repair her Glory, served likewise to cement the League of those illustrious Citizens, who gave Liberty to *Rome*, and delivered her from the Yoke, under which she laboured.

§. XL. FOR whilst so tragical an End filled the Spectators with Grief and Con- sternation, *Brutus* came to the dying Lady, drew the Ponyard, with which she had stabbed her self, out of her Bosom; and then holding it in his Hand, all over bloody, and shewing it to the Assembly, said, *I swear by this Blood, which was once so untainted, and which nothing could pollute, but the Villany of a detestable Tarquin, that I will pursue the King, the Queen, and their Children, with Fire and Sword; and will do my utmost to extirpate out of Rome a Race of Villains, who infect the Roman Throne. Ye Gods! I call you to witness this my Oath.* At these Words he presented the Dagger to *Collatinus*, made *Lucretius* and *Valerius* successively take it into their Hands, and engaged them to take the same Oath which he had just pronounced. These noble *Romans* were surprized at the unexpected and sudden Appearance of so much Wisdom in an Idiot; and entirely gave themselves up to his Counsels, as thinking him a Man inspired. And their Surprize was yet greater, when they saw him take the most proper Measures for the Execution of the Design, of which he was the Author.

You will have time enough, said he to the Relations and Friends of *Lucretius*, to lament the Death of so courageous a Relation and Friend. Let us now think of nothing but revenging it. Neither imagine, that what I say proceeds only from some sudden Flight of a Man whom you have all along thought a Madman. That Madness was feigned only, as long as I thought it necessary to preserve my Life from being taken away, by the Usurper who deprived my Father of his. I have reserved the Reason Heaven has given me, to be used on the first happy Opportunity. It is now come. It is therefore our Business to lay hold of it, and signalize it by some great Event. And in order to it, let us begin with making ourselves Masters of the City, shutting the Gates, and placing Guards at them, consisting of such Persons only, as are sincere Friends to our dawning Liberty. Heaven, and your Counsels, will complete the rest. It was easy for *Lucretius* to secure the Gates of *Rome*; for *Tarquin*, at his Departure, had left him Governor of the City.

ALL admired the Constancy of *Brutus*, whom publick Derision, and a thousand Insults, for above twenty Years, could not provoke to throw off the Mask of Stupidity. He was without difficulty chosen to be the Head of the Enterprize, which he carried on in this manner: He first took care, that none should be suffered to go out of the City, for fear Intelligence should be carried to *Ardea*, of the Steps which were taking at *Rome*. Then he caused the yet bloody Body of the brave *Lucretia* to be carried on a Litter; and the Father and Husband of the Deceased followed her, in a negligent Dress, to the Place where the *Comitia* were usually held, that is, to the most frequented Place in *Rome*. They placed the Corpse on high Steps, raised on purpose, over-against the Hall where the Senate used to assemble: and Officers were commanded to call the People together, who all ran to the Place, out of Curiosity, to see so mournful a Spectacle. Then *Brutus* ascended *The Tribune*, whence Harangues used to be made, and plainly shewed, that his having kept at so great a distance from publick Affairs, had nei-

¹⁰⁴ The *Romans* thought it meritorious to kill themselves to avoid Infamy, or preserve their Honour. To resolve not to survive Shame, was, with them, an heroical Act, which deserved Immortality. But the *Thebans* would not suffer Men thus to lay violent Hands on themselves. The *Athenians* branded with Shame the Memory of him who voluntarily killed himself. By their Laws, the Hand which

gave the mortal Wound was cut off, and thrown upon a Lay-stall. *Plato* and *Seneca*, tho' assisted only with the Light of Reason, could not help acknowledging, that the Gods alone, or rather the supreme Being, has a just Right to dispose of our Lives. And *St. Austin* speaks agreeably to the Principles of Christianity, when he says of *Lucretia*, *Si infans cur occiditur? si noxia, cur laudatur?*

Years of ther lessened the Strength of his Understanding, or the Force of his Eloquence.
 R O M E He spoke thus :

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and Livy, B. 1.

ch. 59.

I am sensible, illustrious Romans, it must be new and surprizing to you, to see a Madman speaking about the most important Affair Rome has had under Deliberation ever since her Foundation. But I must desire you no longer to judge of me by your former Prejudices. A feigned Madness, after the cruel Murder of a Father and a Brother, whom Tarquin destroyed, was the only Refuge Brutus had to preserve his Life. And by an Artifice so long and consistently supported, you may judge of the Steadiness of a Man, who now offers himself to be your Deliverer. Tarquin, the proud Tarquin, seated himself upon the Throne by an unjust Usurpation: and his Reign has been only one continued Series of Murders, Proscriptions, and Acts of Injustice. You yourselves, Romans, have felt it, when being condemned by his Orders to Labours scarce to be endured by Slaves, and buried almost as low as Hell itself, you were forced to breathe the infected Air of the Common-Sewers. Those Hands which had been accustomed to conquer, were forced to quit the Sword for the Mattock and the Spade. Through his whole wicked Government, all Burdens have been laid upon the Citizens of Rome, and all Favours bestowed on Strangers. What is become of the Honours and Privileges of your illustrious Body? This People, who formerly made Laws, have been of late oppressed by unjust ones. No more Comitia, no more Suffrages, no more Deliberations with you, about War or Peace. How long then shall we yet wait for the Recovery of our Liberty? What! till Tarquin is dead! Ye Gods! you have given him four Monsters for Sons, whose Names and Villanies ought to make them execrable in our Sight! No doubt, the Design of Heaven in this, is to intimate to us, that we ought to abolish the regal Office, since it refuses to give us good Kings. For can we hope for any such, of the Race of the Tarquins? Romans, turn your Eyes this Way. The illustrious Person you see lying dead before you, still wet with her own Blood, has just now fallen a Victim to her Chastity, violated by one of Tarquin's Sons. The infamous Sextus, whom his Father designs for our Governor, has just made Rome a Present of the First-fruits of his future Reign. What Security will you have any reason to expect from him, for your Daughters and your Wives? The generous Heroine, who has sacrificed herself, teaches you at once, both what you to have to fear, and what you have to do. She turned her Arm against herself, to efface her Dishonour. Let us turn ours against her Assassines, and our Oppressors. The Father is no more innocent than the Son. He killed his first Wife, murdered his own Brother, was polluted with Parricide, by assassinating his King, and his Adultery was succeeded by an incestuous Marriage. These are the Crimes the Tarquins have brought us from Greece, from whence they originally came. Greece never produced any thing more enormous, or saw any thing more tragical. Take your Choice therefore, Romans, either tamely to bear with the worst of Villanies, like Slaves; or to revenge and extirpate them, like Heroes. Will the Gods ever offer you a more favourable Opportunity of recovering your Liberty? The Senate and Nobility of Rome are ready to second you. What! shall these Hearts, which were formerly so brave on all Occasions, when Neighbours or Strangers were to be subdued; be only cowardly, when the Business is, to deliver themselves from Slavery? The Army, which Tarquin commands before Ardea, ought not to intimidate you. The Soldiers of which it consists, have left us, without designing it, very dear Hostages, which secure them to us. Their Wives and Children are at Rome. Besides, the City is sufficiently stored both with Arms and Provisions. The imprudent Tarquin himself took care to fortify it, against his own Oppressions. Command therefore, illustrious Romans, do but command, and authorize the Enterprize with your Suffrages, and we promise you Liberty. O, immortal Gods! O ye Gods, who protected our Forefathers, and ye Genii, who take care of the Preservation and Glory of Rome, it is you, that promise it us. And you shall therefore see us defend it, with our Counsels, our Estates, and our Arms, to the last Drop of our Blood. Protect us against our domestick Enemies, and we will defend your Temples and Altars from all Violence, if you grant us your Assistance!

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BRUTUS's Harangue was often interrupted by the Acclamations of the People. Some wept, at the Remembrance of past Sufferings; others out of Joy, at the Hopes of a more happy Government; and all called for Arms. But

Brutus

Brutus did not judge it proper to arm the People, till they had first confirmed, by their Suffrages, a Decree of the Senate, which was to this effect. 1st, It condemned the *Tarquins*, and all their Posterity, to perpetual Banishment. 2dly, It deprived them of all the Rights and Honours of the Regal Power. And, 3dly, It forbad every Citizen to say or do any thing in favour of them, upon pain of Death. *Brutus*, by a surprizing Instance of good Fortune, happened to be legally invested with the Right of assembling the *Comitia*. *Tarquin*, who took him for a Madman, had given him the Office of *Tribune*, or Commander in Chief, of his *Horse-Guards*. The Power of assembling the *Comitia* was annexed to that Employment; which the King had given him in Dependence upon his Want of Understanding, and because he thought him incapable of using it to his Disadvantage. *Brutus* therefore, brought all the People, lawfully assembled by *Curia*, into the Voting-place: and all were unanimous. A Decree was made, that the *Tarquins* should be no longer suffered to be either on the Throne, or in *Rome*; and that their Adherents should be punished with Death.

§.XLI. AFTER this first Blow, which was given the *Tarquins*, by both People and Senate jointly, the Administration of *Rome* was reduced to an *Interregnum*. And then the People, by another Vote, entrusted it with *Sp. Lucretius*, the Father of *Lucretia*, who was then Governor of *Rome*. So that it was his Business, to prepare every thing, for the Choice of the new Governors of the *Roman State*. The next thing that came under Deliberation, was, what kind of Government they should chuse. And here *Brutus* again distinguished himself, upon an Article which required all the Wisdom of the most consummate Politician. It's true, he borrowed many Reflections, from a Memorial King *Servius Tullius* is said to have left behind him, and in which he had drawn a Scheme for changing the *Roman Monarchy* into a Republick. However, *Brutus* represented, that it might be dangerous, in so sudden a Revolution, either to reduce the Government barely to a *Democracy*, or to a mere *Aristocracy*. He added, that he well understood the Divisions between the People and Senate, and their mutual Jealousies; and that therefore the *Romans* must have such Heads, as could hold the Balance between the Interests of the two Parties, and keep the Pretensions of both *Plebeians* and *Patricians* within due Bounds. *Experience has shewn us*, said he again, *that the good Kings, such as Romulus, Numa, and the rest, down to the last Tarquin, wisely made use of their Authority, to moderate that of the People, and the Senate. It is therefore by no means proper, that Rome should be without supreme Magistrates; but it is necessary, that their Power should neither be perpetual, nor center in one Man: let it be divided, and limited in point of Time. Lacedæmon, that rich City, which is governed by such wise Laws, never became famous, till she came to be governed by two Men, who jointly made the Interests of the Publick their chief Concern. One was a Guard or Inspector over the other; and they were excited to a zealous Discharge of their Duty, by a mutual Emulation. Let us also take particular care, not to continue the Power of our Governors too long. In length of Time, Men come to take pleasure in governing, and are thereby tempted to retain that Authority, the Sweets of which they have long experienced. Let us then, following the Example of the Athenians, renew these chief Magistrates every Year, and thereby guard against new Usurpations. Nay, let us even change the very Names of King and Kingdom, and give the two Heads, who are to govern us, the Name of ¹⁰⁵ Consuls, and the Roman State, that of Republick. Let us likewise abolish the pompous Ensigns of the regal Power. Let no*

¹⁰⁵ *Pomponius* the *Civilian* contends, that the Name of *Consul*, given to the annual Magistrates, who were the chief Governours of the *Roman Republick* after the *Kings*, was taken from the Word *consulere*, as signifying *To watch for the Publick Good*. *Varro*, for his part, derives this Name from the same Word *consulere*, but in a different Signification, namely, as importing *To consult*, or *Ask Counsel*. And indeed the Intent of those who first instituted the *Consuls*, was, that they should do nothing, but with the *Advice*, or *Counsel*, of the Peo-

ple, and the Senate. But whatever becomes of this double Etymology, the Law which placed them at the Head of the Republick, calls them *Prætors* and *Judges*. We have this Law yet remaining, as quoted by *Tully* in his *Third Book of Laws*. When it was made in the *Comitia*, which changed the Monarchy into a Republick, it is said to have run thus: *Reges imperio duo sunt, iique præcundo, judicando, & consulendo, Prætores, Judices, Consules, appellantur. Militie summum jus habento. Nemini parento. Ollis salus populi summa lex esto.*

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more ¹⁰⁶ Scepters, or Crowns, or royal Robes be seen among us. Let us only suffer our Consuls, to sit on an Ivory Seat, to wear a white Robe, and to be attended by twelve ¹⁰⁷ Lictors, with their Axes and Fasces. By this means, we shall enjoy all the Advantages of a Republick, without losing any of the Benefits of Monarchy. But what am I saying? I am not for entirely abolishing the venerable Name of King, which was consecrated by the same Auspices, which Rome herself was blessed with, in her Infancy. No; let us retain it, and give it to that Magistrate to which we commit the Superintendency over Religion. Let his Office be for Life; and let him bear the Title of The King of sacred Things ¹⁰⁸. Let him be exempt from military Offices, and publick Taxes, and apply himself wholly to the Direction of the Worship we pay to the Gods.

THUS spake Brutus, and the Heads of the Conspiracy, who were assembled at Lucretius's House, approved of his Scheme. All that remained, was to get the People to consent to it; for every thing was done regularly, and in due Form. Sp. Lucretius assembled the *Curia* again; and they were desired to give their Approbation to the Plan of Government Brutus had prepared. The People granted this Request, and established by a Law, that new Form of Administration, which subsisted at Rome, to the Times of the Emperors. The Romans from that time idolized their Republick, and adored it under the Name of Liberty. It will appear in the Sequel of this History, how many Precautions they took to guard it against the several Attempts that were made upon it, and how much Blood they spilt to preserve it.

§. XLII. BUT the Conspirators lost no Time. They assembled the People once more, to put the finishing Hand to the Revolution. The Romans of the several Classes were ordered to meet, not by *Curia*, but by *Centuries* ¹⁰⁹, according to Servius Tullius's Division of them; and they were directed to come armed to the *Campus Martius*, in order to proceed to the Election of the two first Consuls. The *Campus Martius* had perhaps been, to that time, the Place appointed for the Election of the chief Magistrates. At least, it was ever after the Place appointed for chusing the Consuls. Here Sp. Lucretius, who governed Rome, during a short *Interregnum*, proposed two *Patricians* to the People, for Consuls. These were Brutus, the Head of the Conspiracy, and Collatinus, the Husband of Lucretia. The Romans thought them the most irreconcilable Enemies to the Tarquins; and the *Centuries* therefore voted them Consuls, and proclaimed them. Then the cruel Tullia, when she saw her Husband's Throne overturned, and that she could be no longer safe in Rome, left it, and went to Tarquin. She was hissed by the Populace as she passed through the City: but so monstrous a Fury deserved a more rigorous Treatment.

IN the mean time, Tarquin was informed at his Camp before Ardea, by some who got out of Rome before the Gates were shut, that Brutus was raising some Commotions to his Prejudice. But he was little apprehensive of the Consequences

¹⁰⁶ The Consuls were only denied the common Use of the Sceptre, Crown, and an Habit of Distinction. Livy, B. 30. of his History, assures us, that the Consuls, on the Days of their Triumphs, in the publick Sports, and at solemn Sacrifices, wore the Crown of Gold, the Ivory Staff or Sceptre, and the Habit striped with Purple, as the Kings did.

¹⁰⁷ We read in the 12th Book of Valerius Maximus, that the Consuls at first retained as many Lictors as the Kings, and that they had twenty-four. And he adds, that the Consul Poplicola reduced them to twelve. But each Consul was not attended with twelve Lictors; neither did they divide them so as to have six a-piece attending them. They were only guarded by the twelve Lictors alternatively, each in his Month. This we learn from Livy. This Ceremony began with the two first Consuls. The Consul, who was the oldest, or had most Children, or most Suffrages for the Consulship, had the Lictors the first Month. It appears by a Line in Virgil's 6th Book, that Brutus was first attended with the Fasces, before his Collegue Collatinus.

*Consulis imperium hic primus secusque secures
Accipiet* —

¹⁰⁸ The Rex Sacrorum, or Rex Sacrificulus, was

instituted from the Beginning of the Revolution, which changed the Roman Monarchy into a Republick. This was a considerable Dignity among the Romans, tho' inferior to that of Pontifex Maximus. For fear the Name of King should make him too proud, they made him but a subordinate Officer, even in the Affairs of Religion. His Wife was called Queen. This Office was never conferred on any, but in the *Comitia* of the People, assembled in the *Campus Martius*, by *Centuries*. Nor could any but a *Patrician* be chosen for it. The King of the Sacrifices was not suffered to intermeddle in State-Affairs. Inasmuch, that when, in the *Comitia*, the Sacrifice over which he presided, was ended, he withdrew from the Assembly, that he might have no share in them.

¹⁰⁹ Tho' Servius Tullius had appointed, the People should be assembled by *Centuries*, yet they were afterwards assembled, sometimes by *Tribes*, sometimes by *Curia*, and sometimes by *Centuries*, as there was occasion. For the most important Affairs, and for the Election of the principal Officers, the *Comitia* were assembled by *Centuries*. We shall give a more particular Account of the different Roman *Comitia*, as the historical Occurrences shall require.

of an Intrigue carried on by one, whom he despised as a Madman. Nevertheless, he returned to the City, attended only by his Children, and guarded by a small Number of Friends. The rest of the Army continued to carry on the Siege of *Ardea*. *Brutus* went himself to confirm the News of the Revolution which had happened at *Rome*. He went out of the City, with a Company of young Men well armed, took Care not to meet *Tarquin*, and appeared in the Camp. *Valerius*, one of the Conspirators, had already prevented the *Consul*, and preposessed the Minds of the Army in his Favour. Besides, a great Number of Letters had been brought at the same time, which all concerned the Change made at *Rome*. *Titus Herminius*, and *M. Horatius*, had received those the *Consuls* had written to them: Which were carried thro' all the *Legions*, and after the Soldiers had heard them read, they adhered to all the Decrees the *Romans* had made in the City, both in the *Comitia*, and in the *Campus Martius*. So that *Brutus* found himself Master of the Army. Whilst *Sp. Lucretius*, on his part, refused to open the Gates of *Rome* to the *Tarquins*, when they appeared before them. Thus the King, being at once both driven from his Capital, and rejected by his Troops, was forced to fly for Refuge to *Cære*, a City of the *Hetrurians*, with only his Wife, and his Sons *Arunx* and *Titus*. As for *Sextus*, he retired to *Gabii*, the Government of which he had usurped. But this Change of Fortune encouraged the Inhabitants of *Gabii*, to revenge the Injuries they had received from him. They took away the Life of the perfidious Villain, who had treacherously delivered them up to his Father. A just Punishment of Heaven upon an infamous Debauchee, whose Incontinence had caused the Ruin of his Family! In the mean time, the *Romans* made a fifteen Years Truce with the *Rutuli*; the Siege of *Ardea* was raised; and *Rome* thought she had recovered her Liberty, after the Banishment of the *Tarquins*. Strange Caprice! The tyrannical Oppressions of one King, gave this People an Aversion to regal Power, who had lived happily under six Reigns, and who afterwards had often Reason to complain of their *Consuls*. *Tarquin*¹¹⁰ had reigned twenty five Years, when he was driven from *Rome*.

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¹¹⁰ *Dion. Hal.* has mentioned the Duration of *Tarquin the Proud's* Reign, more than once. According to him, in his first Book, *he had at least begun the twenty fifth Year of his Reign*. And in several Places of his fourth Book, he sometimes makes this Prince reign twenty five, and sometimes twenty four, Years compleat. But he does not say enough of it, to determine exactly the Number of the Years of *Tarquin's* Reign. What is sure is, that the twenty fifth Year was begun, at the Time of this Revolution. *Eusebius* is the only Author who makes *Tarquin the Second* to have reigned more than twenty

five Years. And in order to do this, he takes ten Years from *Servius Tullius*. *Tarquin* was then hoary with old Age, as *Dion. Hal.* declares he was. This King was thirty, when he married *Tullia*; and did not marry her, till about the twenty fourth Year of *Servius Tullius's* Reign. Now *Servius Tullius* reigned about forty four Years; and *Tarquin* was therefore fifty Years old, when he ascended the Throne. So that he must have been in the seventy sixth Year of his Age, when *Brutus* and *Collatinus* abolished the Monarchy.



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CCXLIII.

§.I. **T**HE Banishment of the *Tarquins* delivered *Rome* from her domestick Tyrants, but it encreased the Number of her Enemies abroad, and made her lose her Allies. That City, doom'd to be the Mistress of the World, by changing the Form of her Government, was now almost reduced to the same Condition she was in, at her first Foundation. She was in a manner left to her self, and confined to so small a Territory, that she had not above two or three Cities that could properly be said to be under her Jurisdiction. In the Space of two hundred and forty three Years, the seven *Kings* who had govern'd *Rome*, and had been always victorious over their Neighbours, had not, by an hundred Battles, and much Bloodshed, gain'd Land enough to furnish their City with Provisions. So that the *Romans* were, at their first Revolution, confin'd within strait Limits; and all the Nations round about them were as independent on them, as in the Time of *Romulus*. The *Hetrurians*, the *Latins*, the *Sabines*, and the *Volsci*, their near Neighbours, tho' often conquer'd, were again in Possession of their Liberty; and their transient Subjection to the *Kings* of *Rome*, had procured the latter little more than the empty Honours of a Triumph. The City it self was indeed very much increased, tho' its Jurisdiction abroad still continued to be but of a small Extent. There were then a prodigious Number of Inhabitants in *Rome*, who had been brought thither from the conquered Cities; in which Circumstance alone consisted the Strength of the *Roman* State: insomuch, that the Citizens of *Rome* themselves were in a Condition, by their Numbers and by their Valour, to give Law to the many jealous neighbouring Nations, the most inconsiderable of which had Territories of greater Extent than the whole *Roman* Country. Indeed the *Kings* of *Rome* had begun to supply the Want of a more extensive Dominion, by the useful Confederacies they had made with the *Latins* and *Hetrurians*: for these Allies answered the Purposes of a larger Territory. They had obliged themselves, by the Terms which they were forced to accept, to raise as many auxiliary Troops in their own Country, upon the first Notice, as the *Romans* should require. *Rome*, by this means, had facilitated the Conquest of the neighbouring Nations, even whilst she remained under the Government of her *Kings*. As for *Tarquin the Proud*, tho' the League between the *Latins* and *Rome* was owing to him, yet soon after his Exile, it appeared that he had had nothing but his own Interest in View; for all the Nations in Confederacy with the *Romans* went over to his Party. So that *Rome*, now become a Commonwealth under the new *Consuls*, but left to her self and unsupported, was both to maintain the Liberty she had assumed, and to open that new Course of Conquests, which she afterwards carried on, even to the Ends of the known World. It is from this new Birth of *Rome*, fallen again, if we may so speak, into a State of Infancy, that we must trace her Progress, till with Astonishment we see her arrive at her utmost Pitch of Grandeur.

Year of
R O M E
CCXLIV.
JUNIUS BRUTUS, and TARQUINIUS COLLATINUS, Consuls.

§.II. THE Joy which was felt in *Rome*, upon the Recovery of publick Liberty, was not free from Uneasinesses and Suspensions. The two *Consuls*, *Junius Brutus*, and *Tarquinius Collatinus*, tho' named to the *Consulship* on the 24th of *February*, in the Year of *Rome* 243, did not begin to discharge the important Duties of their Function

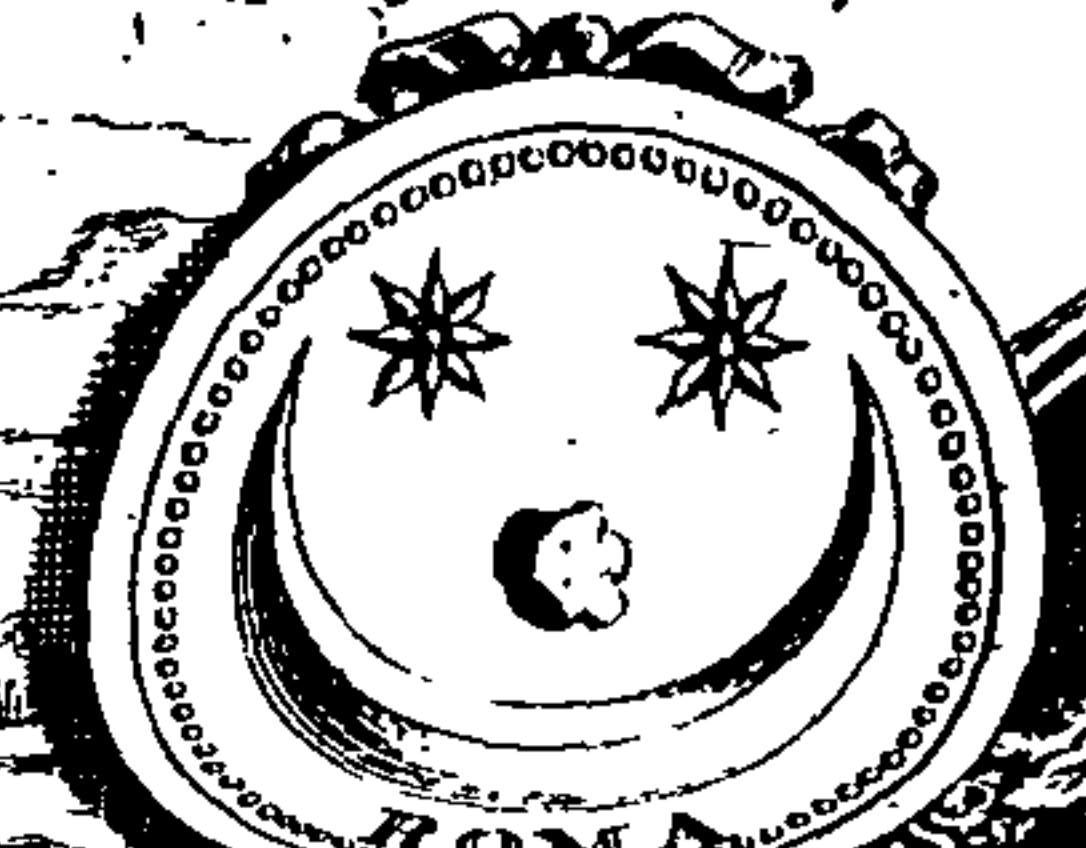
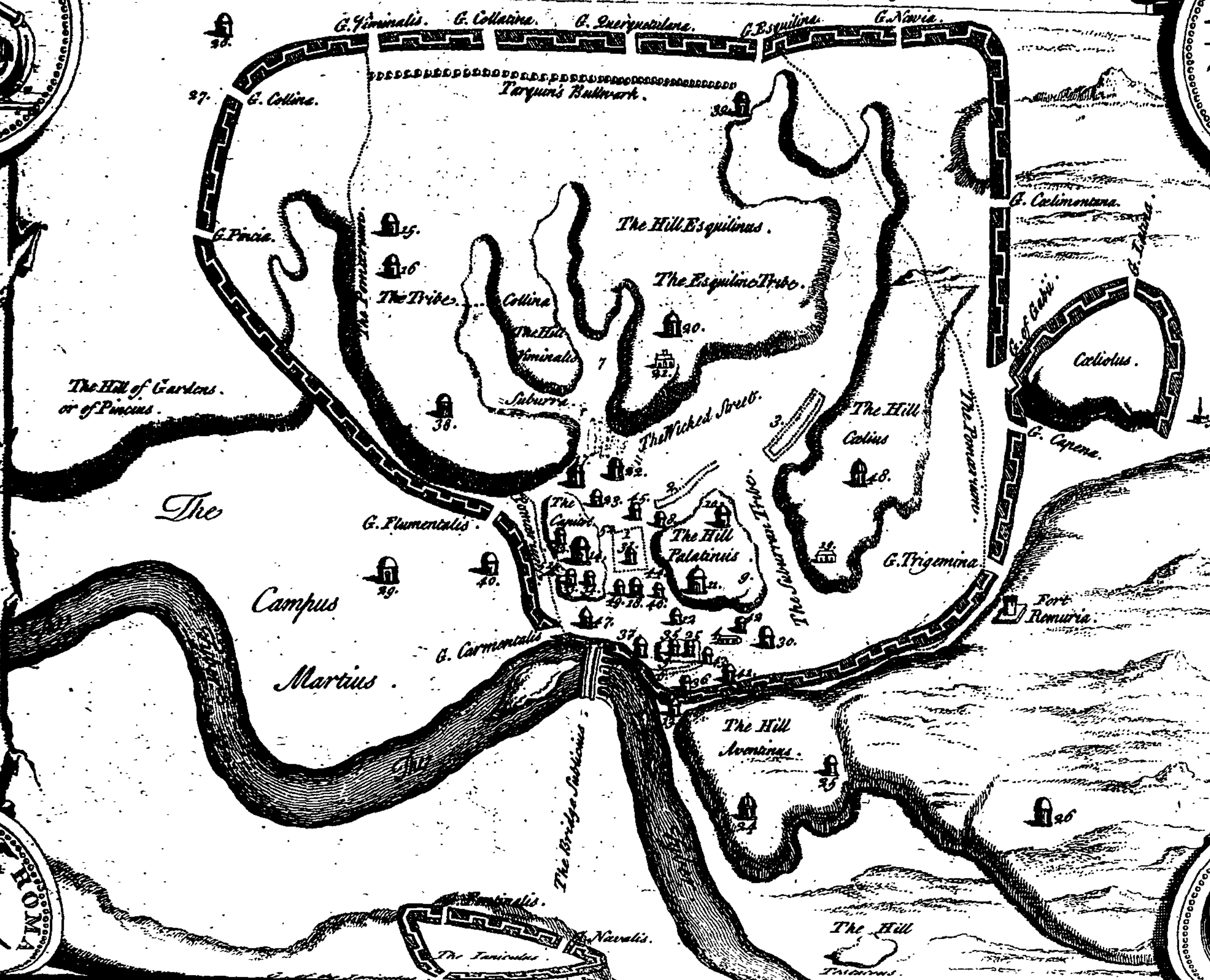
I Here I find that Authors differ: Nevertheless, shall observe in the remaining Part of this History, the Chronology of the *Roman* Years, which we must depend upon this *Aera*. The ancient *Roman* Calendar

A Plan of Rome containing its Several Additions from the time of Servius Tullius to that of its being taken by the Gauls.



1. The Forum Romanum.
2. The Via Sacra.
3. The Carinae.
4. The Great Circus.
5. The Ox-market.
6. The Velabrum Tiberian Street.
7. The New Street.
8. The Temple of Vesta.
9. The Curia Hostilia.
10. The Temple of Jupiter Stator.
11. The Temple of Quirinus.
12. A Temple dedicated to Fortuna.
13. The Temple of Fortunat Virilis.
14. The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.
15. The Temple of Fides.
16. The Temple of Quirinus.
17. The Temple of Health.
18. The Temple of Saturn.
19. Hostilius's Palace.
20. The Temple of Juno Lucina.
21. Servius Tullius's Palace.
22. The Temple of Peace.
23. The Temple of Jupiter Fortis.
24. The Temple of Diana.
25. The Temple of Victory.
26. The Temple of Peace.

27. The Campus Martius.
28. The Temple of Venus Erycina.
29. The Temple of Apollo.
30. The Temple of Ceres, Bacchus, and Proserpine.
31. The Temple of Castor & Pollux.
32. The Temple of Faith.
33. The Temple of Good Fortune.
34. The Temple of Good Fortune.
35. The Temple of Good Fortune.
36. The Temple of Hercules.
37. The Temple of Janus.
38. The Temple of Jupiter Sponsor.
39. The Temple of Libitina.
40. The Temple of Mars.
41. The Temple of Mercury.
42. The Temple of Mercur.
43. The Temple of Neptune Equorum.
44. The Comitium.
45. The Temple of Venus Aenacina.
46. The Temple of Vulcan.
47. The Temple of Carmentis.
48. The Temple of Carna.
49. The Temple of Concord.
50. The Fountain of Mercury.
51. The Palatine Tribe.
52. The Tarpeian Rock.



Function till the 24th of *May*, in the Year ² 244. And from that Time the *Romans* placed all their Confidence in *Brutus* only. His Colleague *Collatinus* had then lost that Credit among the People, which had gained him the Votes of the *Centuries*, assembled in the *Campus Martius*. In the first Hurry the People's Minds were in, at the Death of the brave *Lucretia*, they had hastily promoted the Husband of a Woman, whose Virtue they honoured, to the *Consulship*; taking it for granted, that the Affront he had received from an infamous Kinsman, would gain the Ascendant in his Breast, over his Affections for his Relations. But they afterwards reflected on the Name he bore, and Part of the Hatred they had conceived, against the royal Branch of the *Tarquins*, fell on the Grandson of *Egerius Tarquinius*, the Brother of *Tarquin the First*. The *Romans* at first expressed this Aversion by secret Murmurs only; but it broke out flagrantly, upon the first Tokens *Collatinus* shew'd, of any Remains of Affection for the Family from whence he sprung.

HOWEVER, in the Beginning of the new Administration under the two *Consuls*, *Rome* enjoy'd a profound Peace. Those Citizens, of whom *Tarquin's* Army before *Ardea* consisted, returned to the City; and the *Consuls* thought themselves concerned to prevent the Dissentions, which they might sow among the People. For it was presumed, that the Soldiers, who had served under *Tarquin*, would still preserve some Inclination for their General: They were therefore called together in the *Campus Martius*, exhorted to live in Concord, and the Decree of perpetual Banishment, which was already passed against the *Tarquins*, was renewed in their Presence. And this was not all. For, after Expiations had been made for the City, by the Blood of Sacrifices, the *Consuls*, standing before the Altars, where the Entrails of the Victims had been offer'd, took an Oath, in the Name of their Children, and all their Posterity, that they would never replace either *Tarquin* or his Sons, or any of his Family, upon the Throne; would never elect any King in *Rome*; or suffer any to be elected. And then they proceeded to the Election of a ⁴ King of

Year of
R O M E
CCXLIV.

JUNIUS BRUTUS, and TARQUINIUS COLLATINUS, Consuls.

Liv. B.2.c.2.
Dion. Hal. B.5.
p. 286, 287.

Calendar ought indeed to set this Matter at a Certainty; but as it has two different Festivals of the *Regifugium*, the one on the seventh Day before the *Calends of March*, and the other on the ninth Day before the *Calends of June*, where shall we fix? I am of Opinion, that these two Festivals were occasioned by two different Circumstances of the *Tarquins* Expulsion. It was, probably, in the Month of *February*, that the Gates of *Rome* were shut against *Tarquin the Proud*; and I am of Opinion, that the Conspiracy of the *Tarquins* to return to *Rome*, was discovered and punished in the Month of *May*; and hence the two Festivals, which were fix'd to two different Days, were both called *Regifugium*. But 'tis properly from the latter, that the Office of the *Consuls* is to bear Date. It's true, *Brutus* and *Collatinus* were nominated to the *Consulship* before the Month of *May*; but yet, that was the Time when the Expulsion of the *Tarquins* was completed, and they were deprived of all Hopes of recovering the Throne, unless by Force of Arms. From that Day in *May*, to the Beginning of *October*, which was originally the Beginning of the *Consular* Year, there remained four Months; which without doubt were not reckoned in the Year of *Brutus's* *Consulship*, any more than were the three preceding Months: And that he was appointed to be *Consul* all the Year 244, beginning with the Month of *October*, is proved thus. *Plutarch* says, he was slain in Battle, the Eve of the *Calends of March*. Now, it can't reasonably be supposed, that it was on the last of *February*, 243; for, at that rate, he had been *Consul* only six Days: Whereas, by what he did in his *Consulship*, it's easy to judge, that he enjoyed that Post much longer. And therefore it must be on the last of *February*, 244, that he died. Thus it will be easy to conceive, that in the seven remaining Months of his *Consulship*, which was to end in *October*, he might have had two Successors nominated, the first of which died a few Days after he had succeeded *Brutus*. At least, this

Account is agreeable to the Opinions of the most able Chronologers. Indeed, the Silence of antient Authors, and the various Opinions of the Moderns, leave the Matter in such Perplexity, that we can pretend to nothing but arbitrary Conjectures about it. However, the Account we have given appear'd to us the most rational, as being founded upon the Authority of *Macrobins*, who says, in the first Book of his *Saturnalia*, that the Month of *June* was called *Mensis Junius*, because that *Brutus* (whose Name was *Junius*) after he had sent *Tarquin* into Banishment, did in that Month pay the Vows he had made to the Goddess *Carna*, which is the Name the *Romans* gave to the tutelary Deity of the noble Parts of the human Body.

2 *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* agree in fixing the *Consulship* of *Brutus* and *Collatinus* to the Year of *Rome* 243. But we fix it, according to other Authors, to the Year 244; because we don't reckon those Months when they began to take Possession of the *Consulship*, in the Year 243. And in this we agree with the *Fasti Capitolini*, (from which we shall not depart) as well as with the Opinions of *Messala*, *Orosius*, *Rufus*, *Eutropius*, *Jornandes*, and *Solinus*. As *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* have allowed thirty eight Years to the Reign of *Tarquin the Elder*, instead of thirty seven; their first Mistake has here led them into a second; which we correct by good Authorities, and especially by the Order of the *Fasti Capitolini*.

3 Though Historians do not mention the Place, where this Assembly was held; yet it's easy to guess, from what *Dion. Hal.* says, that it was in the *Campus Martius*. The King of the Sacrifices, or *Rex Sacrisculus*, was never elected, but in the *Comitia by Centuries*; which were never assembled any where but in the *Campus Martius*.

4 The *Romans*, by establishing a King of the Sacrifices, preserved only a vain Shadow of Royalty. *Livy* founds this Priestly Dignity on the Superstition of the People, who consider'd, that their Kings having often exercised the Priestly Office, the Decency of

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Objects of Jealousy, and whose Indigence makes them worthy of Compassion. These Words were followed by the Tears of the King, and the tender Compassion of the Assembly. The *Tarquinians* concluded upon sending an Embassy to *Rome*, with a Letter from *Tarquin*, directed to the *Roman* People.

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THE Deputies arrived at *Rome*, and presented the banished King's Letter to the Senate, demanding that it might be read to the People assembled in the *Comitia*. *Tarquin* had charged the Ambassadors to lay his humble Supplications before the Senate, in which there was no Appearance of the Haughtiness of a proud King, who had formerly made himself independent of the Senators, and of the *Curia*. *Affliction*, said the Deputies, *has brought Tarquin to be just what Rome would have been glad to have seen him, on the Throne. His Demands are just, and his Request is modest. He only desires you'll give him leave to return to Rome in Safety, that he may present himself before the Senate, who shall judge whether it be proper to let him appear before the People, to give them an Account of his Administration. If he finds any Accusers in Rome, he offers to submit to the Judgment of the assembled Curia. If the People judge him to be so free from Guilt, as to be fit to appear again upon the Throne, he will not resume it, but with the Approbation of his Subjects; and upon such Conditions, as they shall think fit to prescribe to him. But if his Innocence, and his past Exploits, should be Considerations too weak to stand against Faction, or his evil Destiny, he confines his Desires within the Limits of leading a private Life in his own Country, free from the Hazards, and the Reproach, of an injurious Banishment. Do we ask any thing of you, added the Deputies, but what common Equity, and the Law of Nations, will not permit the most barbarous People to refuse? Your King, whether he be guilty or innocent, entreats you to hear him, and condemn, or acquit him, by your Suffrages. Romans, your Honour is at stake. Shall it be published among the neighbouring Nations, that Rome has condemned her Governor, without giving him a Hearing; and that she has punished him, without bringing him to a Tryal? Over-Prudence has led you to take unjustifiable Precautions. Excessive Rigour, and irreconcilable Hatreds, are not at all agreeable, either to the Virtue you profess, or to that Justice, which is the very Soul of Government; or to that Prudence, whose Business it is, to prevent the Evils of an uncertain Futurity.*

THIS Discourse, and the Fear of bringing *Rome* into a long and dangerous War, made the *Consuls* inclinable to bring the *Tarquinian* Deputies before the People, and to leave the Decision of the Affair to the *Comitia*⁶. But *Valerius* was ashamed of the Weakness of these first Defenders of an ill-established Liberty. He opposed the Opinion of the *Consuls*, and remonstrated to the Senate, that the Populace, who were naturally timorous, and not so jealous of their Liberty, as fond of Peace and Tranquillity, would infallibly suffer themselves, either to be moved to Compassion, or intimidated by the Threats of the *Hetrurians*. And he concluded, that the *Tarquins* should not be permitted to return to *Rome*, nor the *Curia* assembled, to give Audience to the Ambassadors. Accordingly, his Advice was followed: and thus the first Attempt of the artful *Tarquin* was defeated, by a Man, who had been suspected of favouring him.

Plut. Life of
Poplit.

§. IV. THE Senate gave this publick Proof of their Affection for Liberty: and indeed this chief Body of the new Commonwealth, was above all others concerned for ever to exclude Kings, who kept it in a State of Dependence, and often under Oppression. For this Reason the *Consuls* thought it necessary to restore the Senate all its Rights and Prerogatives, and re-establish it in its antient Lustre. *Tarquin the Proud* had done his utmost to make it contemptible, by reducing the Senators to a small Number. Some of them had been destroyed, either by Proscriptions, or by the King's secret Management; others had condemned themselves to a voluntary Exile; and the Places of those who died a natural Death, had never been filled up. And therefore it was thought a Matter of Importance to restore the Senate to its antient Majesty, and to gain it the Respect of the People, as well by the Number of the Senators, as by the Dignity of their Persons. For which Reason, a Number of wise Men, and Men of Interest, were sought out amongst the *Roman* Knights,

Livy, B. 2.
ch. 1.

⁶ We have this Account from *Plutarch*. *Dion*. *Brutus* had no regard to the Remonstrances of the *Hal*. far from mentioning *Valerius*, affirms, that Ambassadors.

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SULS.
CON. II

THE Deputies arrived at *Rome*, and presented the banished King's Letter to the Senate, demanding that it might be read to the People assembled in the *Comitia*. *Tarquin* had charged the Ambassadors to lay his humble Supplications before the Senate, in which there was no Appearance of the Haughtiness of a proud King, who had formerly made himself independent of the Senators, and of the *Curia*. Affliction, said the Deputies, has brought *Tarquin* to be just what *Rome* would have been glad to have seen him, on the Throne. His Demands are just, and his Request is modest. He only desires you'll give him leave to return to *Rome* in Safety, that he may present himself before the Senate, who shall judge whether it be proper to let him appear before the People, to give them an Account of his Administration. If he finds any Accusers in *Rome*, he offers to submit to the Judgment of the assembled *Curia*. If the People judge him to be so free from Guilt, as to be fit to appear again upon the Throne, he will not resume it, but with the Approbation of his Subjects; and upon such Conditions, as they shall think fit to prescribe to him. But if his Innocence, and his past Exploits, should be Considerations too weak to stand against Faction, or his evil Destiny, he confines his Desires within the Limits of leading a private Life in his own Country, free from the Hazards, and the Reproach, of an injurious Banishment. Do we ask any thing of you, added the Deputies, but what common Equity, and the Law of Nations, will not permit the most barbarous People to refuse? Your King, whether he be guilty or innocent, entreats you to hear him, and condemn, or acquit him, by your Suffrages. Romans, your Honour is at stake. Shall it be published among the neighbouring Nations, that *Rome* has condemned her Governor, without giving him a Hearing; and that she has punished him, without bringing him to a Tryal? Over-Prudence has led you to take unjustifiable Precautions. Excessive Rigour, and irreconcilable Hatreds, are not at all agreeable, either to the Virtue you profess, or to that Justice, which is the very Soul of Government; or to that Prudence, whose Business it is, to prevent the Evils of an uncertain Futurity.

THIS Discourse, and the Fear of bringing *Rome* into a long and dangerous War, made the *Consuls* inclinable to bring the *Tarquinian* Deputies before the People, and to leave the Decision of the Affair to the *Comitia*⁶. But *Valerius* was ashamed of the Weakness of these first Defenders of an ill-established Liberty. He opposed the Opinion of the *Consuls*, and remonstrated to the Senate, that the Populace, who were naturally timorous, and not so jealous of their Liberty, as fond of Peace and Tranquillity, would infallibly suffer themselves, either to be moved to Compassion, or intimidated by the Threats of the *Hetrurians*. And he concluded, that the *Tarquins* should not be permitted to return to *Rome*, nor the *Curia* assembled, to give Audience to the Ambassadors. Accordingly, his Advice was followed: and thus the first Attempt of the artful *Tarquin* was defeated, by a Man, who had been suspected of favouring him.

Plut. Life of
Poplic.

§ IV. THE Senate gave this publick Proof of their Affection for Liberty: and indeed this chief Body of the new Commonwealth, was above all others concerned for ever to exclude Kings, who kept it in a State of Dependence, and often under Oppression. For this Reason the *Consuls* thought it necessary to restore the Senate all its Rights and Prerogatives, and re-establish it in its antient Lustre. *Tarquin* the Proud had done his utmost to make it contemptible, by reducing the Senators to a small Number. Some of them had been destroyed, either by Proscriptions, or by the King's secret Management; others had condemned themselves to a voluntary Exile; and the Places of those who died a natural Death, had never been filled up. And therefore it was thought a Matter of Importance to restore the Senate to its antient Majesty, and to gain it the Respect of the People, as well by the Number of the Senators, as by the Dignity of their Persons. For which Reason, a Number of wise Men, and Men of Interest, were sought out amongst the *Roman* Knights,

Livy, B. 2.
ch. 1.

⁶ We have this Account from *Plutarch*. *Dion*. *Brutus* had no regard to the Remonstrances of the Senate, far from mentioning *Valerius*, affirms, that Ambassadors.

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Livy, B. 2.
ch. 3.

Plut. Life of
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(who held a sort of middle Rank between the Senate and the People) to fill up the vacant Places; and they being 7 added to the Remains of the Roman Senators, in order to make up the antient Number of three hundred, they were therefore called *Conscripti*. The Name of *Patres*, or *Fathers*, was confined to the old Senators: And because these new ones had been lately put upon the List of the Senators, they were called only *Conscripti*; i.e. Persons written, or enrolled together, with them.

§. V. IN the mean time, the *Tarquins*, who despaired of ever softening the Rigour of the Senate, thought however they could raise a Storm in Rome, sufficient to overthrow the Work of the *Consuls*. For tho' *Tarquin* the Father had made but few Friends, in a Reign that was equally odious to the People, and to the *Patricians*; yet his Sons had secured, in the City, a Number of young Debauchees, of the most illustrious Nobility, who regretted the Loss of their Companions, and the Supporters of their Extravagance, whom a Similitude of Manners, and a Partake of the same Pleasures, had united together in one Society. They considered publick Liberty as a Curb to their Licentiousness. Under the Kings, said they, we knew where to have recourse, when things went ill with us; for then the Kings, and his Courtiers, were our Patrons and Intercussors, and screened us from the Rigour of the Laws. But now, that we are in Subjection to an austere Senate, what Favour can we hope for? and what have we not to fear, from the Severity of these rigorous Defenders of Order and Regularity?

THESE Men, who by their Incontinence and dissolute Manners, had lost all Sense of Honour, were the chief Foundation of the Hopes of the *Tarquins*, who, in order to gain their Point, prevailed with the *Tarquinians* to send a secret Embassy to Rome, under pretence of demanding the Estates of the Exiles, who were perishing for Want, among those who had given them an *Asylum*. The real Design was to spirit up a Company of factious young Men, to attempt the Lives of the *Consuls*. They therefore gave the Ambassadors, Letters for their Friends and Relations, who had most reason to be concerned for their Absence. The Embassy was admitted by the Romans, and the Proposals of the *Tarquins* were examined by the Senate. And nothing could be more modest than the Demands of the banished King. He promised to renounce for ever attempting to recover the Crown by Force of Arms, if the Estate which his Fathers had left him, and which was detained in Rome, was restored to him. So that the Request of the *Tarquins* divided the *Consuls* and the Senate, in Opinion. *Brutus*, who had an austere Love for his Country inclined to Severity, was of Opinion, that they ought to refuse to an outlawed Family, that Wealth which would certainly be a Prejudice to the Republick of Rome. But *Collatinus*, a Man of more Temper, and perhaps moved by some Remains of Affection for his near Relations, was for restoring the Estates of the Exiles, and coloured over his Opinion with the Appearance of Justice. *It was not by their Wealth*, said he, *that the Tarquins became odious to us: It was by their Pride, and by their lawless Extravagance. We have purged ourselves of their Persons: let us not unjustly detain their Estates. Will the new Commonwealth be able to bear up against the Reproaches of the Nations against us, for having palliated sordid Avarice with a Zeal for Liberty? To restore the Tarquins their Estates, is to deprive them of all Pretences to make War against us, and to give the neighbouring Nations a new Reason to esteem us.* Nevertheless *Brutus* would not give up an Opinion with which he was so prepossessed, that he

7 *Tacitus*, *Livy*, and *Plutarch*, assure us, that these *Patres Conscripti* were added to the Senate, in the Consulship of *Brutus*. But *Livy* and *Plutarch* do not agree as to the Time when this new Addition was made. The former places it in the Time, when *Brutus* held the Consulship with *Collatinus*. The latter is of opinion, that it did not happen till *Brutus* had *Paterius Poplicola* for his Collegue. I have followed *Livy*, whose Order, I think, more agreeable to the History.

8 These *Conscript Fathers* were called *The New Senate*, or *Novus Senatus*. And it appears by *Livy's* Words, rightly understood, that the old Senators only were called *Patres*; and that the new ones were distinguished from them by the Name of *Con-*

scripti. It's true, *Dion. Hal.* gives the same Name of *Patres Conscripti* to the Senators, made in the Reign of *Romulus*: But this Form, *Qui Patres Conscripti essent*, which was always used when the Senate was call'd together, sufficiently shews the Mistake of the Greek Historian. Till when we find in Latin Authors, *Patres Conscripti* used to express the Senate in general, the Word must be understood, as if they were joined by a Conjunction, *Patres, & Conscripti*, i.e. The Fathers and those who have been added to them. *Plutarch* favours our Opinion, when he says, that those who were called *Conscripti*, who had passed from the Order of Roman Knights, into that of Senators.

few into a Passion with those who opposed his Desires; and turned *Collatinus's* Year of Moderation into an Accusation against him⁹. Inſomuch, that the Affair, after it had been long conſidered by the Senate, was at laſt brought before the People. The *Curie* were called together, and *Brutus* renewed before them the old Sulpician's Treachery, with which they were already prepoſſeſſed, againſt his Collegue. But nevertheleſs, the Opinion of *Collatinus* was confirmed by the *Comitia*. True, he carried it only by one Vote: but it was at length decreed, that the *Tarquins* ſhould be put in Poſſeſſion of the Eſtates of their Family.

§.VI. WHILST the People were employed in loading Carriages with the Furniture, and other Effects of the Exiles, and in ſelling what could not be carried off, the Ambaſſadors took an Opportunity to form a Cabal in favour of the King. There were two illuſtrious Families eſpecially, which preſerved a particular Affection for the *Tarquins*. The firſt was that of the *Aquilii*, which had three Senators in it; and the other was the Family of the *Vitellii*, which had two. Each of theſe Families was allied to the two *Conſuls*. *Brutus* had married the Siſter of the two *Vitellii*¹⁰, who were young *Patricians*, at Age to take publick Employments: and as for the *Aquilii*, they were the Sons of *Collatinus's* Siſter. Their Youth, the Hopes of Impunity, and their old Intimacy with the King's Sons, was what had made them ſuſceptible of the Impreſſions, which the *Tarquinian* Ambaſſadors made upon them. And the *Vitellii* had the Assurance to take their two Nephews, the Sons of *Conſul Brutus*, who were but mere Youths, into the Conſpiracy; hoping, without doubt, that the Deſection of the *Conſul's* Sons might be made uſe of to ſcreen them from the Punishment, to which they would otherwiſe be expoſed, if their Plot ſhould be diſcovered. The Conſpirators commonly met at the Houſe of the *Aquilii*, who had no Father, and whoſe Mother was of the Blood of the *Tarquins*. There the Reſolution of putting the *Conſuls* to death, and of letting the *Tarquins* into the City by Night, was taken, in Preſence of the Ambaſſadors: And the Oath, with which the Conſpirators confirmed it, was accompanied with barbarous Ceremonies. After a great Supper, the Gueſts (amongſt whom were the two Sons of *Brutus*, ſeduced by their Uncles) diſmiſſed their Attendants, and ſhut themſelves up in a large¹¹ Apartment, which ſtood by it ſelf; and there they ſecured the Fidelity of the Conſpirators by a deteſtable Sacrifice. The Victim was a Man, of whoſe Blood they made Libations to the Gods; and over his trembling Entrails they all ſwore to deſtroy the *Conſuls*, and reſtore the *Kings*.

Plut. Life of Brutus.

THE *Tarquinius* were at the Head of the Intrigue, and perſuaded each of theſe indiſcreet Youths to write a Letter to the Exiles, and ſecure the eternal Gratitude of the King, by an authentick Proof of their Zeal for his Intereſt. The Letters were written in the very Place where they met, and put into the Hands of the Ambaſſadors, who lodged with the *Aquilii*. But Providence was watchful in the Preſervation of a Commonwealth, which it deſigned ſhould be the Miſtreſs of the Univerſe. The Plot, which required inviolable Secrecy, was diſcovered by one of thoſe Accidents, which Heaven directs, tho' Men aſcribe them to Chance.

In ſpite of all the Precaution uſed by the Conſpirators, to keep their Secret from their Servants, a Slave, who had greater Penetration than the reſt, ſuſpected the Deſigns of his Maſters. His Name was¹² *Vindicius*. He was born at *Canina*, had been taken Priſoner in War, and was then Butler to the *Aquilii*. The great Care which was taken to ſend him away after Supper, and perhaps ſome half Words, which ſlipped from the Gueſts, gave him a Suſpicion, and excited his Curioſity. He ſtayed by himſelf at the¹³ Door of the Apartment, and, thro' a Crevice, ſaw

Dion. Hal. B. 5. lib. 1.

⁹ *Plutarch* adds one Circumſtance to this Account. He ſays, that *Brutus*, enraged againſt his Collegue, ran into the *Forum*, crying out in a Fury, that *Collatinus* was betraying the Intereſts of Rome. Upon which, *Caius Albinus* made a warm ſpeech to the People, againſt the *Tarquins*. To *Dion. Hal.* calls them *Marcus*, and *Manius* *Albus*. But *Plutarch*, *Livy*, and *Aurelius Victor*, ſay, in calling them *Vitellii*.
¹¹ *Historians* do not agree about the Place, where the Conſpirators met, and ſupped. *Livy* fixes it at the Houſe of the *Vitellii*. *Plutarch*, and *Dion. Hal.* make that of the *Aquilii* to be the Scene: And their

Opinion is to be preferred, as agreeing beſt with the Sequel of the Hiſtory. The Apartment in which the Conſpirators ſwore the Reſtauration of the *Tarquins*, was ſeparate from that of the Women. *Dion. Hal.* calls it *αὐδω*. *Plutarch* adds, that it was dark, and ſeldom frequented.

¹² *Dion. Hal.* ſays, that this *Vindicius*, whom *Plutarch* calls *Vindex*, had been made a Slave at the taking of *Canina*. But *Historians* don't mention, that this City had been beſieged by the *Romans*, ſince *Romulus's* Time.

¹³ According to *Plutarch*, *Vindicius* hid himſelf behind a great Cheſt, and was a Witneſs of the whole.

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Plut. Life of
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Dion. Hal.
B. 5. *ibid.*

saw all the Mysteries of the Conspiracy, and heard all the Discourse of the Conspirators. Then being over-burdened with a Secret of so great Importance, the Discovery of which might procure him his Liberty, by securing that of *Rome*, he fluctuated betwixt Fear and Hope. He foresaw the Consequences of a Deposition, in which each of the *Consuls* was so nearly concerned, and feared lest *Brutus*, in order to save his Sons, and *Collatinus*, to secure the Lives of his Nephews, should think fit to destroy the single Witness of their Crime. He went therefore to *P. Valerius*, that constant Defender of Liberty, and unburdened his Mind to him. *Valerius*'s Doors were always open to the meanest of the People. And that illustrious Senator gave a kind Reception to *Vindicius*, who, in the Presence of his Wife and *M. Valerius* his Brother, related all that he had seen and heard. *Valerius* immediately took the Slave under his Protection; but shut him up in a Room, under the Care of his Wife. And his first and chief Concern was to seize the Conspirators Letters, which were to be carried to *Tarquinia* the next Day by the Ambassadors. *Valerius* therefore went out before Day, accompanied by his Friends, his Clients, and Domesticks, whom he divided into two Bands; one of which he posted, under the Conduct of his Brother, at the Entrance of the House of the *Aquilii*, to seize what Letters should be brought out of it; whilst he himself, attended with a Guard, entered the Ambassador's Apartment, without Resistance, and there found and seized the Letters, which the Conspirators had written the Night before. He was no sooner come out from thence, but he met the *Aquilii*, who were returning home, after a nightly Excursion. They immediately suspected that their Letters were seized: but all their Endeavours to force them from *Valerius* were in vain. The brave Senator and his Company, made a courageous Defence. They wrapt the *Aquilii* up in their Robes, threw them upon their Shoulders, and carried them by Force into the *Forum*. *M. Valerius* had also the good Luck to intercept other Letters, which had been hid amongst some Clothes, which were carrying away from the House of the *Aquilii*. And, in short, none of the Heads of the Conspiracy escaped; they were all taken into Custody, at the *Consul's* Houses.

§.VII. EARLY in the Morning, the People were summoned to the *Comitia*, where *Brutus*, and his Colleague, sat on the Tribunal of Justice. The Prisoners being brought before their Judges, were, one after another, tied to Stakes, with their Hands bound behind them. So melancholy a Spectacle this! that the People durst scarce turn their Eyes towards *Brutus's* two Sons. Their Youth indeed, and the Affection which the People had for their Father, raised some sort of Compassion in their Hearts; but then, the Heinousness of their Crime, the Parricide which they had sworn to commit, and the new Slavery into which they designed to plunge *Rome*, lessened the publick Concern for them: And therefore the whole Attention of the People, and all their Pity, were turned towards *Brutus*. Their Minds were in Suspence about the Sentences which the *Consuls* were going to pronounce, the one against his Sons, and the other against his Nephews. But *Brutus* himself did not seem to relent at the Fate of his guilty Sons: and began the Trial with their Examination. *Vindicius* appeared against them; and his Testimony was found unanswerable. The two Prisoners made no Defence but with their Tears; which the inflexible *Brutus* did not seem to be moved. He sternly commanded the Register to read the Letters, which his Sons had written to the *Tarquins*: and their Sign, their Writing, their Seal, all appeared convincing to a Father, who could easily distinguish his Sons Hands. *Titus*, said he, speaking coldly to the two Prisoners, without calling them Sons, and you, *Tiberius*, what have you to offer in your Defence? But they were silent, and their Silence confessed their Guilt. They were thrice called upon to make their Defence: but instead of Excuses, or Supplications for Mercy, they made use of no Eloquence besides their Tears. Upon which, the major Part of the Senators were moved with Compassion, and confusedly murmured, *Banish them, Banish them*. As for *Collatinus*, his Eyes were bathed in Tears; and *Valerius*, as rigid as he was, had nothing to say. He durst not condemn such young Offenders, nor was he willing to absolve them. This favourable Disposition therefore gave the two guilty Youths some small Hopes: But

Dion. Hal.
B. 5. p. 283.
Plut. *ibid.*

whole Plot, without being discovered. Being under trivial Circumstances, I have taken the most probable a Necessity to chuse some one, or other, of these

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The whole Assembly trembled, and expected the Decision with Horror. At length, *Brutus* rose up to give Sentence: Upon which, there ensued a profound Silence. Every Person present was concerned for the Guilty, as for his own Sons; whilst their Father seemed indifferent about the Matter he was going to decide. It is sufficiently known, that at *Rome* Fathers were the first Judges of their Children: And in the present Case, it may be said, that *Brutus* alone made the Decree which condemned his Sons to Death. For he was heard to say, with a steady Voice, which was not interrupted so much as by a single Sigh, *Lictors, I deliver them over to you; execute the Law upon them.* But at these Words there was such a Shriek in the Assembly, as one would think should have been sufficient to pierce the Consul's Heart. The People were in a great Consternation, to see an unhappy Father, thro' an Excess of Virtue, deprive himself of his only Hopes of Posterity; and therefore cried out, *We give 'em back to their Country, and to their Family.* As for the two Criminals, they made bitter Lamentations, and endeavoured to soften their Father, by addressing themselves to him under the most endearing Names. But the Consul shut his Heart against Compassion, and forgot that he was a Father. He would not so much as abate his Children any one of the Punishments which were allotted to the greatest Criminals. He ordered them to be beaten with Rods, in his Presence, and did not turn his Eyes from them, whilst they underwent that Punishment. And lastly, he saw their Heads struck off, with a steady and composed Countenance; and was unmoved at seeing the Earth wet with his own Blood. An Example this, which *Rome* has always admired, and which the *Greek* Historians trembled to relate, for fear they should not be believed by their Countrymen! An Action which in our Times is blamed by some, but applauded by others, as the most glorious Sacrifice paternal Affection could ever make to Liberty, and the Love of one's Country!

§.VIII. BUT *Brutus* had now seen Blood enough shed, and the Struggles he had had in his own Mind, made it necessary for him to compose it. He therefore¹⁴ descended from the Tribunal, quitted the *Comitia*, and left his Collegue to do the rest. Upon which, the great Difference betwixt *Collatinus's* Weakness of Mind, and the generous Soul of *Brutus*, immediately appeared. The People had indeed been grieved to see the Execution of two tender Youths, who would never have been guilty of this Crime, if they had not been seduced into it; but they impatiently expected the Condemnation of the *Aquilii*, who had been the Leaders and Authors of the Conspiracy. Nevertheless, the Consul's Delays, his Confusion, and his Expressions, made them think he intended to be favourable to his Nephews: And therefore when he allowed the Prisoners one Day to clear themselves from their Accusation, it was not so much Matter of Surprize, as of Indignation. But the People were exceedingly astonished, when he order'd that the Slave *Vindicius* should be taken out of the Hands of the Accusers, and be deliver'd up to his Masters: This roused the Zeal of *Valerius*. He had promised with an Oath to protect the Evidence; and he kept his Word. The *Lictors* attempted in vain to force him out of his Arms: *Valerius's* Clients, and the Friends he had about him, defended that important Witness, who had otherwise been destroy'd, to prevent his appearing as an Evidence. Nor was this all; for all the People called for *Brutus*, and insisted upon his coming back to the *Comitia*. That unfortunate Father had had but a few Moments to recollect himself, and secretly to bewail his Family-Misfortunes: How-

Plutarch.

¹⁴ *Dion. Hal.*'s Account of this Matter differs from that of *Plutarch*, which appears to us more probable, and more agreeable to *Brutus's* Genius. The former pretends, that *Brutus*, immediately after the Execution of his Children, had the *Aquilii* brought before him; that after their Letters were read aloud, he gave 'em Leave to make their Defence; and that they, having nothing to say for themselves, had Recourse to Tears and Entreaties; but to no Purpose. For *Brutus*, still inflexible, order'd the *Lictors* to seize them, and carry them to Execution. *Collatinus* suspended it, and made the warmest Remonstrances to his Collegue, in favour of the Conspirators: But being piqued when he found that he could not soften *Brutus's* hard Heart,

he had Recourse to his Authority, and pardoned the Criminals. This so exasperated *Brutus*, that he committed the *Aquilii* to Prison, in spite of the Opposition of the other Consul, and accused him before the People, of Treason and Perfidiousness. *Collatinus* seeing with Grief, that the People were unanimously against him, and against those whose Defence he had undertaken, thought he could no longer exercise the Office of a Consul, with Dignity; and therefore chose to abdicate the Magistracy, at the Persuasion of *Spurius Lucretius*, his Father-in-law. *Collatinus* was succeeded by *Publius Valerius*. *Brutus* immediately, with the Concurrence of his new Collegue, put all those to Death, who had been concerned in the Conspiracy.

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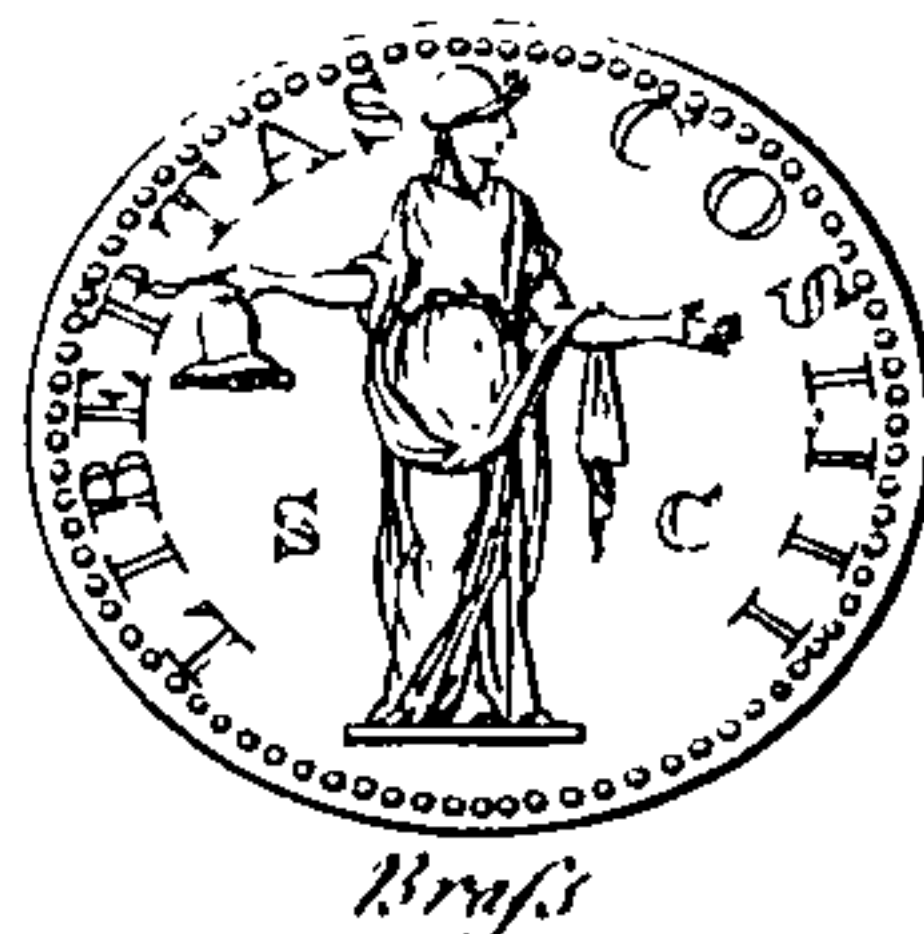
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ever, he appeared again with the same Firmness of Mind which he had shewn at first; and his Presence made the Prisoners tremble, but quieted the Minds of the Assembly. When he had again ascended the Tribunal, he order'd Silence, and made this short Speech: Romans, *the Authority which I had over my Children, made me sacrifice them to the publick Welfare: The Authority which the Laws give you over all the Subjects of the Commonwealth, makes you Masters of the Accused. Let their Fate be determined by your Suffrages. Either condemn my Heartedness, by Instances of Lenity; or approve my Firmness of Mind, by Examples of Justice.*

THUS, three Articles of great Importance to the rising Commonwealth, were left to the Decision of the *Curia*. 1st. What Punishment should be inflicted on the rest of the Conspirators. 2^{dly}. What Treatment the *Tarquian* Ambassadors had deserved. 3^{dly}. What Reward should be given to the Discoverer of the Conspiracy. And they determined, as to the first, that the Conspirators should, without Exception, suffer as Rebels: Which Decree was accordingly executed. For, after they had been beaten with Rods, their Heads were struck off with the *Axes* of the *Lictors*. As to the second, after they had long deliberated what to do with the Ambassadors, the *Romans* had for the Law of Nations, at last got the better of their Abhorrence of a Treason concerted against a lawful Government. In the third Place, it was decreed, that *Vindicius*¹⁵ deserved that Liberty which he had secured to the *Romans*; and it was thought that they could not refuse to recompense the Deliverer of their City, with a Title to all the Privileges of a Citizen. And besides these Gratifications, he had a Reward¹⁶ of five and twenty thousand *Asses* of Brass, issued out of the publick Treasury. And tho' the People had formerly decreed that the *Tarquins* Estates should be restored to them; yet the Senate now thought they might, without impeaching the venerable Decrees of the *Curia*, refuse, to the declared Enemies of *Rome*, those Means which they would make Use of to its Destruction. So that the Estates of the *Tarquins* were thus disposed of. Their Palace, with its beautiful Portico, was destroy'd; their Lands were distributed to those indigent Citizens, who had none of their own; and the Publick kept only that Piece of Ground situated between the City and the *Tyber*, and bordering on the *Campus Martius*, which the greedy King had formerly, by an Encroachment upon the City, added to his Demesnes, and cul-

Liv. B. I. c. 5.

Plutarch.
Dion. Hal.
B. 5. p. 287.



Brass

¹⁵ It's commonly thought, and is probable enough, this *Latin* Phrase, *Vindicare in libertatem*, had its Rise from the Name of *Vindicius*, who was made free by the *Consul*. But there are others, who will have it to be derived from the Word *Vindicta*, which signifies a *Wand*, with which the *Prætor*, whose Office it was afterwards to grant Freedoms, struck the Slave, whose Master had a mind to set him at Liberty. In order to reconcile these Opinions, it may be said, that the *Wand* it self took its Name from *Vindicius*. In the Ceremony of granting Freedoms publicly, (for there were private ones, which were granted either by Will, or in the Presence of Witnesses,) the Master presented his Slave to the *Prætor*, first holding him by the Hand, and afterwards quitting his Hold; whence came the *Latin* Word *Manumissio*. Then, after he had given him a little Blow on the Cheek, he presented him to the *Consul*, or to the *Prætor*; who striking him gently with his Wand, pronounced these Words: *Aio te liberum esse more Quiritium*. This Ceremony being ended, the Slave was registered upon the Roll of *Freed-men*. Then he was

slaved, and put on the Cap called *Pileus*, which was worn by the *Romans* upon certain Days. In order to make the taking Possession of this Kind of Cap more solemn, it was performed in the Temple of *Feronia*, the Goddess of the *Freed-men*. In one of these Temples, there was a Stone Seat, with this Inscription on it: *Benemeriti Servi sedantur*. And it is well known, that the *Pileus* was, among the antient *Romans*, the Sign and Symbol of Liberty. At the Death of *Nero*, the People appear'd in the Streets, with this Cap on their Heads. On a Medal of *Antoninus*, we see *Liberty* holding the *Pileus* in her Hand, with this Inscription, *LIBERTAS. COS. IIII*.

¹⁶ *Livy* says only, that a Sum of Money was given to *Vindicius*. We have fix'd it at five and twenty thousand *Asses* of Brass; because *Livy* himself, in B. 9. of his first *Decad*, has observed, that the Reward appointed by Law, for the Slaves who should discover Conspiracies, amounted to the same Sum; as that for *Free-men* did to a hundred thousand.

cultivated for his own Profit. It was a Plain encompassed with Trees, was now consecrated anew to *Mars*, became a common Pasture, and the *Roman* Youth made use of it as a convenient Place for the Exercises of Wrestling and Racing. But after the Field was consecrated, the *Romans*¹⁷ scrupled to house the Corn, which they found on the Ground¹⁸ ready reap'd to their Hands; and therefore threw it, together with the Trees, into the River. The Water of the River was then low; and that Heap of Trees, and Sheaves of Corn, being accidentally stop'd in a muddy Place, begun to form that¹⁹ fine Island in the *Tyber*, which, in those early Days, was a Part of the Suburbs of *Rome*, and which afterwards encreasing, by the Mud which the Stream brought down, and by the Filth which was empty'd out of the City, had in a little time so solid a Foundation, that, with the Help of Piles, the *Romans* were able to build on it the famous Temple of *Æsculapius*.

§. IX. In the mean time, the Weakness which *Collatinus* had shewn at the Trial of the Conspirators, had turned the People's Suspicions of him, into hatred. And *Brutus*, either thro' an Aversion to the whole Race of the *Tarquins*, or thro' a well-grounded Mistrust, or thro' an Antipathy to a Collegue, whose Humour did not suit his own, took Advantage of the Disposition the People were in, to get him deposed from the²⁰ Consulship. But *Brutus* was frank and open. For before he undertook any thing against *Collatinus*, he first threaten'd him, and, in an Assembly of the People, made a Speech to this Effect: Romans, *if your Choice could have united the Affections of the two Consuls, there would have been no Defect in the new Government, and I should have had nothing more to wish. But when we were placed together upon the same Tribunal, it happen'd, by a Misfortune which could not be foreseen, that there was as great a Difference betwixt Collatinus and me, as between a Hatred of Tyranny, and a Love of Tyrants. His Affection for a detestable Family, makes him run all Hazards, in order to restore our Oppressors; whilst I am profuse of my own Blood, in order to preserve my Country. I fear the Gods, who avenge the Violation of the Oaths by which we are bound; whilst he makes 'em give way to his Family-Interest, and the Ties of Blood. Have not all Collatinus's Thoughts, and the whole Strength of his Interest, been levell'd at the Destruction of that Liberty, which his Honour oblig'd him to defend? And you had Hopes he would defend it; but the Estates which he solicited you to restore to the Enemies of Rome, and the Impunity he was ready to grant, to cruel Conspirators, have unmask'd a Partizan of the Kings, who lay conceal'd under the Appearance of a Consul. How! Collatinus, I have not spared my own Children, and should I spare a guilty Magistrate, whose Body only remains amongst us; whilst his Heart is with the Out-laws? Should I shew any Indulgence to a Collegue, who consented to my Death, by favouring those who had sworn to compass it? Romans, let us prevent the Evils which a domestick Enemy is preparing for us. Let us at once deprive him of that Authority which he abuses; and wrest that Sword out of his Hand, with which he threatens us. In my Judgment, he ought to be deposed. And as for you, Romans, I order you to assemble by Curia, to determine, by your Suffrages, whether it be fit that Collatinus alone, should be at*

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¹⁷ The *Romans* scrupled making any Advantage of this Harvest, either because the Field had been consecrated to *Mars*, or because it had been profaned by *Tarquin's* cultivating it for his own Profit.

¹⁸ It's evident, from *Plutarch's* Words, that Harvest was begun, when the *Tarquins* Estates were disposed of. It was not therefore, at soonest, till the Month of *June*. It's true, that the second Festival of the *Regifugium*, was fix'd to the ninth Day before the *Calends of June*, i. e. the 24th of *May*. Whence we have conjectured, that the last Decree of the *Curia* against the *Tarquins*, was pronounced on that very Day: Notwithstanding which, the Distribution of their Estates might not be made till the end of *June*, when Harvest was begun. *Collatinus* was still Consul at that Time, not having resigned his Office till some time after; most probably not till the Month of *October*, in which the Year of *Brutus's* Consulship properly began.

¹⁹ The ancient *Romans* built several Temples in

that Island; and particularly three, one of which was dedicated to *Æsculapius*, another to *Jupiter*, and the third to *Faunus*. *Livy* conjectures, that the *Romans* afterwards encompassed the Island with *Moles*, in order to make the Land the firmer. The Island was join'd to the City, and to the Hill *Janiculus*, by two Bridges; whence it had the Name of *The Island of the two Bridges*. It was afterwards called, *The Sacred Island*, when the *Romans* had built a great Number of Temples there, to the Honour of their Gods.

²⁰ The Historians from whom we have our Accounts of *Collatinus's* Abdication, place it differently, and vary as to the Order of the Circumstances; which sufficiently shews the Uncertainty they were in. We think we have placed the Fact, and its Circumstances, in that Order which agrees best with the Series of the History. So great a Diversity of Opinions, among those who relate the same Event, is very perplexing.

Year of the Head of the Commonwealth. Brutus, from this Moment, renounces the Consulship, if Collatinus must still share the Government with him.

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THESE Words raised so great a Commotion among the People, that they would scarce hear *Collatinus's* Defence: In vain did he reproach *Brutus* with betraying his Friend, and defaming his Colleague; for the People did not regard his Invectives. Till at length he, by virtue of the Authority he had as *Consul*, forbade the People holding the Assembly which his Colleague had appointed. But this Prohibition was a new Provocation; and his Affairs went the worse for it: For it raised the People's Resentments to such a Height, that they began to run to the Place where the *Curia* met; and every thing seemed to tend towards a Deposition of *Collatinus* by Violence. Then *Sp. Lucretius* ventured to ascend *The Tribune*, from which the Speeches were usually made to the People. He is said to have been the first private Man that ever obtained Leave of the *Consuls* to make a Speech in the *Comitia*. His Age, and the Remembrance of the virtuous *Lucretia* his Daughter, gain'd him Attention: And he directed his Speech first to his Son-in-law *Collatinus*. In vain, says he, do you obstinately resolve to continue, in Spight of the People, in a Post to which they have raised you. As you received it at first from them; so you ought now to resign it into their Hands. For, when a sudden Tempest arises, it's a Man's Wisdom to know how to avoid it. Don't strive against the Billows, whilst you see 'em boisterous. A private Life offers you a safe Harbour. Put in voluntarily without waiting till the Wind drives you in, at the Peril of Shipwreck. You will give surer Proofs of your Fidelity to Rome, by your Retreat, than you can here by all your Speeches, and all your Protestations. As for you, Brutus, don't carry your present Resentments to an Extremity, against a Colleague, who was, jointly with you, one of the principal Authors of our Liberty. Spare him the Indignity of being banished Rome upon bare Suspicions, as his Relations were for real Crimes. And you, Romans, mitigate the Uneasiness of his voluntary Resignation, by your Liberty. Give him his Estate, and let your Treasury supply what is wanting, to enable him to support the Glory of a Roman Consul, with Dignity, in his Retirement.

AND as this Advice of *Lucretius's* was received by the Assembly with Applause, *Collatinus* had then no Way left, but that of Abdication; and therefore, after he had called the Gods to be Witnesses of his Innocence, and Men, of the Ingratitude of his Relations and Friends, he ²¹ resigned the *Consulship*. Upon which, *Brutus*, who had made him submit to Reason, now highly commended his Wisdom, and exhorted him to preserve the same Affection for the Commonwealth, which he would always continue to have for him. After this, *Brutus* procured him a Present of ²² twenty Talents, out of the publick Treasury; and added five Talents of his own to them, to shew that he had no personal Enmity to him. Thus the last Man of one Branch of the *Tarquin* Family, by leaving Rome, deliver'd it from its Fears. The Place which *Collatinus* chose to retire to, was *Lavinium*; where he lived peaceably, and at last died of old Age.

§.X. *BRUTUS* did not long give the *Romans* room to suspect, that he intended to govern singly, and that, under the Name of a *Consul*, he aim'd at all the Authority of a *King*: For he immediately assembled the ²³ People by *Centuries*, in the *Campus Martius*, in order to proceed to the Election of a new *Consul*, to sup

* According to *Dr. Arbuthnot*, who reckons but 60 *Minae* to a Talent, the 20 Talents amount to 3875 *l. Sterling*.

²¹ *Livy* exceeds the Bounds of Probability, in the Account he gives us of *Collatinus's* resigning the *Consulship*: That of *Plutarch* and *Dion. Hal.* is better connected, and more judicious, as it assigns a plausible Reason for the *Consul's* Abdication. As for the *Latin* Historian, he mentions no other Reason of this Disgrace, but *Collatinus's* Misfortune in being descended from the Family of the *Tarquins*. Nor have we shewn more Regard to *Livy*, with Relation to the Manner in which he disposes the Circumstances of the Conspiracy of the *Vitellii* and *Aquillii*. For he places this Fact in the *Consulship* of *Brutus* and *Valerius*, after *Collatinus* was deposed. In which he is contradicted by the two *Greek* Historians.

²² These twenty Talents, * reckoning each Talent at a hundred *Minae*, and six thousand *Drachmae*;

and each *Drachma* at ten *Sols*, would amount to the Sum of twenty thousand *Crowns French*. But indeed, it's next to impossible, to make an exact Computation of the Value of the antient Coin, on the Foot of our current Species. This Sort of Reduction is not to be made, without supposing an absolute intrinsic Value in Metals; which would be a chimerical Supposition: Since their Value has always been arbitrary, and relative to the Times, Manners, and Customs of Nations, and subject to the Will of Law-givers, or of Princes, who have always settled the Value of their Coin, according to the Necessities of State.

²³ That is to say, that observing the Order of the different *Classes* established by *Servius Tullius*, the Suffrages of the Majority of the *Centuries*, had then the Force of a Law.

ly the Place of *Collatinus*. The Suffrages of the People carried it for *P. Valerius*, who, in the former Election, could not bear to see a Competitor, who was of the Blood of the *Tarquins*, preferred before him. Nevertheless, it may be said of *Valerius*, that, setting aside his Ambition, he was one of the most virtuous Citizens, *Rome* ever produced. For, being descended from the *Sabines*, he had preserved that Austerity of Manners, which was professed in the Country of his Ancestors. The first of his Progenitors, who came to *Rome*, had managed the Treaty of Peace between *Romulus* and *Titus Tatius*; and had left his Children the Art of reconciling Differences, as an hereditary Estate. The new *Consul* was descended from *Valerius Volesus*, who had left him a great Estate; the best Part of which, in the Time of the *Kings*, he applied to the Relief of the Indigent: And it can't be said, that in those Times of Confusion, his Liberality proceeded from any Hopes of Preferment. He, tho' more eloquent than the *Roman* Rusticity would at that time allow of, yet never made use of the Art of Persuasion, but to defend the Oppressed. He was abstemious, even to an Excess; being severe only to himself, and always compassionate to the Miseries of other Men. In short, by the sole Inspiration of Nature, and the Dictates of sound Reason, he was an Instance of an accomplished Wisdom among the *Romans*, before the *Greek* Philosophy, in which Wisdom was reduced to an Art, was known at *Rome*.

THUS, as the two *Consuls* were equally eminent for their Love of Virtue, and of the publick Good; there was a perfect Harmony between them: and they began their Administration, by passing a Law, which brought back a great number of excellent Subjects to *Rome*. It granted a general Amnesty to all those who had followed the Fortune of the *Tarquins*. This Pardon was extended to those Citizens, who finding themselves guilty of certain Crimes, which the Indulgence of the former Government had left unpunished, had of themselves gone into Exile. They had twenty Days allowed them to return to the City. If they did not appear there, in that time, their Effects were to be confiscated, and their Banishment declared perpetual, without leaving them any Hopes of a Return. This wise Precaution deprived the banished King of a great number of Friends and Soldiers. But the ambitious *Tarquin* was not disconcerted by the Union of the *Consuls*, the Peoples Affection to them, or by the Desertion of the *Romans*, who returned to their own Country. He did not despair of executing that by Force, which he could not carry by Stratagem. And therefore, tho' the *Romans* failed him, he still hoped to find Assistance among their Enemies. Accordingly, he run thro' the several *Lucumonies* of the *Hetrurians*, exaggerating, wherever he came, the Distress both he and his Children were in: and he found the *Veientes* as ready to listen to him, as the *Tarquinians* had been. He revived *their* ancient Jealousy against *Rome*; and promised them to restore their Glory, and the Countries which the *Romans* had taken from them. In short, he made them hope, that they should one Day have Dominion in *Rome*, and enjoy the highest Degrees of Honour there. The Confidence therefore which they placed in a General, who was famous for many Victories, engaged them in a new War with their old Enemies: And by thus uniting the Forces of the *Veientes*, and *Tarquinians*, the King had an Army equal to that of the *Romans*. The Royalists first took the Field: but as soon as they were entered into the *Roman* Territory, the *Consuls* marched out their Troops to meet them. *Brutus* commanded one Wing, and *Valerius* the other. But, for some Hours, *Brutus* marched at the Head of the Cavalry, in order to discover the enemy.

§. XI. As *Tarquin* had been used to draw up his Army after the *Roman* Manner, he observed the same Order of Battel, as his Enemy: And it may be said, that this was rather a kind of Civil War, than a Foreign one. Here were Allies against Allies, and *Roman* Generals against *Roman* Generals; equal Valour, and equal Kill, on both Sides. At length, the *Roman* Army passed the *Tyber*, and posted itself in a Meadow, which was bounded by a ²⁴ Forest, consecrated to a Hero, whose Name was *Arsius*. When the two Armies were in sight of one another, a

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Plutarch and Dion. Hal. B. 5. p. 288.

Livy, B. 2. ch. 6.

Dion. Hal. B. 5. ibid. Val. Max. Plutarch.

²⁴ This Forest, dedicated to *Arsius*, or to *Hora*, according to *Dion. Hal.* is, by *Livy*, called *Syl-Arsia*. The Field of Battel was situated between Hill *Janiculus*, and the Place which is now

called *Borghetto*. The *Romans* encamped in *The Meadows of Junius*, or *Vinius*, as they are called, by the Author of *The Antiquities*: But *Plutarch* calls them *The Esurient Meadows*.

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Motion was made on both Sides to begin the Onset. *Brutus*, with his Cavalry, marched towards the Enemy, designing to bring them to an Engagement, by Skirmishes. *Arunx*, one of *Tarquin's* Sons, was advancing boldly, with a Party of Horse, when *Brutus's* Squadrons appeared within reach of their Darts. So that, when the two Generals had discovered each other, *There he is*, cry'd *Arunx*, *that Enemy of my Family, that Usurper of my Father's Throne!* This said, he pushed on his Horse; and *Brutus* flew to meet him. For single Combats, at the Head of Armies, were at that time still in Use. But in this, the two Champions were led on more by Hatred and Rage, than by the Love of Glory; and Passion had left no room on either Side, for the Exercise of Skill and Precaution: Insomuch, that the two Combatants levelling their Javelins, rushed on, and ran each other thro' the Body. Their Horses, meeting each other with a violent Shock, threw their dying Riders; and the Loss of the two Generals was the Prelude of the Battel.

THEN all the Bodies of the two Armies engaged at once, Cavalry against Cavalry, and Battalions against Battalions. The Wing which *Brutus* was to have commanded, being deprived of its Leader, and attacked by the Body of the *Tarquinius*, commanded by King *Tarquin* and his Sons; the *Romans* were on that Side defeated, and put to flight. They were soon obliged to give way, and were afterwards vigorously pursued, even to their Camp²⁵; which a *Corps de Reserve*, of the best *Roman* Troops, defended with invincible Courage. On the Side where *Valerius* was engaged, the *Veientes* were routed, driven to their Camp, and they left the Field covered with their Slain. But never was the Success of a Battel more dubious; never was the Number of the Slain on both Sides more equal: till at length, Night coming on, put an end to this doubtful Action, and left the two Camps uncertain, which had gain'd the Victory, or which was defeated. Each saw the Fields round about them, strewed with the Carcasses of their Countrymen, and they were both in a Consternation, each thinking themselves conquered: when, if any Credit is to be given to a Fable, which was handed about at that time, a Voice was heard out of the Wood of *Arsius*, which encouraged the *Romans*, by assuring them, that the Victory was theirs. This was perhaps a Stratagem of the expert *Valerius*, who either contrived, that a Voice should actually be heard, or pretended that it had been heard. But, be that as it will, it's certain that the *Romans* had more Constancy and Resolution than the *Hetrurians*. The latter, as well *Tarquinius* as *Veientes*, abandoned their Camp in great Confusion, disbanded themselves, and returned to their own Country. So that *Valerius*, who, by this means, remained sole Master of the Field of Battel, ordered the Slain to be stripped and numbered. Upon which, he found, that the Enemy had lost eleven thousand and three hundred Men, and that the *Romans* Loss was but one Man short of the same Number. Early the next Morning, *Valerius* went and plundered the forsaken Camp of the *Hetrurians*: And as the Number of their wounded was great, several of them were retarded in their Flight: these the *Romans* attacked, and took about five thousand of them Prisoners. This Battel was fought the Day before the *Calends of March*.

§. XII. NEVERTHELESS, this Success did not comfort *Rome* for the Loss of the generous *Brutus*. The better the Commonwealth was secured by the Defeat of the *Tarquins*, the more she regretted the Death of her Founder. The first Funeral Honours were paid him in the Camp, where his Head was²⁶ crowned with Laurel. After this,

²⁵ According to *Dion. Hal.* this *Corps de Reserve* consisted of the *Triarii*. For all the *Roman Legions* were composed of four sorts of Soldiers. The first, and the least considerable, were called *Velites*, who had no particular Rank in the Lines of the *Legion*; but hover'd about, both before, and between, the Lines. The first Line of the *Roman Legion*, consisted of those who were called *Hastati*, from their Weapon *Hasta*, which was a kind of Lance, or short Javelin, which they threw at their Enemies. For this was their manner of fighting. The second Line consisted of those, who were called *Principes*. But there is nothing more uncertain, than the Reason of their being so called: it's thought it might be, because they formerly were the first Line, and fought with their Swords; but that that Order was afterwards altered, and the *Hastati* placed there in their

stead. In the last Line were posted those who were called *Triarii*, q. d. *Tertiarii*; because they formed the third Line. These never exceeded the Number of six hundred, how numerous soever the *Legion* it self might be. They were the best Men, the oldest, and the bravest Soldiers, to be found in the whole *Legion*; and, in Battel, were always a *Body* ready at hand, upon the least Signal, and a *Corps de Reserve*, upon all important Occasions. These *Triarii* preserved the *Roman Camp*, at this time, from being pillaged, after the Defeat of one of the Wings of their Army.

²⁶ *Romulus* was the first who introduced, at *Rome*, the Custom of crowning Conquerors with Laurel: since which time, that Crown became the Mark and Symbol of Victory and Triumph.

Corpse was carried to *Rome*; and the whole City being divided betwixt Mourning for the Loss it had sustained, and Joy for the Victory it had gained, gave Demonstrations of both successively. *Valerius's* Triumph was celebrated ²⁷ on the first Day of *March*. All the People went out to meet the Conqueror: And in every Street, there were Tables set out before the Doors; so that the Soldiers found Refreshments wherever they passed. The Conqueror himself, in a Chariot drawn by four Horses, made his Entrance into the City, amidst the Acclamations of the People, and of the Army. This Pomp was magnificent enough to excite the Emulation of the *Roman* Generals, but not stately enough to expose the Conqueror to the Hatred of the Citizens. The Spoils of the Vanquished were dedicated to the Gods; and the whole Day was spent in sacrificing and rejoicing.

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THE next Day, the Face of the City was changed: The *Consul* put on a Mourning Habit; and after he had caused *Brutus's* Corpse to be brought into the *Forum*, in a magnificent Litter, he ascended *The Tribune*; and then gave *Rome* the first Example of those Funeral Orations, which were ever after made in Praise of great Men. Nay, it's pretended, that the *Romans* ²⁸ were earlier than the *Greeks*, in this Practice; tho' these were afterwards remarkable for making extravagant Panegyrics upon their Heroes. *Valerius* signalized his Eloquence, by the Encomium he made upon his Collegue, which was received with universal Applause. The Ladies, in particular, distinguished themselves by the same Demonstrations of Affection for the Avenger of the Honour of the Sex; as if they had all lost their common Father ²⁹. They went into Mourning for ten Months; and did themselves Honour, by the Honours they paid to the incomparable *Brutus*. It may be said, that in the few Months, wherein he displayed his Wisdom, he compensated for the many Years he was obliged to conceal it. He restored Liberty to his Country; cemented it with the Blood of his own Sons; secured *Rome* a *Consul*, in whom his own Temper, Judgment, and all his Virtues were remarkably conspicuous; and in defending her against an Usurper; and at his Death, left her in a Condition to have no further Want of his Zeal. The *Romans* themselves said, that *Brutus* had undergone more Hardships and Hazards, in establishing the Commonwealth, than *Romulus* had in founding the City. In short, he deserved, by one Year's Conduct at the Helm of State, to be considered, on the Account of his Love to his Country, and the great Endowments of his Mind, as the most illustrious Citizen which *Rome*, tho' very fruitful in Heroes, had ever produced. It plainly appears, that he left no Posterity. That Branch of the *Junian* Family, from which he descended, was *Patrician*; and yet the *Junian* Family, for a long time after, was no more than ³⁰ *Plebeian* in *Rome*. A sure Proof, that it was descended only from a collateral Branch of the Family of *Junius* ³¹ *Brutus*, the *Consul*. *VA-*



²⁷ The Battel was fought the Day before the Ends of *March*, or the last Day of *February*, as *Plutarch* assures us. The next Day, *i.e.* the first of *March*, was remarkable for the Triumph of *Valerius*. The *Fasti Capitolini* place this Triumph on the same Day, in the Year 244, since *Romulus*.

²⁸ Funeral Orations were not used in *Greece*, after the Battle of *Marathon*, *i.e.* sixteen Years after the Death of *Brutus*. Before that Time, the Generals of great Men, among the *Greeks*, were honoured by publick Games, and Carousals. We find indeed, in the Writings of the Tragick Poets, that *Thesens* publickly pronounced an *Encomium* on the seven Captains, who lost their Lives before *Thebes*; but this Circumstance is mere poetick invention. *Diodorus Siculus* assures us, that the *Athenians* established Funeral Orations, by an express Law, upon the account of those who were slain in the Wars against the *Persians*. *Anaximenes*

the Rhetorician, as quoted by *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Poplicola*, falsely ascribes this Law to *Solon*.

²⁹ We have already observed, that the *Roman* Women's Year of Mourning consisted but of ten Months; for in this Case, they retained the antient Custom, of reckoning the Year as *Romulus* did; and mourned for *Brutus* as long, as if they had lost their Husbands: This Custom is mentioned by *Ovid*, *Fast. B. 1.*

*Per totidem menses a funere conjugis uxor
Sustinet in vidui tristia signa domo.*

³⁰ *Tully* indeed does *Lucius Brutus*, who murdered *Julius Caesar*, the Honour of mentioning him, as lineally descended from the first *Consul*; and *Brutus* himself pretended to that Honour. But in this the *Roman* Orator is contradicted by the concurrent Testimony of all Writers, *Plutarch* and *Entropius* only excepted. Besides, it's evident, that the first *Brutus* left no Issue.

³¹ The *Romans* afterwards erected a Statue to *Brutus*,

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Livy, B. 2.
ch. 7.

§. XIII. *VALERIUS* was left in peaceable Possession of his Glory. But as he for some time, deferred calling the People to a new Election, either thro' Negligence, or thro' Despair of being able to provide *Rome* immediately with a Consul, who would fill *Brutus's* Place with Dignity; or thro' a secret Desire of being, in a few Days, the sole Author of his Country's Welfare: the *Romans* (who, in those Times, carried their Love of Liberty to an Excess of Distrust) put a bad Construction upon his Delays. *He is an ambitious Man*, said they, *who is trying the People's Patience; and after he has accustomed us to bear the Yoke, and thereby made it tolerable, he will then usurp the sole Dominion over us. Why does not he imitate Brutus, whom he so highly extolled? That great Man, after Collatinus was perished, did not defer the Election of his Collegue, one Day.* And these Murmurs seemed to be countenanced by a Circumstance, the Consequences of which, *Valerius* had not foreseen. He was then building a fine House³², on the Brow of the Hill *Palatinus*, on that Side where the Hill commanded the *Forum Romanum*, and the *Comitium*³³. That Part of the Hill was very steep, and difficult of Access. The Situation therefore of this House, made the People consider it as a Citadel, from whence the new Monarch would command the City, without any Danger of being invested. These Reports spread very fast, and were heard by every body, but the Person concerned. How happy is it, in such a Conjuncture as this, to have sincere Friends, and to be of a Temper to listen to them. The *Consul* himself, knowing his Intentions to be upright, did not think it possible, that any body should suspect the contrary. But as soon as he was informed of what the People thought of him, he, without shewing any Uneasiness, came to a Resolution, which he kept to himself. This was, to send for a great Number of Workmen, to pull down his House, the very next Night. Nor was he content with seeing this executed: for as soon as it was Day, he called the People together, and spoke to them in the following manner. *How much does Brutus's Fate deserve my Envy! He died in the Service of his Country, with his Sword in his Hand, and carried off his Glory entire. Your unjust Suspicions, Romans, never sullied it, in his Lifetime: whilst I have survived him, only to see my Name ranked with those of the Vitellii and Aquilii. How could your Distrusts fall upon the most approved Virtues, and the firmest Supports of your Liberty? Is it possible, that my Delusion could make you believe, that the greatest Adversary of Regal Power, intended to usurp it? Had I made the Capitol itself the Place of my Residence, my past Conduct ought to have kept you easy. Is it possible, that I should lose the Confidence which you ought to repose in me, for so frivolous a Circumstance, as the Situation of my House? Do you consider me, only as a Person, who lives in this or that Place, and not as that Consul, who has always been so zealous for your Interests? Go, Romans, and see the Ruins of that Building, which has given you so much Umbrage. I have changed my Habitation, and have made choice of the Valley, that from the Top of the Hill, where I was building my House, you may crush me to pieces with Stones, if I am still the Object of your Jealousy.*

WHEN he had ended his Speech, he ordered the *Comitia* to assemble: And the People met accordingly in the *Campus Martius*, on the Day appointed. *Valerius* left them entirely free, in the Choice of a new *Consul*: and on this Occasion, *Rome* gave a fresh Proof of her Gratitude to the first Authors of her Liberty.

Brutus, in the *Capitol*; where he was placed in the midst of the Kings of *Rome*, with a naked Sword in his Hand. There are two Medals still remaining, which, it's thought, were struck after the Murder of *Julius Cæsar*. On one, we see the Head of old *Brutus*: the other represents *Liberty*, with this Word, *LIBERTAS*. On the Reverse, are the *Lictors*, armed with their *Axes* and *Fasces*, with which, *Brutus* was the first who was guarded as *Consul*, after the Expulsion of the *Tarquins*; according to this Passage in *Virgil*,

— Consulis imperium hic, severasque secures
Accipiet. *Æneid*. B. 6.

³² That is, upon that Part of the Hill *Palatinus*, which *Livy*, and others, call *Summa Velia*, to distinguish it from the Valley, which was called *Ima Velia*, i. e. the upper, and lower, *Velia*. *Varro* derives this Word from the Latin Word *vellere*; because, says he, the Shepherds used to lead their Sheep to feed in that Place, and there pluck off their Wool before Shearing was invented.

³³ This occasioned the unjust Suspicions of the *Romans* against *Valerius*, who was afterwards called *Poplicola*. His *Prænomen* was *Publius*; the natural Etymology of which, is, that those were called, who had been brought up in their Infancy at the publick Charge. *PUBLIUS*, quasi *PUBLICUS*.

34 *Sp. Lucretius*, the Father of *Lucretia*, was the only Person that remained unrewarded, of the four *Patricians*, who had first bound themselves by Oath, to deliver her from Slavery. He therefore, tho' he was very old, was pitch'd upon to succeed *Brutus* in the *Consulship*. But *Rome* did not long gather the Fruits she hoped to receive, from the Government of so wise an old Man. Death snatch'd him from her a few Days after his Election.

Year of
R. C. 178
CCXLV.
P. VALERIUS
and Sp. LU-
CRETIUS.
Consul.
P. VALLARIUS
POPPLICOLA,
Consul.

THE *Roman* People, as they came out of the *Comitia*, were ashamed of having unjustly suspected the Probity of the *Consul Valerius*; and were equally surprized at the sudden Demolition of his House, and at his Disinterestedness in sacrificing it to the Peoples Uneasiness. As therefore the Publick would not bear that so great a Man should live in a borrow'd House, they complimented him with a large Ground-Plat, in an agreeable Place, where they built him a House³⁵; not indeed in so high a Situation, but full as convenient, as that which he had pull'd down.

§. XIV. In the Interval betwixt the Death of *Lucretius*, and the Election of a Successor, *Valerius* gave the People such sensible Proofs of his Zeal for their Interest, that they could not refuse him the glorious³⁶ Surname of *Poplicola*. From that Time forwards, he went by no other Name; and therefore we shall mention him by this only, thro' the Course of a Life which was remarkably distinguish'd by a great Number of *Consulships*. He begun his Administration, by making an Alteration with respect to the *Fasces*, which had always been carried before the *Kings* and *Consuls*. He order'd the *Axes*, which were so apt to strike Terror, to be taken out of the *Fasces*; and even oblig'd the *Lictors* to lower the *Fasces* with which they were arm'd, before the Assembly of the People. This he did, doubtless, in order to pave the Way to that very humane Law which he made, whilst he was sole *Consul*, and by³⁷ which every Criminal was allow'd to appeal to the People, and no final Sentence could be given, but by the Decree of the *Curia*. He made likewise another, in Favour of Artificers; *Poplicola* discharged them from all Tribute, as he did also the Widows, and Old Men, who had no Children in a Condition to relieve them. Indeed a third Law, which he made, prescribed an absolute Submission to the Orders of the *Consuls*; but the Fine³⁸ lay'd upon those who disobey'd them, was limited to the Value of five Oxen, and two Rams. He also publish'd a fourth, which Historians themselves have blamed, but which was very agreeable to the People whom he then govern'd. He thereby permitted any one, who should know of any form'd Design of usurping the regal Power, to kill the author of it, without waiting till he was legally condemned. Impunity was promised to the Murderer, provided he could prove that the Person he had kill'd

Plut. Life of
Poplic.

34 Modern Authors give this *Consul* the Surname of *Tricipitinus* also; tho' it was not the Name of his Family. It is said that this Surname was common to the *Lucretii*. At least, the Father of *Lucretia* was surnamed *Tricipitinus*, according to *Cassiodorus*. But this is a very disputable Opinion.

35 *Livy* adds, that this House was situated in the place, where, in his Time, stood an Oratory, or little Temple, dedicated to the Goddess *Vicopota*, *Vicopota*, according to the antient Reading report'd by *Rhenanus*; or *Viriopota*, as we still read in some of the antient Descriptions of the City of *Rome*. *Sigonius* was persuaded that an Error had slip'd into the Text, and that it ought to be read, *nunc via publica*; i. e. where there is now a publick Road. And he endeavours to prove it by the Authority of *Plutarch* and *Frontinus*. *Justus Lipsius* prefers *Vicopota*; under which Name *Victoria* was honour'd by the antient *Romans*. The Grammarians derive *Vicopota* from the *Latin* Words *vincere* and *potiri*. *Lipsius's* Opinion seems to us to be more rational: for the antient Writers, and *Livy* himself, mention a Temple erected to *Victory*, upon the Declivity of the Hill *Palatinus*, where *Poplicola's* House was built.

36 In some Editions of the *Latin* Historians, we find *Publicola*, instead of *Poplicola*; but 'tis a Fault, which ought to be corrected. For the *Fasti Capitolini*, *Dion. Hal.*, *Plutarch*, and *Dio*, call him *Poplicola*; which is an Abreviation of *Populicola*.

37 This was a popular Law; but in Process of time, it brought many Mischiefs upon the Com-

monwealth. It was the Occasion of lessening the Authority of the *Consuls*, and of putting the Government into other Hands, as *Livy* observes, B. 4. The *Consuls* therefore often struck at this Law, and *Tully* was banish'd for having broken it. The *Dictators* were excepted in this Law: There lay no Appeal to the People from their Decrees of Life and Death. *Plutarch* adds, but without quoting any Authority, that *Poplicola* suffer'd all the *Romans*, without observing the Distinction of *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, to stand for the *Consulship*, when vacant by the Death of *Sp. Lucretius*. But a little Knowledge of the History of the *Roman* Commonwealth, is sufficient to convince us, that in those early Ages, the *Patricians* only, had a Right to be Candidates, for the Honour of the *Consulship*.

38 It is not improbable, that the Fine laid upon those who disobey'd the *Consuls*, was five of those Pieces of Money which were stamp'd with the Figure of a Bull, and two of those which bore that of a Ram. *Pollux*, B. 9. speaks of a Piece of Money, which in antient Times was current at *Athens*, under the Name of *βου*; either because, as he pretends, it was stamp'd with the Figure of an Ox, or, as *Sperling* will have it, because that Piece of Money was the fix'd Price at which an Ox was sold. But *Plutarch* insists, that the Fine was of real Oxen and Rams; or, at least, of an Equivalent for five of the former, and two of the latter. And he adds, that there was very little Money in those Days, and that Traffick was chiefly carried on by Barter.

Year of
R O M E
CCXLIV.
P. VALERIUS
POPPLICOLA,
Consul.

P. VALERIUS
POPPLICOLA,
and M. HO-
RATIUS PUL-
VILLUS, Con-
suls.

had been guilty of an Attempt against the publick Liberty. And in short, the same Punishment was appointed for all those who usurped any publick Office, without the Peoples Consent.

THUS *Poplicola* gained the Affections of all *Rome*, by these popular Laws; but what entirely won him the Hearts of the People, was his laying down the most odious Part of his Administration. He found, that the *Consuls* were overburden'd with the Management of the publick Money. *This*, said he, *is perpetually the Occasion of a thousand Suspicions among the Populace, who, at best, are uneasy under the Weight of the Taxes and Contributions.* *Poplicola* therefore made the People choose two Men of Probity, to whom they gave the Name of *Questors*, and committed the Care of the publick Treasure; which he order'd to be removed from his House, to the 39 Temple of *Saturn*, where it was ever after lodged. The 40 first *Questors* that were chosen, were *P. Veturius* and *M. Minutius*.

THE lopping off so considerable a Branch of the *Consular* Office, which was afterwards follow'd by the cutting off many others, procur'd *Poplicola* more Leisure, and restrained the Heat of those who envy'd him. And as the Law he had made, whilst he was sole *Consul*, had no other Aim but the Peoples Interest, he was now no longer suspected of aspiring to *Regal* Power. Nor was he any longer afraid to take a Collegue, which he had deferr'd doing, only because he apprehended that he might possibly oppose his Design of diminishing the *Consular* Authority. He order'd the People to meet in the *Campus Martius*, where *M. Horatius*, surnamed *Pulvillus*, was chosen to succeed *Sp. Lucretius*. He was the fifth *Consul* who govern'd *Rome*, within the first nineteen Months, or thereabouts, after *Tarquin* was 41 depos'd. It's true, some Historians have left out the Name of *Sp. Lucretius*, in the List they have given of this first Year's *Consuls*; but this was doubtless because his *Consulship* was short, and not distinguish'd by any memorable Event. As for *Horatius* 42 *Pulvillus*, it's uncertain whether he dedicated the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* in this his first *Consulship*, which he enjoy'd but a few Months, or in that other, which, as we shall see by and by, he discharged with Honour, during a whole Year.

§. XV. 43 WHEN the Time of the first *Consulate* was expired, the *Romans* having

39 The publick Treasury was called *Ærarium*; because at first nothing was lodg'd in it but *unstamp'd Brass*, which went by Weight, and which was called *Æs rude*. Afterwards *stamp'd* Pieces of *Brass* were lodged there, which were called *Æs grave*, or *Æs leve*, according to the different Weight of the several Coins. This Treasury had been kept at the Houses of the *Kings* and *Consuls*, till the Time of *Poplicola*, who removed it to the Temple of *Saturn*, which was situated at the Foot of the Hill *Saturnius*, or the *Capitol*. He pitch'd upon the Temple of *Saturn*; either because the Coin of *Italy*, before the Foundation of *Rome*, was stamp'd with *Saturn's* Head, or because he thought that the publick Treasury would be better secured in a sacred Place, and so near the Citadel of *Rome*. In After-Times, the publick Treasury was divided into two Branches; the one was called, *The Common Treasury*, or *Ærarium vulgare*; the other was called, *the Sacred Treasury*, or *Ærarium Sanctius*; in which the *Aurum vicefimarum* was reserved, for the extraordinary Occasions of the Commonwealth. Of this we shall speak in a proper Place.

40 I say here, upon *Plutarch's* Authority, that there were no *Questors* in *Rome*, till *Poplicola's* Time; and that this Office was originally a Branch of that of the *Consuls*. But *Ulpian* pretends, on the contrary, and quotes several Authors for it, that there were *Questors*, even in *Tullius Hostilius's* Time. It is therefore to be observed, that the Name of *Questors*, among the *Romans*, had two different Significations. Sometimes it signified Commissioners, by whom capital Crimes were cognizable, and sometimes Magistrates who were put in Commission for recovering the publick Money. *Ulpian* might speak of the former Sort of *Questors*, which was in being in the Time of the *Kings*; and *Plutarch* of the other Sort, which was introduced by

Poplicola, in the Time of the Commonwealth. The latter *Questors* were chosen by the People assembled in *Comitia*.

41 *Livy* assures us, that he did not find the Name of *Sp. Lucretius* among the *Consuls*, in some Annals. However, he puts him in the Number of the five *Consuls* of this first Year; and in this he agrees with *Plutarch* and *Dion. Hal.* Without doubt, *Lucretius* was omitted in those Annals, for the Reason we have mentioned in the Body of the History.

42 *Plutarch* and *Livy* agree, that *Horatius Pulvillus* dedicated the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*; and they both seem to place this Dedication in his first *Consulship*. But *Dion. Hal.* places it in the second. And certainly, the Circumstance of performing that Ceremony agrees better with the Year in which *Dion. Hal.* has placed it. We have therefore prefer'd his Opinion, as to the Order of Time, and have borrow'd some Circumstances of the Fact from the two other Historians.

43 We have fix'd the Beginning of *Brutus's Consulship* to the second *Regifugium*, which *Ovid*, in his *Fasti*, places on the ninth of the *Calends* of *June*, or the twenty fourth of *May*. According to *Dion. Hal.* he govern'd only four Months; and consequently, *Collatinus* must have been depos'd much about the *Calends* of *October*. *Valerius Poplicola*, who succeeded him, shared the Government of the Commonwealth with *Brutus*, till the Death of the latter, which happen'd, according to *Plutarch*, the Day before the *Calends* of *March*; and after this, during the seven Months which remained to complete the *Consular* Year, *Valerius* govern'd partly alone, from the Death of *Brutus*, and partly with two successive Collegues, *Sp. Lucretius*, and *Horatius Pulvillus*, till the *Calends* of *October*, in the following Year; where the first *Consulship* of *Valerius* ended.

Thought

thoughts of coming to a new Election of *Consuls*, *Poplicola* was too agreeable to the People, to be forgotten in the new Promotion. It was even thought necessary for the Commonwealth, that the Government should again be committed to the Care of a Hero, who was equally a Friend to the People, and an Enemy to the *Tarquins*. The banish'd King had not yet lost all Hopes of redressing his Misfortunes, nor try'd his last Remedy. It was known at *Rome*, that *Mamilius* his Son-in-law was making a Party for him among the *Latins*; that *Tarquin* himself had taken Refuge with *Porfena*, King of *Clusium*; and that that formidable *Lucumony* of the *Hetrurians* was disposed to favour him. *Poplicola* was therefore judged to be more capable than any other, both of disconcerting *Tarquin's* Projects, and of resisting his Attacks. Upon which Considerations, he was made *Consul* a second time; and had for his Colleague *T. Lucretius* ⁴⁴, the Son, as is supposed, of old *Sp. Lucretius*, who died in the *Consulship*, and the Brother of the famous *Lucretia*. But however that might be, this was a Recompence due to a Family, who had immortaliz'd their Virtue, and from whose Zeal for Liberty there was nothing which *Rome* might not expect. It happen'd, however, that this Year was very little distinguish'd, except for Works of Peace, or Preparations for War. The *Consuls* began their Government with renewing the antient Institutions of King *Servius Tullius*, which had been abolish'd in the Reign of *Tarquin the Proud*. They order'd the People to be number'd, and found a hundred and thirty thousand Men ⁴⁵ in *Rome*, who were at, or past, the Age of *Puberty*. And as the *Roman Census* was most commonly follow'd by the *Lustrum*, or by the Expiation of the *Centuries* assembled by *Classes* in the *Campus Martius*, this may be reckoned the ⁴⁶ fifth *Roman Lustrum*. It was from the *Latin* Quarter that the *Romans* were, at this Time, most apprehensive of a War: And therefore, in order to prevent it, the *Consuls* fortified a convenient Post to keep their Enemies in Awe. They sent Troops to *Sinquinum*, which perhaps was the same City which *Plutarch* calls ⁴⁷ *Sigliuria*: And they fortified it with strong Walls, built at a great Expence. The Design of the *Romans* in this, was to shew that their Treasure was not exhausted; and to raise a Barrier

⁴⁴ There is indeed no Certainty that *Titus Lucretius*, who was *Valerius's* Colleague in his second *Consulship*, was the Brother of *Lucretia*. It has only been imagin'd that he was, and that upon very weak Conjectures. However, two Things are certain: 1st. That he was of the *Lucretian* Family, which became famous by the Death of the brave *Lucretia*. And, 2^{dly}. That he was the Grandfather of another *Lucretius*, who was also *Consul* in the Year of *Rome* 291.

⁴⁵ The Learned differ about the Number of Persons, which the Historians mention, as given in upon each *Roman Census*. Some will have it, that in this Multitude, all the *Roman Citizens* were comprehended, without excepting their Wives, Children, Widows, Orphans, or Pupils. But is it credible, that the Commonwealth, when *Rome* was become the Capital of the World, should reckon but three hundred, four hundred, and never so much as five hundred thousand Citizens, in all the *Roman Territory*, and in the whole Extent of its *municipal towns*? For we don't find that the most numerous *census* ever exceeded five hundred thousand, for above seven hundred Years together. Others think that the Number mention'd by the *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, comprehended only the Heads of Families. But this Opinion can't be supported. For, or to say that it cannot be reconciled with the Account the Historians give us, we shall never be persuaded, that under the *Consulship* of *Valerius*, for instance, the *Roman State*, which was confined within narrow Limits, and almost reduced to the single City of *Rome*, should be able to reckon up a hundred and thirty thousand Heads of Families; and consequently, several Millions of Souls, including Children, Slaves, Widows, Orphans, Pupils, Strangers, &c. whose Names were not taken down in the *Census*. It is therefore more reasonable to conclude, with *Fabius Pictor*, as quoted by *Livy*, that one but those who were able to bear Arms, were

included in this Reckoning; *i. e.* those only who were above seventeen Years of Age, and under forty six. Thus we are to understand *Dion. Hal.* when, speaking of this fifth *Roman Census*, he says, that the Number of those who were arrived to the Age of *Puberty*, ἐν ἡβῃ, amounted to an hundred and thirty thousand Men. He speaks in much the same Manner, whenever he mentions the *Census*, always excepting the Women, Children, Orphans, Handycraftsmen, Slaves, and People of mean Trades, and low Condition of Life, who in the early Times of the *Republick* were excluded from the *Roman Militia*; as we are inform'd by credible Authors. And in short, if we do but consider, that at the End of *Romulus's* Reign the *Roman Army* consisted of forty six thousand Foot, and very near a thousand Horse, it will not appear at all surprizing, that *Rome*, which was now become more powerful, and better peopled, should be able to raise an hundred and thirty thousand fighting Men; especially since the Inhabitants of *Alba*, and the other conquered Cities, had removed thither.

⁴⁶ The *Census* was usually follow'd by the *Lustrum*. And accordingly, as the *Roman Census* is placed in this Year by *Dion. Hal.* so is the *Lustrum*, by the Commentators on the *Fasti Capitolini*, tho' it be worn out of the Marble. This therefore was the fifth *Lustrum*; since there were but four in the Time of *Servius Tullius*, and none in the Time of *Tarquin the Proud*, or the first Year of the *Consuls*.

⁴⁷ The Name of this City, which *Plutarch* calls *Sigliuria*, varies in the different Editions of *Dion. Hal.* In *Gelenius* it is called *Syncerion*, in the *Vatican Manuscript* *Tifionyrion*, and *Signia* in the Edition of *Lapus*. *Dion. Hal.* says that this Place, by its Situation, was as it were the Key of the Countries of the *Latins*, and of the *Hernici*; whence *Cluverius* conjectured, that *Sigliuria* was not a different Place from *Signia*, which is indeed situated on the Borders of those two Nations.

Year of
R O M E
CCXLIV.

P. VALERIUS
POPPLICOLA,
and M. HORATIUS
PULVILLUS, Con-
suls.

Year of
R O M E
CCXLV.

P. VALEIUS
POPPLICOLA,
and T. LUCRETIVS,
Consuls.

Dion. Hal.
B. 5. p. 293.

against

Year of
R O M E
CCXLV.
P. VALERIUS
POPPLICOLA,
Consul.

against the Incursions of the *Latins*, and of the *Hernici*: And they soon found by Experience, that this was not an useless Precaution. For, in a little time, *Porfena* sent a haughty and threatening Embassy to them, requiring them either to restore the *Tarquins* to the Throne, or at least to give them back their Estates. But they absolutely refused to comply with the first Article: And as to the second, made Excuses; pretending, that as Part of those Estates had been consecrated to the God *Mars*, they could not be resumed, without incurring the Guilt of Sacrilege; and that it would be impossible to recover the rest from that great Number of indigent People, amongst whom it was distributed.

Year of
R O M E
CCXLVI.
P. VALERIUS
POPPLICOLA,
and M. HORATIUS
PULVILLUS, Con-
suls.

THE *Romans* had their Thoughts wholly employ'd about making a generous Resistance; when the Time came to assemble the *Centuries*, and elect new *Consuls*. And now the Fears and Wants of the Publick speaking again in Favour of *Poplicola*, no Regard was had to the Danger which might arise from lodging the Government three Years successively in the same Hands, in the Infancy of the Commonwealth. *Poplicola* was appointed *Consul*, the third Time; and this judicious Choice deliver'd *Rome* from the greatest Danger in which it had ever been. 48 *Horatius Pulvillus*, who had before been *Consul* for a few Months, enter'd upon that Office in the most critical Year of *Rome*. Their Wisdom, and their Valour, supported it in War; and at length, obtain'd a glorious Peace, which left the *Romans* in Possession of their Liberty. Insomuch, that this Age of the Commonwealth may, by way of Eminence, be called the Age of *Roman* Probity, Constancy, and Intrepidity.

Liv. B. 2. c. 9.
Plutarch Life
of Poplic.
Dion. Hal. ib.

§. XVI. *PORSENA*, to whom some give the 49 *Prænomen*, *Lars*, and others that of *Claras*, had marched from *Clusium* with the most formidable Army, *Rome* had ever yet been obliged to engage with. The 50 Riches of that *Lucumo* were immense, for those Times; and one would have thought, that he came before *Rome*, merely to make a Shew of them: But he had more Motives than one, to engage in this Enterprize. He was in hopes, either of making himself King of *Rome*, or of placing a King on that Throne, who was of *Hetrurian* Extraction, or at least of obtaining the Glory of having revenged the common Cause of *Kings*. The *Hetrurian* took with him his Son *Arunx*, a young Prince, whose Genius and Valour were extraordinary, for his Age. The *Tarquins* followed the King their Protector, and by their Experience in the military Art, assisted him in regulating his Marches and Battels, and disciplining his prodigious, but somewhat confused, Multitude of *Hetrurians*. And in the mean time, *Mamilius* was ready to join the *Lucumo's* Troops with a considerable Body of the *Latins*. The whole *Latin* Nation had not indeed joined in the Interest of the *Tarquins*; but the Cantons of *Tusculum* 51, of *Cameria*, and of *Antemnae*, had, and followed the Standards of *Mamilius*. The other Cantons remained neuter.

THE *Consuls* first Care, was, to preserve the *Roman* Territory from the Ravages, which that Inundation of *Hetrurians* and *Latins* were ready to commit, in those Parts of it which were near their respective Territories. In order to which, they ordered the Peasants to carry their Effects into Strong-holds, which were well fortified, and situated upon steep Rocks, in different Parts of the Country. After this, they applied

48 We here prefer *Dion. Hal.*'s Opinion to that of the other Historians. *Plutarch* does not give *Poplicola* any Collegue, in this his third *Consulship*. Which I am not at all surprized at. He did not write a *Roman* History, he only proposed to give an Account of *Poplicola's* Actions, in which his Collegue bore no great Part. *Livy* joins one *Publius Lucretius* with *Valerius*, in the *Consulship* for this Year. But this Author has so confounded the first *Consuls*, that his own Interpreters abandon him. I therefore adhere to *Dion. Hal.* who makes *Poplicola* *Consul* the third Time, and *Horatius Pulvillus* the second, in this third Year of the Republick. His is thought the most authentick Account, by *O-nuphrius*, *Sigonius*, &c. *Cassiodorus* has not set down any *Consuls* for this Year. Doubtless, the Disagreement of Authors left him in Uncertainty.

49 It may be doubted whether the Word *Lars*, or *Lartes*, was *Porfena's* *Prænomen*, or a Title of Honour. Some pretend, that *Lars* is an old *Hetrurian*

Word, which signifies a *Monarch*. Indeed, *Porfena* was the most powerful King of any in the twelve *Lucumonies*, and the other *Lucumonies* were in some measure dependent upon him. And if this was the Case, *Plutarch* who gives him the *Prænomen* of *Claras*, must have given him his true *Prænomen*; and those who call him *Lars*, must have called him by the Title which was suitable to his Dignity. But some modern Authors think the Word *Claras* only an Error of the Copyists, who wrote it for *Lars*.

50 We may judge of *Porfena's* Wealth, by the famous Labyrinth this King built for his Burial-Place. *Pliny* assures us, after *Varro*, that this Work was not inferior to the most sumptuous Buildings of the East.

51 *Tusculum* was a City of old *Latium*, thirteen or fourteen Miles from *Rome*, formerly famous for its excellent Waters, fruitful Soil, and pleasant Hills. At some Distance from the Ruins of *Tusculum*, we find the City of *Frascati*.

themselves chiefly to secure the Hill *Janiculus*, an important Post, which overlooked the whole City. The *Janiculus* was separated from *Rome*, only by the *Tyber*; and the Passage from the one to the other, was over a wooden Bridge, which was wholly supported by the Union of its Parts, which were mortised one to another, without so much as a single Nail, or Bar of Iron, to bind the cross Timber to the Piles. In a Word, the *Janiculus* was the only Fortification *Rome* had, beyond the River. The City was separated from it, only by a slight Wall, which was built at some distance from the *Tyber*, in order to leave room enough for Inundations, to extend themselves over a large Strand.

WITHIN the City, the *Consuls*, in order to keep the Populace in Temper, behaved themselves towards them, in a very popular manner, and made Laws, in their favour, suitable to the present Necessity. The meaner sort of People were for ever exempted from those toilsome servile Labours, with which *Tarquin* had over-burdened them, and from paying a certain Tribute, towards the Expences of the *Militia*, which had been always exacted in Times of War. The Tax upon Entries was taken off, and Provisions came free into the City. Every body was allowed to sell Salt publickly, and it was no longer engrossed by the Exchequer. In short, the *Consuls* sent to the *Volsci* for Corn; and Barks were ordered to sail, to bring some from *Cumæ* ⁵², and from *Campania*. So that these good Regulations made the meanest of the Citizens sensible of the Difference between the present Government, and the former. All appeared as zealously disposed to avoid the ancient Servitude, as the *Patricians* themselves: and Concord reigned in *Rome*, even in the time of the Famine, with which it was grievously afflicted, during the Siege.

§.XVII. THUS were all the necessary Dispositions made, both in City and in Country, when *Porsena* displayed his Banners along the *Tyber*. The first Post he attacked, was the Fort of the *Janiculus*; and the Number of the Assailants over-powering the *Roman* Garrison, they drove them out; and the *Romans*, obliged to give way to the superior Force of the Enemy, retreated hastily to the City, over the Bridge. This first Shock put them into a Consternation; but they were recovered out of it, by the Intrepidity of the *Consuls*, who made all their Troops pass the River, with the utmost Expedition, and drew them up in Order of Battel, beyond the Bridge, to secure the Pass. Upon which, *Porsena* immediately advanced his Army in good Order, and prepared to begin a Battel, on which, he said, the Overthrow of *Rome* depended, if he should happen to gain it. The Right Wing of his Army was commanded by *Mamilius*, who was at the Head of the *Latins*. The Left Wing was led by the *Tarquins*, who commanded a small Number of *Romans*, who adhered to them; and the *Gabini*, who continued faithful in their Service: And lastly, *Porsena*, followed by his *Hetrurians*, gave Orders to the main Body of the Army. As to the *Romans*, their Right Wing, under the Command of *Sp. Lartius*, and *T. Herminius*, faced the *Tarquins*. *M. Valerius*, *Poplicola's* Brother, and *T. Lucretius* ⁵³, who had been *Consul* the Year before, were at the Head of the Left Wing, facing *Mamilius*, and his *Latins*: and *Poplicola*, with his Allegue, were to engage *Porsena*, in the Center. The Battel continued long, more Numbers could get the better of Valour and Skill: but at length it happened unfortunately, that ⁵⁴ *Valerius* and *Lucretius* were both wounded at the same time; and as they were carried into the City, it was perceived by the Left Wing, where it occasioned a general Terror. Upon which, this Wing, which first ran over the Bridge, and returned to the City; and their precipitate

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B. 5. p. 294.

Cumæ, a City of *Campania*, was thought to have been a Colony of the People of *Eubœa*, who were the Founders and Masters of it. But they were afterwards driven out of it by the Natives of the Country. *Cumæ* stood upon an high Hill, the top of which was washed with the Waves of the Sea. The Ruins of this City bear the same Name to this Day. Four Miles from it, near the Lake *Lucrinus*, there is a Cave, which passes in the Country for the Sybil's Grotto, *Grotta della Sybilla*. *Plutarch* and *Livy* place this Expedition of *Porsena* against the *Romans*, in *Poplicola's* second

Consulship. And consequently, according to them, *Titus Lucretius* was then *Consul*. But *Dion. Hal.* seems to us to deserve the Preference before them, especially with respect to the Order of the *Consular* Years.

⁵⁴ It was not *Poplicola*, as *Plutarch* pretends, but *Marcus Valerius*, who was wounded with *Titus Lucretius*. We need no other Proof of it, than the Rout of the *Roman* Army, which begun in the Left Wing, which had lost both its Commanders, who had been carried out of the Field of Battel.

H h h

Flight

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Flight brought on that of the Right Wing, and of the main Body. In short the whole *Roman* Army was led away by this bad Example.

THE Bridge was in a moment covered with Fugitives: The Soldiers, in a hurry to reach it, ran in Crouds, tumbling down, and stifling one another. In vain did *Horatius* 55, a brave *Roman*, who was of the same Extraction with the three Heroes, who had formerly engaged, and conquered the *Curiatii*; in vain did he endeavour to rally the terrified *Legions*, and to make them change a shameful Flight into an honourable Retreat. He was not regarded. Nevertheless, his Memory deserves to be immortalized, for the Resolution he took upon this Occasion. He let the whole *Roman* Army pass over the Bridge; and since Flight was necessary, resolved, however, to be the last Man that should fly. The two Commanders of the Right Wing, *Sp. Lartius*, and *T. Herminius*, who had already broke the Wing



Silver

of the *Tarquins*, joined the gallant *Horatius*, and made a resolute Stand, till the Fugitives had all passed the Bridge, and the Enemy offered to pursue them over. Then the brave *Cocles* (for he was so surnamed, for having formerly lost an Eye in a Battel) posted himself, with the two valiant Officers, in the Defile which led to the Bridge; and at the same time called out to the *Romans*, to break it down without delay. It was easy to be demolished, since they had no more to do than to disjoint Pieces of Timber, which were only mortised together. But, when this was done, the three Heroes bore up against the furious Attack of a whole Army; received the Arrows, which were shot at them from a distance, upon their Shields; and defended themselves against those who attacked them near, with their Swords. However, they let the Enemy gain Ground, by retreating a little, and then, without turning their Backs. And when the Demolition of the Bridge was almost completed, *Horatius*, by his Entreaties, prevailed upon his two Companions to leave him, and cross the River, upon a few Planks that remained. And which, when *Horatius* was thus let alone to oppose the Enemy, he did with above human Valour. He had desired *Herminius* to speak to the *Consuls*, that the Demolition of the Bridge might be completed; and that as for himself, he would find a Way to return to the City. The Heaps of Bodies, which had fallen by the Hands of the three Heroes, in the Defile, formed a kind of Rampart, which defended *Horatius* from being assaulted with the Sword. And tho' the Enemy threw at him, from a distance, Stones, and Darts, and the Shields of the Slain, in order to bear him down, with them; yet he warded them all off, with an inconceivable Dexterity: whilst none of the Javelins, which he threw, missed doing Execution in a narrow Pass, which was crowded with Enemies. But at length, he was wounded in the Thigh with a Dart, and covered with Wounds all over his Body when perceiving, by the Signal given from the other Shore, that the Bridge was entirely demolished, he leaped, in his Armour, into the River; and had now no Dangers to struggle with, in the Water. For the River, being streightened by the Piles of the Bridge, had rapid Currents under each Arch, across which, it was difficult for a Man to swim, who was out of Breath with long fighting, and was bleeding. Nevertheless, he gained the Shore, after he had passed thro' a Shower of Arrows, which the Enemy had shot at him, from the opposite Bank.

55 *Dion. Hal.* adds, that *Horatius* was the Son of the Brother of *Marcus Horatius*, who was one of the *Consuls*. The Antients have conveyed down to us a Medal, on which is a Head of *Rome*, with the Word *Cocles*, the Surname of *Horatius*. This Medal seems to have been struck first by some of the *Horatian* Family, and afterwards renewed, in *Tra-*

jan's Reign, as appears by the Inscription on the Reverse.

56 Here the Historians have all given us false Descriptions of this gallant Action of *Horatius*. He was surnamed *Cocles*, according to some, because he had lost an Eye, in a former Battel; according to others, because his Nose was broken.

act of Valour, which Posterity will never forget, and whereby the Shame of the *Romans* was repaired, and their Republick saved from Ruin. The whole City was so sensible of this, that they hastened to pay their Acknowledgments to their Deliverer. They crowned him at his Arrival, they carried him on their Arms, as a Hero, from the Strand into the City; and afterwards, a Statue of Brass was erected to him, in the *Forum*. Whilst he kept within doors, and till he was quite recovered of his Wounds, his House was never empty. The Senate assigned him a great Estate, consisting of as much Land as one Plough could enclose, within a circular Furrow, in one Day. And tho' there was a great Scarcity in *Rome*, yet all the Inhabitants, Men, Women, and Children, assessed themselves as much as each spent in a Day, to make him a Present: The Number of those, who contributed to make him up a large Sum ⁵⁸, amounted to three hundred thousand Persons. In short, there was a general Uneasiness, for fear he should die of his Wounds. However, *Horatius* recovered; but, as he had but one Eye, and continued lame the remaining Part of his Life, his Deformity prevented his ever being elected *Consul*. So great care did the *Romans* take, in those Days, that no Perfection of Mind, or Body, should be wanting, in those whom they placed at the Head of the Republick.

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§. XVIII. NEVERTHELESS, if on the one hand, the Valour of *Horatius* astonished *Porfena*; the shameful Flight of the *Romans*, on the other, encouraged him to continue the War. He fixed his Quarters upon the Hill *Janiculus*, and made *Mamilius*, and the *Tarquins*, pass over in Barks, with their Troops, to the Shore, on which *Rome* stood; where they formed a Camp, and thence sent out Parties, to ravage the Countries round about *Rome*. As therefore the Enemy were Masters of the Country on both Sides of the River, it became very difficult for the City to be supplied with Provisions. As for the Corn-Vessels, few of them escaped the Vigilance of the Enemy, who were posted on both Banks of the *Tyber*. By this means, a Famine began to be felt in *Rome*; and then the Slaves, who, in such Cases, are always the first Sufferers, and the indigent Populace, went to seek Bread in the Camp of the *Tarquins*. However, the *Consuls* kept up the Resolutions of the best Citizens, by the Hopes of a Convoy of Corn, which was expected every Hour from *Pometia*. And their Expectations were not disappointed. The Boats arrived in time, and safely entered the Port of *Rome*, in the Night, by help of the Darkness. But these Refreshments did not last long; and in a little time the City was again reduced to the same Scarcity as before. *Porfena* therefore hearing this, by the Deserters, sent the *Romans* word, that if they would receive their old Masters, he would deliver them from the Hunger they suffered. But the Aversion they had conceived against the *Tarquins*, made them untractable. Notwithstanding their present Distress, their Answer was, that Hunger was a less Evil, than Slavery and Oppression.

In the mean while, the *Consuls* sent out but few Parties, to engage those of the Enemy, who ranged thro' their Country, in small Bodies, with Impunity. They thought it would be more to their purpose, to draw a great Number of the Enemy at once into an Ambuscade, where they might easily be cut in pieces. To this end, a Report was spread in *Rome*, that the next Day, all the Cattel which had been brought thither, from all their Territories, would be sent to Pasture under a Guard;

*Livy, B. 2.
ch. 11.*

at in his Face, and his Eyes were so near to one another, that he looked like a *Cyclops*, and seemed to have but one Eye. The particular Circumstances of this memorable Exploit of his, at the Head of the Bridge *Sublicius*, are here collected out of several Authors, especially *Plutarch*, *Livy*, and *Dion. Hal.* But we thought it proper to omit the several studied Discourses, which *Livy* puts in his Mouth, in the heat of this warm Action; they appearing to us, not very probable.

⁵⁷ *Livy* says, this Statue was erected to *Horatius*, in the Place where the *Comitia* was held. *A. Gellius* places it in the *Campus Martius*; *Plutarch*, in the Temple of *Vulcan*. And *Aulus-Gellius* tells us, on what Occasion it was removed to this Temple. The Statue, says he, having been struck with Lightning, the *Aruspices* of *Hebruria* were consulted, and gave an Answer, contrary to what the Gods had determined. They persuaded the *Romans* to place

the Statue, in the lowest Part of the *Forum*; so that the Sun could not shine upon it. But the Imposture of the *Aruspices* was discovered, they punished for it, and the Statue placed in the Temple of *Vulcan*. *Aulus-Gellius* quotes *The great Annals*, and the first Book of the memorable Histories of *Verrius Flaccus*, as his Vouchers for this Story.

⁵⁸ The 300000 Men, who taxed themselves in favour of *Horatius*, are an unanswerable Proof, against those who pretend, that every *Census* comprehended all the Inhabitants of *Rome*, without Exception. According to *Dion. Hal.* and other antient Authors, the last *Census* amounted to 130000 Men. And yet *Dion. Hal.* himself here reckons up 300000 Persons in *Rome*. So that, we can no otherwise make him consistent, than by saying, that the former Computation included only such Men as were of Age to bear Arms.

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and were to pass thro' the *Gate Esquilina*⁵⁹; which was most out of the reach of the Enemy. This News being carried to the Enemy by the Slaves, who served them as Spies, it was a Bait to draw them nearer to *Rome*: And accordingly Resolution was taken, in their Council, to go and seize those Cattel, which were all the *Romans* had left to subsist upon. So that the Hopes of so fine a Booty drew a considerable Detachment from *Porfena's* Camp: Whilst, on the other hand, *Poplicola* ordered *T. Herminius* to march out of the City privately, with a Company of *Romans*, who lay in Ambuscade in the Road to *Gabii*; commanded *Sp. Lartius*, and *T. Lucretius*, to be in a readiness to make a Sally with their Troops, the former at the *Gate Collina*⁶⁰, the latter at the *Gate Nævica*⁶¹; and reserved himself for beginning the Attack, on the Side of the Hill *Cælius*. As soon therefore as the Enemy appeared, *Poplicola* came and fell upon them, with great Shouts: *Herminius*, hearing this, came out of his Ambuscade; and the other *Roman* Generals made Sallies at different Gates. So that the *Hetrurians* were surrounded on all Sides, and all perished in the Battel. Five thousand of them were killed: and *Porfena*, from that time, dropped all Thoughts of disturbing the *Romans* on that Side, or sending any Parties into their Territories.

§. XIX. BUT tho' the City was not entirely invested, it having several Avenues open, it was yet very difficult to find Subsistence for so great a Number of Inhabitants, as could hardly subsist there, even in time of Peace. *Rome* was wearied out with this long Siege, when *Mucius Cordus*, a young *Roman*, of an illustrious Birth, great Innocence of Life, and an approved Valour, formed a Design, which raised the depressed Courage of the People. He got the *Consuls* to consent to it, and communicated it to the Senators, for fear his leaving *Rome* should be taken for Desertion. *The Scheme I have formed*, said he to them, *is neither too great for my Courage, nor beyond my Industry to execute. It will indeed be difficult to avoid losing my Life, in the Attempt: But, Rome! I readily sacrifice it to thy Deliverance. And if Death, which will threaten me every Moment, should prevent the Success of my Design, at least, let not the Glory of it be buried in Oblivion. What Gratitude will the People, who must be kept in ignorance of my Intentions, and whom I cannot entrust with it, without Imprudence; what Gratitude will they have for me, on that Account, if you neglect to proclaim it after my Death? That is indeed the only Recompence I expect, for a dangerous Attempt, which may set Rome at liberty for ever. O ye Gods! who are the Protectors of my Country, prosper the Designs, with which you have inspired me!*

THE *Consuls* and the Senate encouraged the young Hero to undertake any thing, in the present deplorable State of *Rome*. He went out of the City, with a Ponyard hid under his Robe, and mixed with the Deserters. He was dressed in an *Hetrurian* Habit; and had learned the *Hetrurian* Language, from his Infancy. As soon as he came to the Enemy's Camp, he mixed with the *Hetrurian* Soldiers,

⁵⁹ The *Gate Esquilina* led to the Field *Esquilinus*. Criminals passed through it, to Execution; and dead Carcasses, and Filth, were carried out of the City that Way:

*Post inssepulta membra different lupi
Et Æsquiline Alites*, says *Horace*, l. 9. *Epod.*

This Gate was probably called *Porta Mæcia* formerly; at least *Plautus* speaks of the latter in such a manner, as very well agrees with the former.

Illum Ædepol videre ardentem extra Portam Mæciam
Credo cæstor velle. Casin.

There was the Figure of the Head of a Bull upon this Gate, which gave it the Name of *Porta Taurina*. Some Authors call it *Porta Labicana*, and *Porta Prænestina*; because, say they, it led to two Roads, one of which went to *Labicum*, and the other to *Prænestæ*. But several pretend, that these different Names signify different Gates. All the Antiquaries have tired themselves with enquiring into the Situation and Number of the Gates of old *Rome*; and, after all their Enquiries, have not been able to rise higher, than to Conjectures, about it:

which makes one ready to lament the Pains they have taken.

⁶⁰ The *Gate Collina* was so called, (from the Word *Collis*, which signifies a little Hill) because it joined the two Hills *Quirinalis* and *Viminalis*. It had also the Name of the *Gate Quirinalis*, either from the Hill *Quirinalis* it self, or from a little Temple, in that Neighbourhood, which was dedicated to *Quirinus*. This Gate led to the *Salarian Way*, whence it was afterwards called *Porta Salaria*. And, as there stood near this Gate, a Temple, dedicated to *Salus*, or *Health*; it is therefore called by some Authors, *Porta Salutaris*. It's first Name was that of *The Gate Agonensis*, which was given it, either from the *Agonalian* Sports, which were celebrated before it, when the *Circus* was overflowed with the Inundations of the *Tyber*; or, according to *Festus*, because Hills were formerly called *Agones*.

⁶¹ Some place the *Gate Nævica* between the *Gate Capena*, and the *Tyber*. Others think it stood on the East Side of the City, near the *Gate Esquilina*. And in this diversity of Opinions, it is difficult to say which is right. Antient Authors are not exact enough, to enable us to come to any Certainty about it.

and made his Way quite to the King's Tent. It happened to be the Day on which the Troops were all reviewed, and payed. A Secretary of State, magnificently dress'd, then sat on the same Tribunal with the King, gave Audience to the Soldiers, and received Petitions. *Mucius* hesitated for some Time, not knowing which was *Porfena*, and which the Secretary: Nor durst he remove his Doubts by an Enquiry, for fear his Ignorance should make him suspected. In this Uncertainty therefore, he steals near the Officer, who then did the Office of King, taking him, to whom the People were most earnest to approach, to be undoubtedly the Master. And then *Cordus*, full of that Fury which had long raged in his Bosom, with sparkling Eyes, and his Dagger in his Hand, leaps upon the Tribunal, and with one Stroke on the Minister's Head, lays him dead at the King's Feet. After this, he leaps down instantly from the Tribunal, and being armed with his Ponyard, makes his Way thro' the Multitude, who stood amazed at this sudden and unexpected Attempt. But he was at last surrounded by the Soldiers, who were upon Guard at the Tent-door, and brought back to the Place which he had just stained with Blood. When he came to the Foot of the Throne, he appeared with an haughty and threatening Countenance, and seemed more capable of filling others with Fear, than receiving any such Impressions himself. But *Porfena* said to him, *Thou execrable Assassin, thy Arm has deceiv'd thee. Thy Fury aimed thy Blows at me. Who art thou? Whence comest thou? Who are thine Accomplices?* To which Words *Mutius*, who was less affrighted than his Judge, made this Reply: *I am a Roman; and my Name is Mucius Cordus. All my Crime is that of desiring to deliver Rome from her most cruel Enemy. Discharge therefore all thy Fury upon me. Thou hast already been an Eye-witness of my Courage; now try my Constancy with Tortures; and then thou wilt, perhaps, be forced to confess, that Roman Bravery has made me capable, both of attempting any thing that Man can do, and suffering any thing that human Nature can endure.* And this Discourse fill'd *Porfena* with Amazement; but he was yet much more surprized, when he saw the Roman voluntarily execute what he had that Instant so resolutely promised. A Pan of burning Coals had just then been brought into the Tent; which was doubtless done by *Porfena's* Order, with Design to offer Sacrifice to the Gods his Deliverers, and return them Thanks for his Life, which they had preserved. This Pan *Mucius* draws near to, and keeping his Eyes fixed on the King, with a Look that justified his inward Rage at having miss'd his Blow, lays his Hand upon the Fire. Then, with a steady Countenance, and without shewing any Signs of Pain, he thrust his Hand into the midst of the Flame, and let it broil a great while. So surprizing Sight therefore changed the King's Resentment into an Admiration of the Roman. *Porfena* thought him worthy both of Life and Liberty. And to give him a yet greater Proof, how much he esteemed his Courage, he restored this brave Enemy the Dagger he had made use of with Design to take away his Life. *Mucius* who had now lost the Use of his right Hand, took it with his left: And from thence he had the Surname of *Scævola*, that is, *left-handed*; upon which he always valued himself. Wonderful Examples, if strictly true, both of an Intrepidity more than human, on one Part, and a surprizing Moderation on the other!

MUCIUS, in his Turn, seemed charmed with the Generosity of his Enemy. And in this transient Fit of Transport and Joy, had Presence of Mind enough to shew his Gratitude by a Lie, which he thought innocent, because told for the Service of his Country. He pretended to discover to the King a false Plot, which he said was entered into at *Rome*, against his Life. *I cannot now, in Gratitude,* said he to the King, *refuse discovering a Secret to you, which the most violent Torments could never have extorted from me. Three hundred young Romans, all as resolute as my self, have conspired together to take away your Life. They are dispersed abroad in your Camp, mixed with your own Soldiers, and will all come in their Arms, and try the Strength of their Arms, upon the Head of the Enemies of Rome.*

² All the Latin Historians unanimously, and much with them, agree in the Circumstance of *Mucius's* putting his right Hand into a Pan of burning Coals. Which makes it surprizing, that it should be omitted by *Dion. Hal.* who never refuses

giving the Romans the Glory that is due to them. Does not this amount to a strong Presumption, that he did not find this Fact, which is so much boasted of, related in those antient Memoirs, which were the Ground-work of his History?

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Liv. B. 2. c. 12.
Plut. Life of
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Dion. Hal.
B. 5. p. 299.

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We bound our selves to do this, by the most sacred Oaths. It fell to my Lot to run the Hazard of making the first Attempt; and alas! how many more Dangers of the same kind have you still to avoid! What my Hand could not do, perhaps a bolder may accomplish. Can your Guard, or your Army, prevent the fatal Blow I dread? Some other will certainly be daring enough to try again, what your Generosity to me makes me repent ever having attempted; and every one will invent a new Artifice to surprize you. May Heaven preserve the Life of a King, whose Virtues make him worthy of being a Friend and an Ally to the Romans!

THIS Discourse fill'd *Porfena* with Terror: And when *Mucius* was retired, he called a Council to deliberate about the Means of preserving himself from the Attempts with which he believed himself to be threatened. But he thought all the Precautions his Counsellors suggested, vain; none of them were sufficient to remove his Uneasiness. His Son *Arunx* was the only Man, whose Advice he thought wise; and indeed, it proceeded both from a Tendernefs and Affection for his Father, and a Mind prepossessed with an Esteem for the *Romans*. To what Purpose, said he, *are all these Precautions? The surest Way is to put our selves into a Condition of not being obliged to take them. If we make the Romans, the generous Romans, our Friends, and prefer an Alliance with them, to that with four unworthy Exiles; this will at one Blow put an End to all the Plots, the Consequences of which we so much apprehend.* These Words made an Impression on *Porfena*, and he seemed from that time to incline to Peace. But this Inclination is said not to have proceeded so much from any Fear of the three hundred Conspirators, as from an Admiration of the *Roman* Virtue. However, the *Hetrurians* already began to murmur at the Length of so tedious a Siege, and at the Losses they had lately suffered, when they attacked the Convoy of the Cattle. This was a happy Circumstance for the *Romans*. The King of the *Hetrurians* sent Deputies to *Rome*; whose Instructions were such as might plainly shew the Senate how much *Porfena* had abated of his Pretensions. He no longer insisted on the Restoration of the *Tarquins*, but only on the Restitution of their Estates, or an Equivalent. And in regard to his own Nation, he required, that the *Romans* should reinstate the *Veientes* in the Possession of ⁶⁴ seven Villages, which they had taken from them in former Wars.

Dion. Hal.
B. 5. p. 301.

THIS Deputation was received at *Rome* with Joy. The Envoys were brought to the Senate, and when they had declared the Terms upon which they were empowered to treat, *Poplicola* prevailed on the Senators to comply with them all. Being in continual Pain for the Misery the People suffer'd, his greatest Ambition was to see them soon delivered from it. But the assembled *Centuries* acted a Part more worthy of the Magnanimity of *Romans*. Tho' the People were most nearly concerned in Interest to get a Peace concluded, yet they would not consent to the restoring the *Tarquins* the Estates they had taken from them, till they had first left it to the Arbitration of *Porfena* himself. As for the *Hetrurians*, they made no Difficulty of restoring to them the Villages they demanded of them. Nay, they offered to send them Hostages as Pledges of the Fidelity of the *Romans*, till the Surrendry was completed.

§. XX. THESE Conferences about a Peace, and the following Truce, to which both Parties agreed, gave *Rome* some ⁶⁵ Days to breathe. The *Hetrurians* had quitted their Post on the *Janiculus*, because their being there incommoded the City; and they had encamped at some Distance from the *Tyber*. Then the *Romans* sent away their Deputies to *Porfena's* Camp, to plead their Cause against the *Tarquins*; and with the Deputies, the Hostages they had promised. These were ten Boys, and ten Girls of the most illustrious of the *Roman* Nobility. The Son of *Horatius* the Consul

⁶³ *Livy* says *Porfena* gave *Mucius* Leave to return to *Rome*, before the *Hetrurian* Ambassadors went thither to treat of a Peace. But *Dion. Hal.* relates, that he was first bound with Cords, and kept closely confined in Prison; and afterwards was detained as an Hostage in the Camp, till such time as the Peace was concluded. And some ancient Writers quoted by that *Greek* Author, pretend, that *Mucius* did not get Leave to go to *Rome*, till after he had sworn he would return

⁶⁴ This seems to have been that Tract of Ground,

which *Romulus* had formerly demanded of the *Veientes*, as the Purchase of the Peace which he granted them. This Tract of Land, which lay between the *Tyber* and the *Arno*, and reached to the Sea, had seven Villages in it, as we learn from *Plutarch* and *Dion. Hal.* Nevertheless, *Livy* assures us that *Porfena* retained this little Country for himself, and afterwards restored it to the *Romans*.

⁶⁵ *Plutarch* tells us, that *Porfena*, depending on the Success of the Treaty, had already disbanded the greatest Part of his Army.

was one; and among the young Women, were *Valeria*, the Daughter of *Poplicola*, who was already marriageable; and the famous *Clælia*. The Reception *Porsena* gave the *Roman* Envoys, raised the Jealousy of the *Tarquins*. They could ill brook the King's abating any thing at all of their Pretensions, and his not insisting upon their Re-establishment on the Throne. And, still retaining their Pride, notwithstanding their Misfortunes, they refused to admit *Porsena* himself to be a Judge in the Affair of their Estates. But the *Hetrurian* King had no Regard to their Oppositions: He was resolved to satisfy himself, by an exact Enquiry, whether the Protection he had given the Exiles was just, and whether he was not rather defending the Injustice of *Tarquin*, than the common Cause of *Kings*. Nevertheless, as the Determination was of Importance, he joined his Son with him, as an Associate, in hearing and deciding the Cause. The Presence of *Arunx*, who sat on the same Tribunal with his Father, gave the *Romans* great Hopes. And the Cause was just ready to be opened, the Senators whom the *Romans* had sent on this Deputation, being assembled in order thereto, when News was brought that the Girls, who were sent *Porsena* for Hostages, had ventured to ⁶⁶ swim back cross the River. This none could at first believe, without Difficulty; but the Truth of the Fact, which was soon cleared up, increased *Porsena's* Surprise, and *Arunx's* Esteem of the Bravery of the *Romans*. They admired to see such Courage, in the most delicate and tender of the weaker Sex. These young Girls, who always kept together, had indeed gone to bathe in a private Place, where the *Tyber* made a little Bay, and where no Body could see them. The River was calm, and not a Breath of Wind stirred it. When they were in the Water, *Clælia* cast her Eyes upon *Rome*, and the Sight of her native City immediately raised in her a Desire of returning to it. She therefore swims away, and invites her Companions to follow her. She encourages them; instructs them how to make their Way through the Waves after her; and they, following her Example cross the River, and coming safe to the opposite Shore, return to their Father's Houses. It must be supposed, that the frequent Use of bathing at that time, made it common for both Sexes to swim.

BUT the Return of these Hostages to the City without Orders, gave the *Consul Poplicola* Uneasiness. He was afraid this rash Action would be imputed to the *Romans* Want of Fidelity. And indeed, the *Tarquins* took Advantage of it, so as to make the *Hetrurians* suspect the Probity of the *Romans*. *Such weak Persons as these*, said they, *could never have returned thro' the River, if it had not been with the Assistance and Advice of their Fellow-Citizens. Judge therefore, what Fidelity you are to expect from the Romans for the future, by their present Treachery.* However, *Poplicola* foresaw these Suspicions, and endeavoured to remove them. He sent a Deputation to the *Hetrurian* Camp, to assure the King, that the foolish Design of the young *Roman* Girls, was nothing else but the Effect of their own Capriciousness, which was pardonable in Persons of their Age; and that *Rome* had no Share in it: And as a Proof of his Sincerity, he promised, that the Fugitives should be immediately sent back to the Camp from which they had fled. *Porsena* was not difficult to be appeased; but the News of the speedy Return of the ten Hostages, led the *Tarquins* to a Resolution, which was agreeable to their corrupt Minds. They, without any Regard to the Truce, and without the Privy of the King their Protector, lay in Ambush on the Road, to surprize this young company as they passed. But *Poplicola* happened to put himself at the Head of the weak Guard which conducted back the young *Romans*. And he was not far from the Gate of *Porsena's* new Camp, when *Mamilius* and the *Tarquins*, followed by a great Body of Horse, came and fell upon the *Roman* Squadron, and gave the Alarm to the young Girls; who trembled at the very Name of *Tarquin*. *Valeria* was so much terrified at it, that she rode away with such Speed, attended only by two Persons, that she brought to the *Hetrurian* Camp the News of the

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Plut. Life of
Poplic.

Dion. Hal.
B. 5. p. 301.

⁶⁶ Authors vary as to the Circumstances of this Fact. *Livy* says, without any manner of Probability, that these Girls passed the River in Sight of the *Hetrurians*, who lined the Shore, and in the midst of the Darts which were thrown at them, escaped in all Parts. *Aurelius Victor* and *Florus* add an incident, which no other Historians mention; in all

Probability, only for the sake of adorning Narratives. They say *Clælia* passed the River on an Horse, which she accidentally found, and seized. *Polyenus*, *Stratagem*. B. 8. and *Plutarch*, *De Virtutibus Mulierum*, add, that the Girls had tied their Cloaths upon their Heads, in order to put them on before they appeared in *Rome*. Which indeed is probable.

Plutarch and
Dion. Hal.
B. 5. p. 302.

Danger

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Danger which threatened her Father, and her Companions. In the mean time *Poplicola* sustained the unexpected Attack of the *Tarquins*, with very great Valour; whilst *Arunx* flies to his Assistance with a good Body of Horse. And with his Troop he took likewise the advanced Guard of the Camp. These *Hetrurian* Forces readily obeyed the Commands of their King's Son. Then the *Tarquins* were forced to disperse, and deprived of their Hopes of securing the Restitution of their Estate by these Hostages.

§. XXI. THIS notorious Piece of Treachery in the *Tarquins*, which *Porfena* thought a Breach of the Law of Nations, gave him strong Suspicions of the Badness of the Cause. He therefore made Haste to assemble the chief Commanders of the *Hetrurians*, and in their Presence heard the Complaints of the *Romans*, and their Justification of their Proceedings against the *Tarquins*. They enlarged on all the Miseries the *Tarquins* had brought upon *Rome*, from the Time of the Assassination of King *Servius*, and their unlawful Usurpation of an elective Crown, which they had possessed themselves of, without the Consent of the People, or Senate; and the *Romans* closed their Relation with the Violence offered to the chaste *Lucretia*. The Recital of so many Crimes filled the *Hetrurians* with Horror; and the Conduct of the *Romans* was unanimously approved. In Consequence of which, *Porfena* sent the same Day to signify to the *Tarquins* and *Mamilius*, that he renounced the Alliance he had made with them, and would no longer continue the Hospitality he had shewn them. He ordered them to leave his Camp immediately, and appear no more in his Presence. Thus the Constancy of the *Romans*, and the Wisdom of an equitable King, saved them from Ruin. Thus the *Tarquins* disobliged even their own Protectors, by their imperious and perfidious Behaviour. And in short, thus did the Virtue of the *Romans* shine out with its greatest Splendor, when they were surrounded with the greatest Misfortunes. Providence waited till the *Romans* were on the Brink of Destruction, before it would deliver them from it. The Protection it then gave the rising Republic was a signal Reward for their Love of Continnence, and their Hatred to Debauchery.

IN the mean time, *Porfena* ordered the young *Romans*, whose Courage he admired, to be brought into his Presence. He was, above all, desirous of knowing who was the first Author and chief Manager of the Enterprize. But they were afraid for *Clælia*, and kept Silence: Till at length, the Heroine herself confessed, with an Air of Intrepidity, that she alone was guilty, and that she had emboldened the rest, by her Advice. Upon this, the King was as much surprized with her Steadiness, as he had been with her Courage: He addressed himself to her in the most kind and gracious Manner, extolled her Adventure above the Bravery of *Horatius*, and the Intrepidity of *Mucius*; and made her a Present of a very fine Horse with sumptuous Furniture. And from hence, perhaps, might arise the Fable, which is mentioned by several Authors, that she cross'd the River on Horseback. This likewise, according to some, gave Occasion to the *Equestrian* ⁶⁷ Statue of her, which was erected in the *Via Sacra*, and was afterwards melted in a Fire: A Statue which, according to others, was erected in Honour to *Valeria*, *Poplicola's* Daughter; doubtless in Memory of the Expedition with which this excellent Horse-Woman carried Advice of the Danger of her Father, and her Companions. Not the King of the *Hetrurians* confined himself to Praises only. He restored ⁶⁸ the *Romans* the Hostages he had demanded of them; and told the Consul, that he thought his Probity was his best Guarantee. In short, he made a Treaty of Peace with the *Romans*, and now thought of nothing else but setting out for *Clusnum*.

⁶⁷ Who are we to believe? *Dion. Hal.* who says this Statue was consumed by Fire; or *Plutarch*, who affirms, in his *Life of Poplicola*, that this Piece of Antiquity was in being in his Time? The Authority of the former, seems to us to be of most Weight. Nevertheless, *Pliny* seems to agree with the latter. His Words are these, *B. 34. Equestrium tamen origo per vetus est, cum feminis etiam honore communicato. Clælie enim statua est equestris.*

⁶⁸ *Livy* differs from *Dion. Hal.* in this Particular. He says *Porfena* restored only a Part of the Hosta-

ges, which he suffered *Clælia* to choose, in regard to her Courage. But how judicious soever he may make *Clælia* appear, in preferring such whose modesty would expose them to most Dangers in a Camp; the Silence of other Writers, makes us believe that this Flourish is purely an Invention of this Latin Historian, to give the more Lustre to his Relation. *Porfena's* Generosity on all other Accounts leaves no room to suppose there could have been any such Division.

BUT before *Porfena* began his Journey, all Antiquity agrees in ascribing an Action to him, which equalled his Glory to that of the *Romans*. He is said to have signalized his Departure by an Act of Liberality, which was the more valuable in it self, the less Appearance it had of any Affectation. *Porfena* knew the Scarcity of Provisions there was among the *Roman* People; but he was afraid of offending them, if he relieved them in a direct manner. He therefore found means to supply their Wants, without seeming to intend it. His Camp abounded with Provisions of all sorts: And he ordered his *Hetrurians* to carry nothing but their Arms with them, and leave both their Tents and Provisions behind them. He left all the Effects of his Army for his new Friends, in the same manner, as if he had been forced to decamp on a sudden: and *Rome* was much relieved by it in her Wants. The Republick sold the Moveables, and Corn of the *Hetrurians*, to private Persons, by Auction. And the *Romans*, to shew their Gratitude for a Present so seasonably, and so genteely made, from thence took up the Custom, of making Proclamation by an Herald, whenever any Effects belonging to the Publick were to be sold, in the following Words, *These are Porfena's Goods*. Their Intention in it was to shew, that the Goods of the Republick were *Porfena's*; and that she was indebted to him for all she possessed. Besides which, the Herald likewise declared by it, that the Effects which were to be sold, would be sold cheap. Nay, the Senators did yet more than this: They erected a Statue of the King of the *Hetrurians*, close by the Place where the Assemblies met, and sent an Embassy to him with a Present, of a Throne adorned with Ivory, a Scepter, a Crown of Gold, and a triumphant Robe. By which we may judge, whether what *Livy* relates, be probable. He, a little jealous of the Glory of this foreign King, lessens it as much as he can. He even pretends, that *Porfena* made another Attempt after this, to re-establish the *Tarquins* on the Throne.

§.XXII. AND now the *Romans*, after their Deliverance, made it their whole Business to reward those, who had distinguished themselves, during the Siege. Among whom, *Mucius Scævola* was not forgotten. The Republick gave him a large Piece of Ground, belonging to the State, which afterwards took his Name, and was called *Mucius's Meadows*⁶⁹. His Valour, and the great Services he had done *Rome*, well deserved likewise, the Statue which was erected to his Honour. After this, the *Romans* had nothing now left to do, but to shew their Gratitude to the Gods, by some signal Act of Religion. They then valued themselves as much upon their Religion, as their Bravery; and their religious Worship, superstitious as it was, kept them in Order, and both preserved and encreased their Probity. The Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* therefore, which had been begun by *Tarquin the First*, and advanced by the Care of *Tarquin the Proud*, was then finished; and wanted nothing to fit it for publick Service, but to be first dedicated, and then opened: And as it belonged to the Republick to order the Consecration of it; that devolved upon the *Consuls*. This would prove an eternal Glory to him, who should be honoured with performing the Ceremony; and therefore if the Choice of the Consecrator had been in the People, *Poplicola* would have gained it from his Colleague. But it belonged to the Senate to nominate the Man. And the *Patricians* had long been jealous of the Glory which *Poplicola* had acquired in his three *Consulships*. They were tired with seeing all sorts of Honours heaped upon the same head. And indeed, the Senior *Consul's* Superiority of Merit, had reduced his Colleague to be no better than his Subalterns. For which Reason, the Senators took malicious pleasure in robbing *Poplicola* of a Mark of Distinction, which it was in their Power to bestow on another, without doing Injury to the Publick. And in order to do this, they took their Opportunity of making the Commission for consecrating the Temple fall, as it were naturally, upon *Horatius Pulvillus*. It happened at that time, that some Remains of the *Latin* Troops came and committed

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Dion. Hal.
B. 5. p. 303.
Livy, B. 2.
ch. 4. and Plu-
tarch.

Livy, B. 2.
ch. 13.

Plut. Dion.
Hal. B. 5. p.
304.

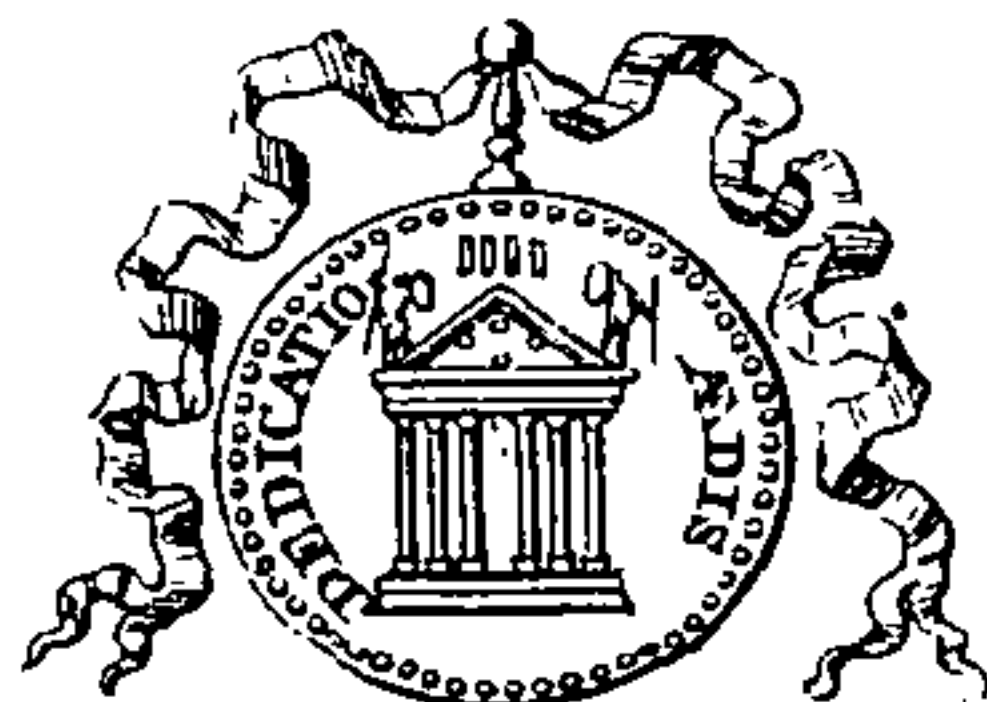
⁶⁹ It was formerly customary among the *Romans*, to make the Soldiers, who distinguished themselves in Battel, a Present of Corn. This Reward was called *Adorea*. But to others was given the Fee of a Piece of Ground: And in this consisted all the Honours of the most illustrious *Romans*, in these early times. He was thought a dangerous Citizen, who was not content with seven Acres of Land, at the most.

⁷⁰ *Livy*, and some Authors *Plutarch* mentions, pretend, that the thing was determined by Lot. But if this had been the Case, the Determination would have been looked upon, as an irreversible Decree of the Gods; and *Poplicola's* Brother would not have dared to disturb *Horatius* in the Exercise of his Commission, as in Fact he did.

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Ravages in the *Roman* Territory, under the Command of *Mamilius*. *Poplicola* was ordered to march against the Enemy: and *Horatius*, the Son of the Junior *Consul*, attended him, in order, doubtless, to learn the Art of War, under this great Master. So that, the Senate did not fail to seize this Opportunity of *Poplicola's* Absence, which was so favourable to their Designs. They immediately ordered the Temple to be dedicated, and nominated *Horatius* ⁷¹ *Pulvillus*, to perform that Office. *Poplicola's* Friends indeed made a strong Opposition to the Cabal which favoured the Junior *Consul*; but the Majority carried it for him. Every thing was got ready for the Ceremony, without delay, and *Horatius* ascended the *Capitol*, with all the Pomp which became so great a Solemnity. At the Entrance into the Temple, he was to read a Form of Words to this Purpose, *That the Senate and People of Rome, put Jupiter in Possession of the magnificent Structure, which they had raised to his Honour, and to be used in his Worship*. And the *Consul* had already began to pronounce these Words, which were thought essential to the Dedication, at the same time touching one of the Lintels which supported the Gate of the Temple with his Hand, when one of *Poplicola's* Party interrupted him. He cried out to him, *I give you notice, that your Son has lost his Life in a Battel. So that, by the Law of the* ⁷² *Pontifices, you are performing an Office, which is forbidden the Head of any Family in Mourning*. To which *Horatius*, either perceiving the Cheat, or out of a *Roman* Magnanimity, coldly replied, *Then let him be buried*; and finished the Consecration, without shewing any Concern. After the Ceremony was over, he was informed, that the Story of his Son's Death was false, and only told him by one of *Poplicola's* Friends, to delay the Dedication, till he should return from the Army. Thus *M. Valerius Poplicola* ended the glorious Year of his third *Consulship*, with receiving a Mortification, which could not but sensibly affect him.



Silver

⁷¹ The Honour of dedicating a Temple, was a Mark of Distinction, which the Great Men in *Rome* earnestly solicited. This Office, in the first Age, belonged to him of the two *Consuls*, whom the Senate should appoint. Afterwards, this Election was left to the People assembled by *Tribes*. And at last, it was left at the Disposal of the Senate, even in the Time of the *Roman Emperors*. The Dedication of a Temple was a solemn Festival, accompanied with extraordinary Rejoicings. The Altars were then adorned with Flowers, and Fillets; Sacrifices were offered up, and Hymns sung to Instruments. The Magistrate who was to preside at the Ceremony, gave the College of the *Pontifices* notice of the Day of the Dedication. He summoned the *Pontifex Maximus*, to appear at the Temple, and pronounce the Words of Consecration. After whom, this Magistrate repeated them, Word for Word, with his Hand upon the Side-Post of the Door of the Temple. And he was obliged to be extremely exact in doing it. A Syllable forgotten, or ill-pronounced, gave the People an Alarm, and they thought it an inauspicious Omen to the Consecrator. Therefore *Metellus*, the *Pontifex Maximus*, who had an Impediment in his Speech, was several Months learning to articulate the Word *Opifera* well. It was not lawful to appear, at this Solemnity, in Mourning, but only in white Clothes. *Cicero*, in his *Oration pro Domo sua*, has transmitted to us one Form of inviting the *Pontifices* to the Ceremony of a Dedication; which is this: *Ades, ades, Luculle Ser-*

*vili, dum dedico Aedem hanc, ut mihi praeatis, prae-
stemque teneatis*. *Livy*, and several Pieces of Antiquity, have also conveyed down to us, different Forms of Consecration, which *Briffon* has collected, *B. 1. de Formulis*. But these Forms were not pronounced without some external Action; as we learn from *Cicero*, *B. 1. de Legibus*. *Bene vero quod Prius, Virtus, Fides consecratur manu, quarum omnium Romae dedicata Tempia sunt*. *Ovid* also says the same thing,

*Sacra vocant augusta Patres augusta vocantur
Tempia sacerdotum rite dicata manu.*

The Names of the Magistrates who performed the Ceremonies of the Consecrations, were usually inscribed on the Frontispieces or the Temples.

⁷² The *Romans* divided their Presages into two sorts, which they called *Oblativa* and *Impetrativa*. The former were those, which they desired of the Gods, before the Execution of any Enterprize. And then they were obliged to act accordingly. The others, which were unexpected, and accidental, were not thought obligatory; but every one was at liberty to govern himself by them, or entirely neglect them, as he found it for his Interest. Of this kind, was the News which was brought *Horatius*, of the Death of his Son. If these Presages were auspicious ones, they were accepted, and Thanks were returned to the Gods for them. If not, the Thoughts of them were rejected with Horror, and no Pains spared to avert the ill Effects of them.

CCXXIII. As for the Republick, it enjoyed Tranquillity, after the Troubles of the preceding Year. So that no Necessities of State obliged the People to continue *Poplicola* in his Office. And therefore, in the Election of new *Consuls*, the *Romans* thought no more of him, but were wholly intent upon rewarding the Merit of two Men, who had signalized themselves most in the War with *Porfena*. *Sp. 73 Lartius*, and *T. Herminius*, had acted the chief Parts in it, after *Poplicola*. They had both been at the Head of the Wing, which opposed that of the *Tarquins*, had broken through it, and had both joined with *Horatius Cocles*, in defending the Bridge, after the unexpected Rout of their Troops. These considerable Services therefore, and these signal Proofs of Valour, drew the Eyes of the People upon them. And they declared them *Consuls*, for a Year, which was not distinguished by any War, or Triumph.

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Dion. Hal.
B. 5. *ibid.*

NEVERTHELESS, the *Consuls* did not lose the Opportunity which offered, of paying the *Hetrurians* a Part of that Debt of Gratitude, which the *Romans* owed *Porfena*. This King had no sooner raised the Siege of *Rome*, but he grew ashamed of leading back so numerous an Army into his own Country, before it had signalized itself by any remarkable Exploit. And he had the Glory of his Son more at heart than his own. He therefore gave the Command of his Army to young *Arunx*, a lovely Prince, who was formed for Heroism, upon the Model of the *Roman* Virtue.

ARUNX set out for a new War, leaving his Father to return to *Clusium*. He came, and fell suddenly upon *Aricia* ⁷⁴, a City of *Latium*, which he was desirous to seize, in order to get himself a Possession, purely by his own Valour. This unexpected Attack put the *Aricians* into Disorder at first; but they afterwards recovered themselves, and got Succours from *Latium* and *Campania*. *Cumæ* especially lent them Troops; and out of all these Reinforcements, they formed an Army, sufficient to appear in the Field. The brave *Arunx* did not long delay giving Battel. And at the first Onset, he broke thro' the *Aricians*, who fought against the Body he commanded. But the *Cumæans*, being commanded by good Officers, made a Motion, which recovered the Victory to their own Party. They retired, by degrees, from the main Body, which was warmly attacked by the General of the *Hetrurians*, and thereby left the Field clear for them. Upon which, *Arunx* fell with great Fury on the routed *Aricians*, and his Troops left their Ranks, and pursued the Fugitives in great Disorder. Then the *Cumæans*, taking advantage of this favourable Moment, fell upon the *Hetrurians*, charged them in the Rear, overpowered them, and cut them in pieces. In the mean time, *Arunx*, who was transported with the ardent Desire of a first Victory, unhappily lost his Life in the Battel. A young Hero, worthy of a better Fate; and exceedingly regretted by the *Romans*, whose Love for him did not fall short of his Affection for *Rome*.

THE scattered Remains of his Army fled into the Villages about *Rome*, and there sought for Protection, as in a Friend's Country. But the *Consuls* would not suffer the *Hetrurians* to continue there, where they were in danger of being at-

⁷³ It is a Dispute, whether the Name of the Second *Consul*, for this Year, was *Largius*, or *Lartius*. There to the *Greek* Historians, who always call him *Lartius*. But it is matter of more Importance to know, whether these were really the two *Consuls*, for the fourth Year, after the Expulsion of the *Tarquins*. It is true, we don't find their Names on the Marbles of the *Fasti Capitolini*; and *Livy* has omitted them in his History. But as to the *Fasti Capitolini*, what is effaced out of this ancient Monument, does not prejudice the Truth. The Order of the *Consulships*, which we find inscribed on them, only shews, that Time has effaced two of them. And as for *Livy*, he either omits the two *Consuls* of this Year, out of Inadvertency, or it is the Fault of his Editors, or Copyists. We ought therefore to refer to *Dion. Hal.* who makes *Spurius Lartius* and *Titus Herminius*, Successors to *Poplicola* and *Horatius Pulvillus*. And herein he is followed by *Plutarch*, and *Cassiodorus*. The latter, ranks one *Lartius*, and one *Aquilinus*, here, in the Order of *Consuls*: and these are exactly the Surnames of

Lartius and *Herminius*. *Lartius* was fair, but inclining to red; for which Reason, the *Fasti Capitolini* give him the Surname of *Flavius*, when they speak of his second *Consulship*. *Aquilinus* was, doubtless, a Nickname given to *Herminius*, because he had an hooked or *Aquiline* Nose.

⁷⁴ *Aricia* was formerly a considerable City of *Latium*, a Mile beyond the antient City of *Alba*. It is now only a small Town, which is at present called *La Riccia*. It stood in the *Appian Way*, not sixty *Stadia* from *Rome*, as *Strabo* pretends; but 120 *Stadia* from thence, according to *Dion. Hal. l. c.* 15000 Paces, or thereabouts. Near this City was the Lake of *Aricia*, at present, *Lago di Nemi*, and a Forest and Fountain of the same Name, which became famous, among the Antients, for the secret Conversations between *Numa*, and the Nymph *Egeria*. Afterwards, *Aricia* became a *Municipal* City. But we must not confound the Grove and Fountain of *Egeria*, which *Numa* had consecrated at *Rome*, near the Gate *Capena*, with the Forest and Fountain of *Aricia*.

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tacked, and had no Defence against their Enemies. They sent Carriages for them and brought them to *Rome*; where they were received with the most cordial affection, Gratitude can inspire. They were furnished with Quarters, were cured of their Wounds, at the Expence of the Publick. The *Romans* were rejoiced, that it was in their Power, by their Care of them, to repay the *Hetrurians* some Part of the Obligations they had received from *Porfena*; and they such of them as desired it, leave to return home, to shew their Countrymen, the *Romans* were not forgetful of their former Services. And lastly, the *Romans* allotted a particular Quarter of the City for those *Hetrurians*, which were to settle in it: and the Place where they dwelt, was ever after called, *The Tuscan* or *The Hetrurian Street*. Thus two of the bravest Soldiers *Rome* had bred, got no other Glory in their *Consulship*, but that of having shewn the neighbouring Nations, that the *Romans* were a grateful People. Tho' the *Latins* afterwards charged it as a Crime upon the *Romans*, that they had shewn so much Humanity to an haughty and conquered Nation.

THE Republick still subsisted, after the first Shocks it had received from *Porfena*; but in such a Condition, that it seemed no difficult Matter to foresee its Ruin was approaching. The *Sabines*, a People ever jealous of the Rise of *Rome*, had Thoughts of taking Advantage of its Weakness, in order to put it out of Power of this imperious City, to give Law to her Neighbours any more. Thot formerly conquered, and quiet, they were now grown proud, and active. Before the *Romans* had now lost all those forced Alliances, which they had obliged the *Hetrurians* and *Latins* to enter into with them. After they had changed the Form of their Government, all their Neighbours were either grown indifferent towards them, or were become desirous of invading them, or took an ill-natured Pleasure in seeing them humbled. Whilst the *Tarquins*, who were dispersed in different Nations, stirred them up, and made them all Enemies to *Rome*, tho' they could raise but little Compassion for themselves. So that *Rome* was reduced to her own Forces, without Hopes of any Succours, and without having so much as any single People in Confederacy with her; and had likewise reason to be afraid of an ill-extinguished Fire of the Royalist Party at home, which was always ready, upon the first Opportunity, to break out into a Flame.

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§. XXIV. SUCH was the Situation of Affairs at *Rome*, when 76 *M. Valerius*, and *P. Posthumius*, were nominated *Consuls*. *Valerius* was Brother to the illustrious *Poplicola*: and the People's Persuasion, that he would govern himself by his Brother's Advice, contributed not a little to his Election.

SOON after this, the War which the *Romans* were apprehensive of, on the Part of the *Sabines*, was begun, with Incursions and Devastations in the *Roman* Territory. The Husbandmen could no longer appear in the Country, with Safety; they were often carried off by the new Enemy, as they were returning from their Work. Nevertheless, the *Consuls* were not over-hasty in revenging the Cause of *Rome*; the present Circumstances of Affairs would not admit of it. They sent an Embassy to the *Sabines*, to demand Satisfaction for their Losses, and the Punishment of the Robbers, who had committed these Ravages, upon their Lands. But when the *Sabines* had given the *Roman* Envoys a contemptuous Answer, *M. Valerius*, one of the *Consuls*, marched against the Aggressors, surprized them as they were dispersed about the Country in small Parties, and made a great Slaughter of them. Thus was the War first declared by the spilling of *Sabine* Blood.

75 *Dion. Hal.* says, the Senate gave the *Hetrurians* a kind of Valley, about four *Stadia* long, that they might settle there, between the Hill *Palatinus* and the *Capitol*. This Street was in the Way from the *Forum* to the *Great Circus*. But *Tacitus, Annal. 4.* gives us another Derivation of the Name of this Street. He says, that *Calius Vibenna*, a Chief of the *Hetrurians*, having brought Succours to *Tarquin the First*, obtained this Quarter for himself and his Followers: Whereas, if we believe *Varro*, it was in *Romulus's* Reign, that this *Vibenna*, to whom he gives the *Prænomēn* of *Calius*, settled upon one of the seven Hills of *Rome*, which was afterwards called *Mons Calius*. After the Death of *Romulus*, adds

the same Author, *Vibenna* was obliged to remove into a lower Quarter, because the Eminence of the *Hetrurians* possessed, commanded the City, and gave the *Romans* Umbrage.

76 I here is no Dispute about the Names of the two *Consuls*; all agree, they exercised their Office the same Year. But some injudiciously change the *Prænomēn* of *Marcus*, which all good Authors give to *Valerius*, into *Publius*. *Posthumius's* Surname is *Tubertus*. *Cicero* speaks of him, in one of his *Books de Legibus*, in these Words: *Tuberto virtutis et pietatis tributum est, ut in urbe sepeliretur; quod ejus populus tenuerunt.*

At length, both Enemies appeared in the Field. The *Sabines* were commanded by an able General, whose Name the Historians have not transmitted to us. And the *Romans* divided their Troops into two Armies, separately commanded by the two *Consuls*. The Fear they were then in, lest the *Tarquins* should take Advantage of the Interest they still had in *Rome*, and come and fall upon her, when her Troops were at a great Distance, made the *Consuls* resolve, always to have an Army posted in the Neighbourhood of the City. *Posthumius* therefore fixed his Camp on the Hills which surrounded it: *M. Valerius* his Collegue encamped near the 77 *Anio*, and found the *Sabines* already possessed of one of the Banks of the *Anio*, now called the *Teverone*, was then 78 the Boundary of the *Roman* State, and divided it from the Country of the *Sabines*. It was at 79 *Tibur*, that *M. Valerius* encamped, at the Place where the *Anio* falls from the Top of a Rock 80 with a great Noise. The Enemy was posted on the opposite Shore, on an Eminence not far from the River. And whilst the Armies in the two Camps were watching one another, and deliberating which should pass the River, to begin the Attack, an unexpected Accident brought them to a Battle. The famous *Poplicola* was with his Brother, and was the Soul of the Undertaking, tho' he had no Authority in the Army.

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It happened, that some *Roman*, or *Sabine* Soldiers, it is uncertain which, led their Horses to the River to water them: And the *Anio* not being deep at the watering-place, the melted Snows not having yet swelled it, they rode thro' it to the opposite Shore, and were scarce up to their Horses Knees. Upon this, those who were encamped on the Shore to which they came, ran in Crowds to drive back these bold Fellows, and began the Fight. Then the Soldiers of both Armies rushed without any Order, to assist those who were first engaged; and, as it always happens in these tumultuary Frays, this became a bloody one, and the Bank was immediately covered with dead Bodies. In the mean time, the *Consul* calls back his Soldiers, and resolves to pass the River in the Place which appeared, by this Accident, to be fordable. Accordingly, he passes it with all his Troops, and draws them up in Battalia, on that Side of the River where the *Sabines* were encamped. The latter, who were not yet armed, when they saw the Enemy advancing towards them in good Order, were surprized at the unexpected Boldness of the *Romans*, and running to their Arms in Haste, made Head against them, before they had Time to form themselves into regular Battalions.

Plut. Life of
Poplic.

Dion. Hal.
B. 5. p. 306.

The *Sabine* Army despised the *Roman* Forces, because they saw but one of the Bodies of their Army, and only one *Consul* at the Head of it. Then the Battle began, with all the Ardour that might be expected from two of the most warlike Nations in *Italy*, and with all the Skill of two experienced Generals. But besides his own Experience, the *Roman Consul* was assisted with wise Counsels. *Valerius* 81, accompanied by his Brother, pressed hard upon the Enemy, with his right Wing, in which he commanded. Whilst his left Wing lost Ground, and being closely pressed by the Enemy, retired to the Brink of the River, and was like to be immediately forced into it. But *Posthumius*, who commanded the other Body of the *Roman* Troops, had timely Notice of the Action, advanced with his Army to share the Dangers and the Glory of it, and receiving Intelligence of the Disorder of the left Wing, whilst he was upon his March, he immediately ordered

7 The *Anio* rises in the Hills of *Trebia*.
8 We may judge from hence how narrow the *Roman* Territory was on its broadest Part. It is reckoned to be but eighteen Miles from *Rome* to *Tivoli*, where the Battle was fought with the *Sabines*, on the Confines of *Sabinia* and the *Roman* Territory. It is surprizing that *Rome* should not have enlarged her Territory more, after gaining so many Victories in the Times of the *Kings*.
9 The City of *Tibur*, now *Tivoli*, was famous among the old Inhabitants of *Italy*, for the Temperature of its Climate, and its being watered with a great Number of Springs.
10 The Cascade of the *Anio*, or the *Teverone*, is a very fine Sight to this Day. Modern Travellers here make a fine Sheet of Water, but it is not a very high one. Probably, the Rock

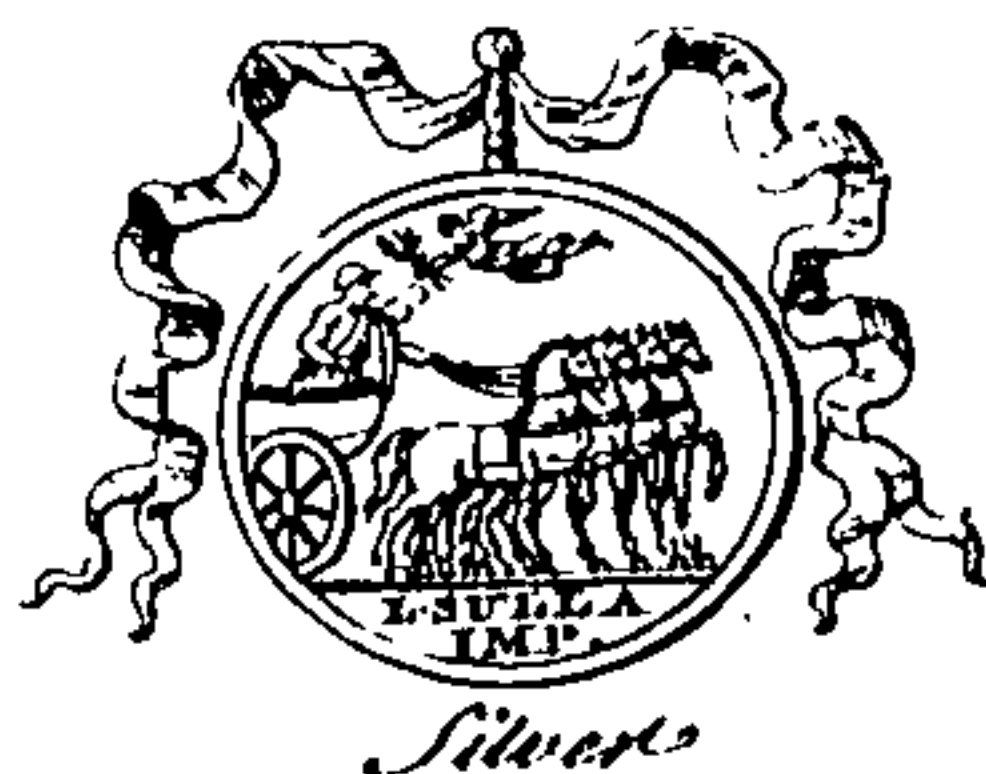
may have been gradually worn down by the Water, and have lost a great deal of its Height, since the Times of *Dion. Hal.* and *Strabo*, who both give the same Account of it.

81 Here *Dion. Hal.* is fallen into a great Mistake. He makes this first Battle to have been fought by *Posthumius*; whereas it was certainly fought by his Collegue *Valerius*. He seems to have forgotten what he himself had said a little before, namely, that *Posthumius* continued with his Body of Troops near *Rome*, and that only *Valerius* came and encamped on the Bank of the *Anio*. But I cannot charge this Fault on so judicious an Author. I lay it upon the Copyists or Editors of his Works. We ought then to put *Θυαλίριος*, in the Text, instead of *Ποστούμιος*, and then the rest will be both clear and probable.

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Sp. Lartius, the *Consul* for the preceding Year, to advance with Speed, at the Head of the Cavalry. These passed the Ford without Difficulty, and came and attacked the Enemy's Cavalry in Flank, with incredible Expedition. So that *Lartius's* Presence, who with his Darts fought the *Sabine* Squadrons at a Distance, a great while, suspended for some time the Ardour of their right Wing, in pressing upon the *Roman* Infantry. And in the mean while, *Posthumius* arrives with his *Legions*. Then the Battle became more furious than ever. The *Sabine* Infantry, which had hitherto been victorious on one Side, gives way, retires, is routed; and if the Night had not put an End to the Battle, the Defeat of the *Sabines* had been complete. The *Roman* Cavalry, which was superior to that of the Enemy in Strength, had already surrounded the whole *Sabine* Army; but the Darkness of the Night favoured the Flight of the Conquered. Some escaped without their Arms, and fled to their native Cities, without returning to the Camp; which the *Romans* took Possession of without Opposition. For those who had been left to guard it, had deserted it: And it was given up to be plundered by the Soldiers, who returned to *Rome* laden with Booty. A memorable Victory! as it was the first which the Republick gained, and as it revived the old Confidence of the *Romans*, and gave them the same Ascendant over their Neighbours, which they had formerly had in the Time of their *Kings*. The continual Prosperity of this single City, (which tho' Mistress of only a small Tract of Ground, was yet still victorious, even after the Defection of all her Allies,) filled her Neighbours with Terror. They found that the Valour of the *Romans* was still the same, tho' the Form of their Government was altered. And indeed their Virtue, which increased, now that the *Tarquins* no longer corrupted *Rome* by their Licentiousness, was even then a Prefage of its future Grandeur. The two *Consuls* had deserved the Honour of a Triumph, and the Republick was not content with granting them that only. The *Romans* indeed ordered them to enter *Rome*, both in the same Chariot; but they likewise added some new Presents, to the Glory of their ⁸² Triumph. As for *Valerius*, as he had gained two Victories over the *Sabines*, in the same Year, the first of which had been so happy a one, that he is said to have defeated thirteen thousand Men, without the Loss of one; he was rewarded according to his Merit. The *Romans* built an House for him, at the Expence of the Publick; and, to distinguish it from all others, ordered his ⁸³ Door should be hung as to open outwards into the Street; whereas the Doors of all other Houses opened inwards. And as for *Posthumius*, he was rewarded with a Privilege never

Plut. and Plin.
B. 36. c. 15.



⁸² Tho' *Tarquin the First*, according to most Authors, begun to introduce State and Expence into the Triumphant Entries of Victors; yet the Pomp of that Ceremony was still suitable to the Poverty of a rising Republick. It was not then performed with that stately and numerous Train of Attendants, and those costly Equipages, with which Triumphs were afterwards more and more adorned, in Proportion as the *Romans* extended their Dominions, and brought to *Rome* the Pageantry and Profuseness, as well as the Riches, of the conquered Provinces. Under the following *Consuls*, we shall see the triumphant Victor, making a Shew of himself to the People, riding in a Chariot drawn by four Horses, with a Triumphal Crown on his Head, an Ivory Sceptre in his Hand, sitting in the *Curule Chair*, dressed in a Robe and Tunick embroidered with Gold, and attended by the *Lictors*, with their *Axes* and *Fasces*. We find the Representation of an ancient Triumph on the Reverse of a Medal of the

Manlian Family. On it we see a winged *Victory* crowning the Head of the Victor.

⁸³ The *Romans* had a very different Way of making the Doors of their Houses, from the *Greeks*. The latter never opened their Doors inwards; according to *Plutarch*, they always turned outward into the Street. This appears, says that Author, in the old *Greek* Comedies, in which we find the who wanted to go out of his House, striking against the Inside of his Door, to give those who passed by in the Street Notice to keep out of the Way. Whereas the *Romans* did just the contrary. Their Doors opened inwards: And the Honour which was done *M. Valerius*, in allowing his to be hung outward, was symbolical. The Design of it was to put him in mind, as oft as he went in or out, that he was indebted to the Publick for his House. *Dionysius Hal.* saw, even in his Time, a brazen Bull, which had been erected before this House.

before

before ⁸⁴ granted to any. He was empowered to have a Burial-Place for himself and his Family, within the Walls of *Rome*. Thus did the first *Romans* keep up an Emulation among their Generals, rather by giving them distinguishing Marks of Honour, than substantial Rewards. They did not increase their Wealth too much; but taught them to prefer the Glory which attends great Actions, to exorbitant Riches, which often give Umbrage, and are always odious, in a Republick. §. XXV. But the *Sabines*, tho' vanquished in the Battle of *Tibur*, entered into new Leagues, and designed to unite together in a National Body, against *Rome*, and drew up the *Latins* to join with them. *Poplicola* was become a Refuge for the Republick, whenever pressed with great Difficulties. The People of *Rome* were not ignorant of the Services he had done them in the preceding War. They ascribed to him the Direction of the Valour and Prudence of his Brother, in that glorious Campaign, which was of so much Service to the *Roman* Name. They therefore would have him govern *Rome* in Person, the fourth Time. The College the assembled *Centuries* gave him, was the same *T. Lucretius*, who had been Consul with *Poplicola*, when *Rome* was besieged; had always acted in Concert with him; and had shared with him the Glory of having delivered the City. Under the Administration of these two great Men, the Republick thought they had nothing to fear, either from Attacks Abroad, or Commotions at Home.

AND indeed, *Poplicola* was equally expert, in governing the Minds of the Citizens of *Rome*, in carrying on Negotiations Abroad with the neighbouring Nations, and in conquering an Enemy, either by Stratagem or Force. Nevertheless, Superstition now took Possession of the Peoples Minds all at once, and seemed likely to make his fourth *Consulship* a Year of Inactivity and Dejection. It happened, that some Women had been delivered of monstrous Births, having brought forth no Children, but such as wanted some of their Limbs. It is also said, that most of them were still-born. And this was enough, for some secret Enemies to the Consul and their Country, to spread a Report, that a Year distinguished by such bad Presages, would prove fatal to the Republick. But the wise *Poplicola* soon removed such dangerous Suspicions. He caused the Books of the *Sybils* to be consulted, and interpreted the Answers he received, so as best suited his own Purposes. He ordered ⁸⁵ Sacrifices to be offered to *Pluto*, and revived certain Festivals

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suls.
Cicero, de Leg.
B. 2.

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P. VALERIUS
POPPLICOLA,
and T. LU-
CRETIUS,
Consuls.

Plutarch Life
of *Poplic.*

⁸⁴ The Law which forbade the burying any Body within the Walls of any City, was very express; *Hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito, neve urito.* *Cicero* gives it us in his 2d Book of *Laws*. And this Custom was so religiously observed, that the Kings of *Rome* themselves were not buried in any Cities, but on the Top, or at the Foot of Hills. It is true, this Custom was interrupted for some Time, either thro' Negligence, or the Compliance of the Magistrates; but it was established again by the *Decemviri*. The Emperor *Adrian* laid a considerable Fine, both upon those who should bury their dead in the City, and the Magistrates who should suffer this Abuse. And he likewise commanded, that the Ground used for a Burial-Place, should be consecrated to the Publick, and the Corps dug up again, and carried out of the City. At least, this is *Adrian's* Account of it. The Emperors *Antoninus*, *Poclesian*, and *Maximilian* also, enacted Laws such like these, with very great Penalties. This Custom of burying without the Walls of Cities, is a political Regulation, to preserve the People from the Corruption of the Air which sometimes proceeds from the Infection of dead Bodies. And according to *Cicero, de Legib. 2.* the burning dead Bodies within the Walls of Cities was forbidden, *Propter ignis periculum, i. e. for fear of Fire.* This is a necessary Precaution. But this Law was founded in the Superstition of the Pagans, who thought sacred Places, and the Ceremonies of Religion, prophaned, by dead Bodies being near them. The Consequence of this general Law therefore, is this, that all the *Roman* Families made their Burial-Places in the Country, wherever they liked best, on their own Estates. A Garden and a Field were

reserved for this Purpose, which lay by the great Roads, in the Sight of Travellers. Hence the Style of ancient Epitaphs ran thus: *Asta Viator, Cave Viator, Aspice Viator: i. e. Stay Traveller, &c.* We find this Custom mentioned in the following Epigram of *Martial*.

*Hoc sub marmore Glaucias humatus
Juncto Flaminiae jacet Sepulchro.
Quid fles talia? Nil fleas Viator.* Epig. 6.

So that the granting *Posthumius Tubertus* a Right to bury within the City, was giving him a considerable Privilege. The *Vestals* indeed always enjoyed this Mark of Distinction; but it was very seldom granted to any others; and never but out of Regard to great Merit.

⁸⁵ *Val. Max. B. 2. c. 1.* gives us the Particulars of this Sacrifice which *Poplicola* offered to *Pluto*, and derives it from a remote Original. One *Volesius*, says he, was likely to lose his three Children, by an epidemical Distemper. He therefore prayed his domestick Gods to inflict that Death upon him, with which his Children were threatened. Upon this he heard a Voice, which commanded him to carry his three sick Persons down the *Tyber*, as far as *Tarentum*; and there make them drink Water warmed at a Fire on the Altar of *Pluto* and *Proserpine*. And tho' he thought it a long and difficult Voyage for him to undertake, to go as far as *Tarentum*, in the Condition his sick People were, nevertheless he obeyed. He embarked on the *Tyber*, advanced towards *Ostia*, and stopped in a Field dedicated to *Mars*, to warm some Water for the Sick. But finding no Fire, he asked if there was none in the Neighbourhood: And he was directed to go to *Tarentum*,

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Consuls.

Dion. Hal.
B. 5. p. 307.
Liv. B. 2. c. 16.
Plut. Life of
Poplic.

vals and ⁸⁶ Sports, which had been neglected, on account of the Difficulties the rising Republick lay under, notwithstanding that they had been appointed by the Oracle of *Apollo*. By these artful Methods, *Poplicola* revived the Confidence of the *Romans*, and filled them with new Hopes of Victory and Conquest.

§.XXVI. In the mean time, the Storm still continued to threaten *Rome*, on the Side of the *Sabines*. The restless and the turbulent, were more numerous, in their national Assemblies, than the quiet and the peaceable. One of the *Tarquins* is said to have put all the factious there in Motion. *Poplicola* endeavoured to bear down the Interest of the banished King, by his Negotiations. He began with gaining over to the *Romans*, him who had the most Interest among the *Sabines* of any single Man; which was *Actius Clausus*. He was born in *Sabinia*, at *Regillum* ⁸⁷, where he held the first Rank. He had a vast Estate, and a great Number of Vassals, as well as personal good Qualities, which made him the chief Man in his Country. A steady Courage, superior even to that of the *Sabines*, a penetrating Mind, a lively Eloquence, great Strength of Body, together with great Valour and Prudence, all joined in raising him such an Interest among his Countrymen, as eclipsed the Reputation of all the Nobles of his Nation. Such was the Hero, whom *Poplicola* found Means to prevail on, by his Sollicitations, zealously to espouse the *Roman* Cause, in the *Sabine* Diets. And *Clausus* was probably no less zealous for the true Interests of his Country. With these Inclinations and Dispositions of Mind, he spoke in the Assemblies, against the Design of renewing the War, and took great Pains to quiet his Countrymen, whom the *Tarquins* made it their Business to exasperate, only to involve them in the same Ruin with themselves. And the Merit of the Speaker was too great, and too well known, not to raise an Opposition against him. Those who were jealous of the Interest and great Wealth of *Clausus*, put a bad Construction upon the good Understanding he had with the *Romans*. He is an ambitious Man, said they, who, depending upon the Protection of the *Romans*, would fain usurp a tyrannical Power over a free Nation, and enslave it, by the Help of the *Roman* Legions. And these Distrusts were so industriously spread all over *Sabinia*, that nothing less was proposed, than to cite *Clausus* to appear before the States General, and condemn him as a Traitor to his Country. The Injustice of the *Sabines* provoked the brave *Clausus*. He therefore could not bear to see his Love for the Welfare of the Publick, made a Crime, and his Vexation soon turned into Wrath. He reckoned up the Number of his

Tarentum, meaning a neighbouring Field, which was so called. This therefore convinced *Valesius* that the Gods had by their Answer sent him thither, for the Cure of his Children. Accordingly, he drew Water out of the River, and when he came to the Place, from which he saw a Smoke arise, he found the Ground as hot as if a great Fire had been burning under it. There he then gathered together some dry Wood, blew under it a great while, made it take Fire, warmed his Water, and gave it to his Children. Upon drinking it, they were immediately cured, and had a good Night's Rest. But in their Sleep they heard a Voice, which ordered them to sacrifice some black Victims to *Pluto* and *Proserpine*, who had healed them, and to perform, by Night, all the Ceremonies of a solemn Sacrifice to their Honour, in the Place called *Tarentum*. The Father of the three Children therefore ran immediately to the City, to buy the necessary Materials for building an Altar, and ordered the Foundations to be dug, in the mean time. But as the Workmen were digging, they found an Altar, twenty Foot deep in the Ground, with this Inscription, TO PLUTO AND PROSERPINE. So that *Valesius*, upon Notice of the Discovery, only bought the Victims in the City, and came and offered them up in Sacrifice at *Tarentum*, on the Altar which was newly discovered. The Ceremony continued three Nights, which were all spent in Thanksgiving. This made *Tarentum*, and the Altar of *Pluto* and *Proserpine*, famous. To this very Place, continues *Val. Maximus*, *Poplicola* came, and here sacrificed black Victims, in Behalf of the *Roman* People, for

three Nights together, with the Ceremony of the *Lustrum*, in Honour to these Deities. He likewise commanded Sports to be celebrated there: And afterwards ordered the Altar to be covered with Earth again. This Author likewise thought that the *Jenlar Games* took their Rise from hence. But it is probable they began later than the Time of *Poplicola*. And this whole Story of *Valerius Maximus* is omitted by all sensible Historians, who doubtless thought it fabulous.

⁸⁶ The Sports and Shews, both of the Circus and Theatre, were a Part of the Religion of the *Romans*. They were always celebrated in Honour to some Deity. Vows were often made to entertain the People with these Shews, in order to appease the Wrath of Heaven; and they were called *Ludi votivi*. Whenever epidemical Distempers prevailed, or the State was threatened with a Sedition, or terrified with Prodigies, which were thought the Fore-runners of some Calamity, Sports were always celebrated. And there was some Policy, as well as Religion, in it. These publick Rejoicings quieted the Fears and Uneasinesses of the People. Besides, they were such an Amusement to the Mind, as might, possibly, contribute to the Health of the Body.

⁸⁷ There are now no Footsteps remaining of this City, which the Antients called sometimes *Regilla*, and sometimes *Regillum*. But we may conjecture, by the Descriptions which antient Writers have left us of it, that it was about twenty Miles distant from *Rome*, and about five from the *Tyber*. *Cluverius* places it beyond *Eretum* and *Nomentum*.

Client

Clients and Friends, and thought himself able, by their means, to begin a Civil War, which would soon communicate it self from City to City, and put the whole Nation in a Flame.

As to the *Romans*, nothing, in all appearance, could turn more to their Advantage, than the raising intestine Broils among their Enemies. *Poplicola* was informed of the Motions which were made towards this Civil War; but, which may now seem very strange, his *Roman* Probity was alarmed at it. The virtuous Consul made use of the Correspondence he kept with *Clausus*, to divert him from polluting his Hands with the Blood of his Countrymen. He liked better to see the Virtue of his Friend, free from those Stains which would have sullied it, than to reap the Fruits of his Crime. *Poplicola* therefore informed *Clausus*, That he very well knew, from what Misfortunes his Anger might preserve *Rome*; but that he advised him, to pacify it, and lay aside a Design which would prove inglorious to himself, and fatal to his Country: That there was another Way of revenging himself on those who envied him, which he might undertake with Honour: That if he withdrew himself from them, he would punish them more effectually, than by making War upon them: That *Rome* offered Protection to him, and to as many of his Friends, as would come thither with him: And lastly, that a Man of his Consequence would be so much missed in *Sabinia*, that his Countrymen would one Day repent of their having been jealous of his Merit, and ungrateful to him, for his Zeal in their Service.

CLAUSUS continued long in Suspence, which of these two Ways he should chuse to revenge himself on the *Sabines*. But at length he resolved to leave his Country, which was already sinking, and which the ill Government of a Sett of blind and passionate Men, would soon bring to Ruin. He therefore chose to act rather a proud than an angry Part, and removed to *Rome*. He was followed thither by all his Friends and Clients, to the Number ⁸⁸ of five thousand Men, besides Women, Children, and Servants. And the *Romans* looked on this Addition of so great a Number of Families, as a Conquest gained upon their Enemies. It was a new Reinforcement to them, and a Diminution of the Strength of their Rivals. For which Reason, they were wanting in no Instance of Respect to the New-comers. They gave them all, the Right of Citizenship; and with it, two Acres of Land, lying between *Fidena* and *Peculia*, to each Man, to cultivate for his own Use ⁸⁹. The whole Tract of Land was afterwards called the *Claudian* ⁹⁰ *Tribe*, from the Name of *Clausus* their Leader, who changed his Name into *Appius Claudius*, when he came to *Rome*. As for himself, he was immediately declared a *Patrician*, and took his Place in the Senate. Reparation was also made him for the Effects he had left behind him, by giving him twenty-five Acres of Land in Fee, and assigning him a Quarter in the City, for himself and his Friends. All these Donations were made irrevocable, by a Decree of the Senate, confirmed by the Suffrages of the People. And now the Merit of the new *Patrician* soon shone with Lustre,

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Plut. Life of Poplic.

⁸⁸ *Dion. Hal.* says, that *Clausus* took Refuge at *Rome*, with his Relations, Friends, Clients, and all their Families; among whom, were 5000 Men fit to bear Arms.

⁸⁹ This City is called *Picetia*, in the *Vatican* S. of *Dion. Hal.*'s *Roman Antiquities*. *Lapus* and *Plinius* give it the Name of *Peculia*. *Glarean* imagines, that the Place here meant, is *Ficula*, or *Ficulæ*; a City which lay at a little distance from the Place which is now called *S. Falice*. And this Situation of *Ficula* agrees with the Relations of *Dion. Hal. Livy*, and *Plutarch*. The two last place the Tract of Ground, which was surrendered to the *Sabines*, who followed *Clausus*, beyond, or along the Side of, the *Anio*. In other Editions indeed, we find *Picentia* instead of *Peculia*, or *Ficula*; but this is a manifest Mistake, since the *Romans* had not then penetrated so far as into *Campania*; of which the Territory of *Picentia* was a small District.

⁹⁰ There were among the *Romans*, *City-Tribes*, and *Country-Tribes*, from *Servius Tullius*'s Time. The City itself, as we have observed, was divided into four Tribes, which took their Names from the several Quarters of the City. The first was called

Suburrana Tribus, or the *Suburban Tribe*; the second, *Tribus Palatina*; the third, *Tribus Esquilina*; the fourth, *Tribus Collina*. The Country belonging to the *Romans* was also divided into Tribes, in the same manner; and they, for the most part, took their Names from some illustrious Families in *Rome*. It is probable, that there already was a Tribe, in the Territory, in which *Clausus*, or *Claudius*'s Clients were placed; and that upon their coming, it took the Name of *Tribus Claudia*, in Honour to those who were newly come to settle in it. Some will have their District to have been on the Banks of the *Anio*: But others say, it lay between *Fidena* and *Ficula*. And we are not to imagine, that the Tribes in the Country, were inferior to those in the City. On the contrary, *Pliny* informs us, *B. 18. ch. 3* that the most illustrious *Romans*, who had Lands in the Country, and an House in *Rome*, chose rather to be enrolled in the Tribe, in which their Estates lay, than in the Tribe, or Quarter, where their Houses stood in the City. They were by this means less subject to the troublesome Jurisdiction of the *Censors*; and their Rights, as Citizens, were not at all impaired by it.

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Dion. Hal.
B. 5. p. 308.

both in the Senate, and in a City, where the People then gloried in rewarding it. Insomuch, that we shall soon find him rise by degrees to the *Consulship*. By his means, the *Claudian* Family, which was already very noble in *Sabinia*, became much more illustrious at *Rome*⁹¹. *Poplicola* had all the Glory of having made him a *Roman*; of having sacrificed the Advantage he might have gained, by pursuing bloody Politicks, to Virtue; and of having, at the same time, brought over to his Country's Cause, five thousand fighting Men, under a Leader, who was very well qualified to advance the Glory of the Republick.

§.XXVII. THE *Sabines*, enraged at *Clausus's* Departure, became irreconcilable Enemies to *Rome*. So that those who were for War, easily gained their Point, by their Clamours, in his Absence. *Would it not be shameful for us*, said they, *to follow the Advice of the fugitive Clausus, after he has left us? Shall he, who could not succeed when present, prevail when absent?* The *Sabines* therefore armed with all diligence, took the Field; and it was the good Fortune of *Rome*, that her Enemies were determined to come to a Battel, about the Close of the last Year *Poplicola* was Consul. The *Sabine* Army was divided into two Bodies, one of which encamped in the open Field, pretty near *Fidena*; the other shut it self up in *Fidena*, to guard that City; to be near enough to assist the other Body, if there was Occasion; and to secure a Retreat for it, in case of a Defeat. As for the Consuls, they drew together all the Men of their little State, who were capable of bearing Arms, leaving only those *Centuries* in *Rome*, whose Age exempted them from military Labours. But they had not far to march to meet the Enemy. *Fidena* was but five Miles from *Rome*. Thither therefore *Poplicola* hastened with Expedition, and took his Post over against the Enemy, at a little distance from their Camp: While *Lucretius* encamped within reach of his Colleague, upon an Eminence, from whence he could see the Motions of the other *Roman* Camp. The *Romans* were exceeding earnest to enter upon Action as soon as possible. As they had no Opportunity here of making use of Stratagems, seizing Passes, or surprizing advantageous Posts, they desired to come to an Engagement immediately, and end the Dispute, at once, by one decisive Battel⁹². But the *Sabines*, on the contrary, were affrighted at the Posture of the *Roman* Army, and durst not come to a Battel, by Day-light. They resolved to make a sudden Attack upon the Enemy's Camp, in the dead of the Night. In order to this, they prepared great Quantities of Fascines, to fill up the Ditch, and Scaling-Ladders to mount the Ramparts. One of *Tarquin's*⁹³ Sons, is said to have been the Author of this Undertaking, and to have got it approved by the Officers of the *Sabine* Army, of which he was Commander-in-chief. But however that be, the *Sabine* General ordered the Body of Troops, which were left to guard *Fidena*, to arm themselves lightly, march out of

91 There were two *Claudian* Families in *Rome*. One was *Patrician*, of which *Appius Claudius* was probably the Founder. The other was *Plebeian*, but furnished the Republick with several Great Men. We shall often have occasion to speak of them both, in the Prosecution of this History.

92 This Battel is very differently described by all the three Historians, who have given us Accounts of it. *Livy* says little of it, and does not make it a Night-Engagement. And *Plutarch's* Account of it differs very much from *Dion. Hal.'s*. His Relation of it, is this: The *Sabines* began to use Stratagems. They posted 2000 Men in hollow, and covered Places. The next Day, a Body of *Sabine* Horse was to advance quite up to the Gates of *Rome*, and carry off the Cattel; but with Orders to fly, in case they were pursued, and retire, till they had drawn the *Romans* into the Place where their Ambush was. But *Poplicola*, being informed of the Designs of the *Sabine* Army, by Deserters, detached 3000 Foot, the same Evening, under the Command of *Posthumus Albus*, to go and seize the Eminencies, which covered the Ambuscade: While the Consul *Lucretius*, at the Head of a chosen Body of the Troops which were left at *Rome*, prepares to chase the Forragers. The next Morning, about Break of Day, by the help of a very thick Fog, *Posthumus*, from the Eminencies on which he had posted him-

self, falls furiously upon the *Sabines* in Ambush in the Valley: While *Lucretius* falls upon the Forragers, who were all surrounded. At the same time, *Poplicola* made a vigorous Attack on the Enemy's Camp; who being worsted on all Sides, sought to save themselves by Flight, and reached *Fidena*. The Defeat was general; as was evident both from the Number of the Slain, and that of the Prisoners. But as the Circumstances of this Action are more minutely related by *Dion. Hal.* we have therefore chosen to put his Account of it in the Text, rather than either of the others.

93 *Dion. Hal.* affirms, that the infamous *Sextus Tarquinius*, who had dishonoured *Lucretia*, was the Man. But we durst not say so much in the Body of the History. *Livy* makes him to have died at *Gabii*: tho' he does not say, at what time. He only says, that *Sextus* retired to that City, after the Expulsion of his Father, as being the Place where he commanded; and was there, after some time, assassinated, by a Company of the *Gabini*, who had forgotten the Cruelties and Robberies he had committed upon them, in his Father's Reign. *Sextus's* Death seems to have preceded this last Expedition of the *Sabines* against the *Romans*. But the Reason is to judge of it, as he thinks fit. It is difficult to determine either Way, the Date of this Fact being very uncertain.

the Town on the first Signal, and taking a large Compass, to go lie in Ambush behind *Lucretius's* Camp. The Design was, to surprize it, whenever *Lucretius* should leave it, and march to the Assistance of his Collegue. After which, this Body of *Sabines* was to charge him in the Rear, or at least, terrify him with their Shouts. And this well-laid Stratagem now wanted nothing but to be put in Execution.

BUT the wife *Poplicola* had his Correspondents in the Enemy's Camp. In the Beginning of that very Night, in which the Attack was to be made, Information was brought him of the Designs of the *Sabine* Army. And not only so, his Scouts brought him also some *Sabines*, whom they had surprized in a Forest, as they were cutting Wood for Fascines, Bridges, and Scaling Ladders. Upon these Informations and Discoveries, *Poplicola* took proper Measures, to render the artful Designs of the Enemy against him, fatal to themselves. He instantly dispatched away his Brother *Marcus* to *Lucretius*, in the other Camp, with the News of the Night-Expedition, resolved upon by the *Sabines*. He informed him of the Ambuscade they intended to prepare for him, behind his Camp. And then, the *Consuls*, after they had taken proper Precautions, waited for the Enemy, without suffering their Troops to shew any Marks of suspecting the designed Attack. They put out all the Fires in both Camps, in the beginning of the Night; and both Armies seemed as quiet, and in as much Security as ever.

THE *Romans* had, even at that time, brought the Art of encamping to some Perfection. Tho' it were but for a Night, they fortified their Camp with a Ditch, twelve geometrical Feet broad, left a Space between the Ditch and the Rampart, like a *Falſe-bray*, and behind it raised a Rampart of Turf, four geometrical Feet high, and supported by Pallisades. Such, or very like it, was the Camp the *Sabines* were preparing to attack. Accordingly, they marched silently out of their own Camp, before Midnight, and before the Moon was up. No military Instrument was heard among them, nor any Noise of Arms. As they marched, they wondered at the Stillness of their Enemies; and were yet more surprized, not to hear so much as the Voice of any Centinel, or perceive any Fire in the *Roman* Camp. This therefore made them depend on making themselves Masters of it immediately; they even hoped to enter it, before the Enemy should perceive they were coming. They instantly fixed their Bridges in a proper Place, and filled up the Ditch with Fascines. They did not expect to find the *Roman Cohorts* ready prepared for them, in the Space before the Wall; where they could not be seen, for the Darkness of the Night. They stabbed the *Sabines*, as fast as they drew near the Rampart, without any Noise, and laid them dead on the *Falſe-bray*. And new Enemies still succeeding the former ones, they likewise met with the same Fate. In short, the *Romans* did not put any Stop to the continued Slaughter, till the Moon arose, discovered to the *Sabines*, both the dead Bodies of their Companions lying in heaps at the Foot of the Rampart, and the *Roman* Troops, which had strewed the Ground with them, without being perceived. Then a sudden Fright seized them. They all fled, and the *Romans* marched out of their Camps after them, with great Shouts. These Shouts were heard in *Lucretius's* Camp; and then he, in his Turn, went to fall on the Enemies which lay in Ambush. His Cavalry marched first, and struck the *Sabines*, who came from the Camp near *Fidena*: And his Infantry, which followed, made an easy Conquest of these terrified, and in a manner, unarmed Men. In short, the two Bodies of the *Sabine* Army, being both equally surprised and routed, dispersed themselves; and leaving their Camp to be plundered by the Enemy, went to carry the News of their Defeat into their own Country. The Return of Day filled the *Romans* with Joy, by giving them a View of that glorious Victory, which the Darkness had helped them to gain. They found

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Frontinus pretends, B. 4. ch. 1. that the *Romans* did not learn the Art of encamping, till their War with *Pyrrius*; and that, after they had taken their Camp, they, for the future, observed the Order and Manner in which that was laid out. But in this he is manifestly mistaken. We see, thro' the whole Course of their History, that the *Roman* Army, at least, soon after their *Kings*, fortified their Camps with a great deal of Care. *Pyrrius* himself,

says *Livy*, was charmed with the *Roman* Way of encamping. Besides, this *Falſe-bray*, we here speak of, on the Authority of *Dion. Hal.* was a Part of the Fortifications of the *Roman* Camp, which escaped *Justus Lipsius's* Enquiries. I believe this Space between the Ditch and the Rampart, was the Place assigned for the Tradesmen, Suttlers, and Boys, which followed the Army.

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thirteen thousand *Sabines* dead upon the Spot, and had taken four thousand two hundred Prisoners.

It was then evident, that the *Romans* were invincible, in what manner soon they engaged.

§.XXVIII. WHAT now remained⁹⁵, was to bring *Fidena* into Subjection to the Republick. It had often been subdued, in the Time of the *Kings*, and as often rebelled and now it had shaken off the Yoke anew, and had voluntarily submitted to the Dominion of the *Sabines*. *Poplicola* therefore, for whom it seems to have been reserved, to begin the Re-establishment of *Rome* in her old Conquests, came at besieged this City, which was so near *Rome*, and lay so very conveniently for the *Romans*. And the Resistance of the *Fidenates* was neither long, nor remarkable for any considerable Exploits. The *Roman* General was too able a Commander to give them time to signalize either their Valour or Constancy. He ordered a general Assault to be made on the Town, and undertook to scale the Walls himself in Person, on that Side where the City was thought impregnable. *Poplicola* took Advantage of the Negligence of the Besieged, in not having lined with Men those Parts, which they thought strong enough without it. At these Places therefore, he entered *Fidena*, and set up the *Roman* Standards in it. But the *Consuls*, whose Humanity was equal to their Courage, did not make an ill Use of their Advantage by revenging themselves cruelly on the rebellious *Fidenates*. They neither razed their City, nor reduced them to Slavery: nay, few of them lost their Lives, except in Battel. The *Consuls* were content, with giving up the Houses to be plundered and the Slaves to be a Booty, to their Soldiers. But they could not avoid punishing the Heads of the Revolt. This was a Custom among the *Romans*, from which they did not think it proper to deviate. All the People of *Fidena* were therefore assembled in the *Forum*; and one of the *Consuls* reproached them with their Treachery, and made them fear the Punishment they merited. They were given to understand, that by so many repeated Acts of Ingratitude, and such frequent Revolts, they had deserved to be delivered up, with their Wives and Children, to the Swords of the Conquerors. But they were at the same time told, that Favours would be shewn to the Multitude, and only the Heads of the Rebellion be put to Death. And this Order was immediately put in Execution. Some of the most considerable of the Citizens, were first beaten with Rods, and then beheaded. The rest of the Inhabitants were suffered to continue in their City; but some *Roman* Troops were placed among them, and the *Fidenates* were obliged to give the Garrison a Part of their Lands for its Support. Thus the *Roman* State, which was now become Republican, began to recover its old Demesnes, which it had enjoyed in the Time of the *Kings*. But it was indebted to the Valour and Wisdom of *Poplicola*, for the greatest Part of its new Progress. He, upon his Return to the City, either enjoyed the Honours of a Triumph singly, or, as is most probable, jointly with his Collegue. The *Fasti Capitolini* make him to have triumphed over the *Veientes* also, in this last Year, in which he was *Consul*. But there is little probability⁹⁷ of it. What is certain, is, that he did not enjoy his Glory long.

§.XXIX. POPPLICOLA

⁹⁵ It is indeed surprizing, that neither *Livy*, nor *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Poplicola*, mention the Siege of *Fidena*. But ought this to prejudice us, against the Account *Dion. Hal.* gives of it? No, the Omissions of some, are no just Objection against the Relation of another, especially of an Author, who has the Credit of being an exact and faithful Historian. This is a Rule of Criticism, which we have often governed ourselves by, especially with regard to considerable Facts.

⁹⁶ Their Opinion, who think the two *Consuls* triumphed together, is built upon great Authorities, even upon *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* And yet the contrary Opinion seems more probable; if it were only for this Reason, that the *Fasti Capitolini* make only *Poplicola* to have triumphed. The Design of the *Fasti*, is only to set down the *Consuls*, and those who triumphed. But to this we may add, that *Plutarch* also speaks only of *Poplicola's* Triumph; and that he even gives us the Reason for it. It was, says

he, because the Soldiers did *Poplicola* the Justice to declare, that he had delivered the Enemy into their Hands, *bound Hand and Foot*; or, as the *Greek* Text expresses it, *both blind and lame, that they might more easily dispatch them*.

⁹⁷ Notwithstanding the Authority of the *Fasti Capitolini*, which I almost constantly adhere to, especially with respect to Triumphs; yet I cannot believe, that *Poplicola* triumphed over the *Veientes* in this Year. It seems plain, that he did not engage into any War with them. Neither *Livy*, nor *Plutarch*, nor *Dion. Hal.* mention any. Besides, it is probable, that *Rome* could have maintained two different Wars, one with the *Hettrurian Veientes*, and another with the *Sabines*, in the same Year; and he fought two Battels under the same *Consuls*, and has been victorious on both Sides, when her Strength was so much exhausted? And yet the Author of *The Lives of Illustrious Men*, goes even further than the *Fasti Capitolini*. He gives *Poplicola* three Tri-

POPPLICOLA had scarce resigned the *Consulship* into the Hands of P. *Posthumius*, who was now chosen the second Time, and *Menenius* ⁹⁵ *Agrippa* the first; before he was seized with the Distemper of which he died. And the Romans were very justly sensible, that in him they lost the most virtuous Citizen, the greatest General, and the wisest and best-affected *Consul* to the People, they had ever had. His publick Virtues shone forth very eminently in the Treaties he made with Foreigners, and the disinterested Advice he gave them. Fidelity, Probity, and Right Reason, were the constant, uniform, and only Motives of his Actions. Considered in his private Capacity, he was content with a Fortune much below even a moderate one; and never sought to increase it, by his Office as *Consul*, which he enjoyed four times, or by his two Triumphs, or any of the Spoils of the Enemies which he conquered. He led a frugal Life, and took more Pains to transmit his Virtues to his Children, than to enrich them. He died as full of Glory, as destitute of the Goods of Fortune, leaving his Children little else but a great Character for their Imitation. As for Money, he did not leave enough in his House to defray the Charges of his Funeral. The Great *Poplicola* was buried at the 99 publick Expence; not so much by way of Distinction, as on account of his Poverty. The Romans thought they could not refuse him a Burial-Place in the 100 City, and therefore erected his Tomb near the *Forum*, and gave his Family a Right of Interrment in the same Place. But as they always affected Popularity, they never made any Use of this Privilege. They contented themselves with only carrying the Bodies of the *Valerii*, who died in Rome, to this Sepulchre of the Founder of their 101 Family near the *Forum*: from thence they were conveyed without the Walls, there to be burnt upon a Funeral Pile; and their

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Dion. Hal. B. 5. p. 314. Liv. B. 2. c. 16. Plutarch.

Triumphs, in this last Year that he was *Consul*; one, for having conquered the *Veientes*; another, for having conquered the *Sabines*; and the third, for having conquered both, when united together. But *Livy* gives *Poplicola* only one Triumph, and that for having defeated the *Veientes* and the *Sabines*, (who were entered into a Confederacy against Rome) in the same Action: and then we shall agree with the *Fastii Capitolini*, in which are these equivocal Words, *de Sabineis & Veientibus*: Which don't signify, that *Poplicola* triumphed over the *Sabines* and *Veientes*, in two separate Battels; but over the *Sabines* and *Veientes* together, when united in the same Army.

It is still a Question, whether we ought to call him *Menenius Agrippa*, or *Agrippa Menenius*; or, is, whether *Menenius*, or *Agrippa*, was the Name of the *Consul's* Family. I am not of *Sigonius's* Opinion, who makes *Menenius* to have been only a *Prænomen*, and *Agrippa* a proper Name, on the Authority of *Livy*, and the Author of the *Lives of Illustrious Men*. We read *Agrippa Menenius*, in the *Fastii Capitolini*; and *Dion. Hal.* agrees with them. He gives *Agrippa* the Surname, or Nick-name of *Lanatus*, doubtless because his Hair was short and curled, and looked like *Wool*. He calls him, in another place, *Menenius Agrippa Cati filius*. *Val. Maximus* is mistaken when he calls him *M. Menenius Agrippa*. *Festus* says, the Name of *Agrippa* was given to those, whose Fathers had hard Labours, *ab agro partu*. But *Livy* says, it was commonly given to those who could not well stand on their Feet, *ab agris per-*

Plutarch says, all the Citizens paid a little Piece of Money called *Quadrans*, i. e. the fourth Part of a Roman *Ash*, per Head. But *Dion. Hal.* says, the Expences of *Poplicola's* Burial were out of the publick Treasury.

Poplicola's Body was buried, according to *Plutarch*, near a Quarter of Rome called *Velia*, which was on the Hill *Palatinus*, and at the Extremity of the *Forum*. In which he agrees with *Dion. Hal.* who places his Tomb near the *For-*

um. But they differ from one another, as to the Manner in which *Poplicola's* Funeral Honours were performed. If we believe the Author of *The Roman Antiquities*, his Body was burnt on a Funeral Pile. But, according to *Plutarch*, he was buried. It was indeed customary enough for the Greeks and Romans to burn their dead: But it is nevertheless certain, that they sometimes buried them, without burning. We have several Instances of it. It appears, by the earliest Accounts we have, that Inhumation was universally received at Athens, and other Places, according to *Cecrops's* Law, quoted by *Cicero*, *Mortuum terræ humato*. His Words, in his second Book of *Laws*, are these. *Antiquissimum Sepulture genus id fuisse videtur, quo apud Xenophontem Cyrus utitur. Redditur enim terræ corpus, & ita locatum ac situm quasi operimento matris obducitur*. We are told by *Pliny*, B. 7. that antiently dead Bodies were not burnt. *Ipsam cremare apud Romanos non fuit veteris instituti*. This Custom was introduced, according to him, when the Romans found that the Bodies of their Fellow-Citizens, which were buried in distant Countries, in Time of War, were often dug up again by their Enemies, and exposed to the Insults of the barbarous Nations. And *Pliny* adds, that the *Cornelian* Family continued this old Custom, down to the Time of *Cornelius Sylla* the Dictator. *Primus Sylla a Patriciis Corneliis voluit cremari*. The Custom of burning Bodies was continued down to the Time of *Theodosius the Great*, as *Godfrey* observes, in his Remarks on the *Theodosian Code*. And *Macrobius*, who wrote in the Time of *Theodosius the Younger*, says that the Custom of using Funeral-Piles, was entirely abolished in his Time. Moreover, that the Ceremonies of Inhumation were performed by the Romans, in all Ages, *Gruter* and *Fabrelli* evidently prove, by antient Monuments and Inscriptions.

Plutarch adds, that a Man attended the Corpse to the Burial-Place, with a lighted Torch in his Hand.

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GRIPPA, Con-
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Bones were laid in a Tomb, which stood without the City. They were an illustrious Family, which always made a considerable Figure in *Rome*, and signalized themselves chiefly by their Modesty, and an hereditary Affection for the People. And as *Poplicola*, in particular, had been one of those who had stood up in Defence of the Chastity of the *Roman* Ladies, they shewed their Gratitude for him, even after his Death. They went into the same Mourning for him, as they had done for *Brutus*. But after all, his greatest Glory was comprized under the Name of *Poplicola*, which the *Romans* had given him, and which his tender Regard for the People had deserved.



T H E

Roman History.

B O O K VI.

§. I. **T**HE Death of *Poplicola* reviv'd the Courage of the *Sabines*. They ascrib'd the complete Victories, and uninterrupted Success of the *Romans* to the Courage and Conduct of that great Man alone; and of this they made the *Romans* sensible, the very same Year in which they lost him. In short, the *Sabines* rais'd a more formidable Army than they had done in the preceding Years, and were advanced towards *Rome*, before the *Consuls* thought of taking the Field. It was usual indeed with the *Sabines* to get the Start of their Enemies; but upon this Occasion they did not immediately discover their whole Strength: The main Body of their Army lay conceal'd behind a Forest, and Detachments only were sent out to pillage, even as far as the Gates of *Rome*. The Insolence of the *Sabines* provok'd the *Consul Posthumius*, who with a pretty good Number of Men drawn together in a tumultuous Manner, sallied out hastily upon the Enemy; and the latter fled before him, and run towards the Forest. The *Romans* despis'd a frighted Party, left their Ranks, and pursued the *Sabines* in Disorder. At the Borders of the Wood the *Sabines* rallied, faced about upon the Enemy, and making great Shouts gave the Signal to the whole *Sabine* Army, who came out of the Forest upon the Troops of the *Consul*. *Posthumius* then saw he had to do with all the *Sabine* Forces, and made what Resistance he was able, with Men out of Breath, and in Disorder. But to complete his Misfortune, he was intercepted in his Retreat, by a Body of *Sabines* posted upon a Hill which he must necessarily pass over, in his Return to *Rome*. He spent the Night, which came on seasonably to his Relief, in the open Field, with his Troops surrounded on every Side by the Enemies Squadrons. As soon as the Defeat of *Posthumius* was known at *Rome*, the Consternation there was general. Every one, in a City where there were as many disciplin'd Soldiers as Citizens, ran to the Ramparts, expecting that the Enemy would make the best of their Victory, and take the Advantage of the Night to scale their Walls. Nor were they less affected with the Condition to which *Posthumius* and his Followers were reduced, in a narrow Passage of the Mountains, where they must perish, either by Hunger or the Sword; early therefore in the Morning, *Menenius* drew out the bravest of the *Roman* Youth, and march'd in good Order to the Relief of his Collegue: And he came time enough to rescue the *Romans* from the Danger into which they had been brought, by the Imprudence of their Commander. The very Sight of the *Roman* Army oblig'd the *Sabines* to retire to their former Post, proud of their Victory, and enrich'd with the Spoil of the *Romans* slain the Evening before, with the Plunder of the Cattle they had carried off from the Country, with the Booty they had got

Year of
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CCL.

P. POSTHUMI-
US, and ME-
NENIUS A-
GRIPPA, Con-
suls.

Dion. Hal.
B. 5. p. 310.

¹ *Livy* makes them a different Nation from what *Dion. Hal.* does. According to him, 'twas not the *Sabines* against whom *Menenius Agrippa*, and his Collegue fought; it was not over them that he triumph'd, but over the *Aurunci*, a *Latin* Nation; and that upon the Account of two Cities, *Pometia* and *Cora*, which they had taken from the *Romans*, and drawn into their Party. This Revolt was the Foundation of the War, which the Republick had with the *Aurunci*. These, says the *Latin* Historian, had advanced even to the Gates of *Rome*. The *Consuls* went out to meet the Enemy, and gave them Bat-

tle, in which the *Aurunci* were cut to Pieces. Those who escaped the Fury of the Soldiers, fell almost all into the Hands of the Victor. The greatest Part of these Prisoners were put to the Sword, as were the three hundred Hostages, who were to answer for the Fidelity of *Pometia* and *Cora*: For *Rome* did not think her self obliged to spare them. But we reject this Account of *Livy*, and follow *Dion. Hal.* For, besides that he is, in every respect, a more exact Writer, and more to be depended upon; his Account is also follow'd by the Author of the *Lives of the Illustrious Men*.

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from the Farms, and with the Slaves they had taken. *Rome* had too much Spirit not to revenge the Insult she had receiv'd; and therefore made Preparations to revenge, in her Turn, the Enemy's Country. The *Romans* were now more than ever convinc'd that the *Sabines* were a haughty People, whom a little Success puff'd up, and so much the more, as it happen'd that they but seldom got the Advantage. This appear'd by the Summons they sent, immediately after the Defeat of *Posthumius*, to the *Roman* Republick, requiring the *Romans* to receive the King they had banish'd, to submit to be govern'd by the *Sabines*, and to receive Laws from them. The Answer of the Senate and People was, That they commanded the *Sabine* Nation to their former Duty, under the Dominion of the superior City which had so often subdued them; and That, if they desired Peace, and the Friendship of the *Romans*, they should come in a suppliant Manner, to beg Pardon for their Attempts against the Authority of their Masters.

THESE mutual Bravadoes were follow'd with serious Expeditions, suitable, on the one hand, to the Resentment of the *Romans*; and on the other, to the Obstinacy of their Enemies. The *Consuls* drew together all the Forces of the State, to have their Revenge before the Year of their *Consulship* expired. They drain'd the Country of Labourers, and the Castles, which serv'd for a Refuge to the Peasants, of their Garrisons; they march'd the *Legions* of the City, and the *Tribes* of the Country. The Walls were guarded only by *Centuries* of Old Men, and the Castles by Companies of Slaves. On the other Side, the *Sabines* rais'd the Flower of their Youth, throughout all their Cities and Villages, and came into the Field very finely cloathed. Nothing more spruce than the *Sabine* Army, or more formidable than the *Roman*. Both Armies encamp'd near *Eretum*, a City of the *Sabines*, about ten Miles from *Rome*. Could Numbers, and the Finery of Troops, have commanded Success, the *Sabines* had certainly had the Victory; but the *Romans*, tho' fewer in Number, were inured to War, and many of their private Soldiers were fit to conduct an Army. Besides, their Courage was increased by their Superstition. For the Eve of the Battle, they saw Flames, as they imagin'd, glittering all Night upon the Tops of their ² *Pila*, a Sort of Arms peculiar to the *Romans*. These Arms were fix'd in the Ground before every Tent; and

² The Shape of the *Pilum* has been long a Subject of Dispute among Commentators. The little Agreement among the antient Writers, has given Birth to this Diversity of Opinions among the modern Criticks. *Polybius* distinguishes two Sorts of *Pila*, the greater and the less. The Staff of the first Sort was either rounded or squared, of a Hand's Breadth Diameter, and three Cubits long. The upper Part of it ended in a square Piece of Iron of equal length to the Staff, half of which Iron was driven into the Staff, to which it was fixed by Rivets and Hoops. The Iron of the *Pilum*, according to the Description of *Polybius*, was jagged at certain Distances, βίλα σισήν ἀγκυρεῖται. *Appian* makes the *Pilum* of the Antients of a square Form: and adds, that the Iron of it was made in such a manner, that it bent with the first Stroke. So that the *Pilum* could be of no Use to the Enemy, against whom it had been once thrown. The little *Pilum*, which *Vegetius* alone is pleas'd to confound with the *Verutum*, did not differ from the greater, but in this, that the Handle or Staff of it was smaller and shorter. Such, according to *Polybius*, was the antient *Venabulum* of the Hunters. *Vegetius*, speaking of the *Pilum* in general, says that the Iron of it was triangular. *Dion. Hal.* describes this Sort of Weapon a little differently. It is, says he, a Sort of Dart, which the *Romans* used to throw in the Beginning of a Battle. The Wood or Staff of it is long, and big enough to fill the Hand. It is arm'd at the two Ends with an Iron Point, at least three Feet long. *Plutarch* speaks of a Sort of *Pilum*, which *Marius* invented, the Iron of which was partly fasten'd to the Staff by an iron Pin, and partly supported only by a wooden Peg, which the Force of the Stroke always broke. By this means, the Staff of the *Pilum* fell, by its own Weight, towards

the Ground in a perpendicular Line, and sticking fast at the same time, by its crooked Point, it wedged down the Shield in which it stuck. From these different Representations which Historians have given of the *Pilum*, it follows, that the Form of it varied at different Times. Without making a long Commentary on the Text of the Authors, who have spoken of this Kind of offensive Weapons, I shall give in one Word the Idea which I had of it, after having read them with a great deal of Attention. I am perswaded the *Pilum* of the *Romans* very much resembled our present Halberds. I scarce find any Difference but one, which consists more in the Use which was made of it, than in the Shape. The *Romans*, at the first Onset, threw them, as a Lance is thrown; whereas we now use the Halberd only in our Defence, when the Enemy is close to us; and not to attack them at any Distance. We are furnish'd for that Purpose with Fire-Arms. However, it is evident, 1st. That the *Pilum* was at least about seven Feet long, and serv'd for a Rod to the Soldiers who carried it. *Stabant omnes Pila exercitus omnis. Sil. B. 13.* 2^{dly}. The Iron of it was broad and sharp, so that it made a large Wound wherever it enter'd. To conceive what a deadly Weapon it was, we need only read what *Plutarch* says of the first Battle of the *Romans* with *Philip* King of *Macedon*: *Nihil terribilius fuit ipso cœli aspectu, quæ non spiculis neque Sagittis— sed urgentibus Pilis— ultra Morem patebant.* 3^{dly}. The Iron had at certain Distances, small Teeth, crook'd like Hooks, by which it was hamper'd in the Body or Shield which it pierced. 4^{thly}. Every Soldier had two of them, one smaller, to reach the Enemy at a Distance; the other larger, to be thrown when they were nearer.

the Iron at the End of them being polish'd, the Reflection of some Light, whether from the Sky, or from the Earth, made them shine in the Night-time; which was enough for the *Romans* to draw from it a happy Prefage. *Fire*, said they, *consumes every thing; our Arms are warm'd with it, and our Enemies shall feel their Heat.* And they experienced the next Day, the Influence of this favourable Prepossession. The *Roman Army* march'd out of their Camp, and appear'd upon the Plain. *Menenius* commanded the right Wing, and *Posthumius* purposely chose the left, that he might face the right Wing of the *Sabine Army*. In the Battle *Posthumius* perform'd prodigious Acts of Courage. The Shame of the Defeat he had receiv'd, and his Desire to wipe it off, made him prodigal of his Life. He throws himself, like one desperate, into the midst of the Enemy's Troops, and every where marks his Way, by the Slaughter of all that oppos'd him. He penetrates into the thickest Battalions, breaks them, and puts them to Flight. *Menenius*, in the mean time, acted more faintly in the right Wing, and begun even to lose the Advantage; when the Fear of being surpass'd by his Collegue, and of receiving a Disgrace, which in a short time it wou'd be out of his Power to repair, rouz'd his Courage, and made it equal to that of *Posthumius*. He falls upon the Enemy with a Fury, which his *Romans* needed only to see, in order to imitate it. The *Sabines* now universally give way; the *Romans* meet with no more Resistance. The Fields are covered with the Slain, or filled with the Routed. As the Battel was fought in the *Sabine's* Country, the Conquered made the best Advantage of the Knowledge they had of the narrow Passes, and fled to them for Shelter: The only Shift they had left, after their Defeat! Their two Camps were taken and plundered. The *Consuls* spent the next Day after their Victory, in burning the Dead of their own Party, and stripping those of the *Sabine*. Among the Arms which were picked up from the Field of Battel, they found some which belonged to certain *Romans* yet alive, who had dropped them, that they might run the swifter; but they were not Monuments of their Glory. In short; besides the Booty which every Soldier had made for his own private Advantage; that Part of the Spoil which was sold for the Publick, defrayed the Charges of the War.

§. II. No sooner had the News of this glorious Day reached the Senate, but they deliberated upon the Reception they should give to the *Consuls*, at their Return. It seem'd unjust to confer the same Honours upon *Posthumius*, as upon his Collegue. The Bravery he shew'd in the second Action, had scarcely atoned for his bad Conduct in the first. At least, the unblemished Courage of *Menenius Agrippa*, seem'd to merit a Distinction, which was not due to his Collegue. They invent'd therefore a second kind of Triumph, till that Time unknown to the *Romans*, and gave it the new Name of *Ovatio*. The Person to be honoured with it, was to enter *Rome* on Foot³, or at most on Horseback; and to be attended at his Entry⁵, by the Senate only. His Crown was to be of⁶ Myrtle, not of Laurel: And lastly, his Robe was only to be the *Prætecta*, the common Habit of Magistrates.

³ Different Accounts are given of the Origin of the Word *Ovatio*. *Dion. Halicarn.* who gives, when he can, a *Greek* Etymology to the *Latin* Words, gives this, from the Word *ὠαίνω*, or *ὠαυω*, which signifies the Acclamations which were made on such publick Rejoicings. Others derive it from the Word *ὠα*! *ὠα*! which denoted the Admiration of the people, in these Ceremonies. Some refer the Origin of it to the Cries *ὠα*, *ὠα*, with which the *Greek* *Acchamals* rung. From thence the *Latin* Word *ovari*. *Evantes orgia circum ducebat Phrygias.* I then come into *Plutarch's* Opinion, who, in the life of *Marcellus*, takes this Word from that kind of Victim which was offered to the Gods, in the Ceremony of the *Ovation*. When the Honour of a complete Triumph was obtained, a Bull was sacrificed in the *Capitol*. But in an imperfect Triumph, only a Sheep. So from the Word *Ovis* came *Ova-*

It is certain, that afterwards, some who had the Honour of the *Ovation*, entered *Rome* on Horseback. An Ambition of Honours encreases with

Time, and the antient Simplicity, changes even in the wisest Republicks. *Dio, Cassiodorus*, and *Symmachus*, tell us, that in their Time, the *Ovation* was performed on Horseback. *Suetonius* adds, that *Tiberius*, altho' then he received only the Honour of the *Ovation*, entered *Rome*, even in a Triumphal Chariot. At the Time we are speaking of, it appears, that *Posthumius* entered the City on Foot. *Dion. Hal.* expressly assures us of it. This Practice appears to have lasted, till the Time of the *Emperors*, who corrupted the antient Customs.

⁵ In the *Great Triumphs*, the Army and Senate went before, or followed, the Person who triumphed. In the *Ovation*, the Senate alone attended; as *Annius Gellius* informs us. Yet here, according to the Relation of *Dion. Halicarn.* *Posthumius* appeared at the Head of the Army. I believe, that the Ceremonies of the *Ovation* varied; and that the Senate granted more or fewer Marks of Honour, as the Merit of the Action was greater or less.

⁶ *Pliny* assures us of it, *B. 15. ch. 29.* in these Terms. *Bellicis se quoque rebus myrthus inseruit, triumphansque*

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Magistrates. The *Ovatio* then was the Honour decreed for *Posthumius*; and the modest *Consul* accepted it: For, in those Times of the primitive Virtue of the Romans, a blind Submission was paid to the Decrees of the Senate and People. Hereafter, we shall find they had Generals 7, who refused the Myrtle-Crown, out of Pride.

POSTHUMIUS returned to the City, two Days before his Collegue, and entered it with the same Crown that had been ordered him. This first *Ovation* that was seen at *Rome*, is marked in the *Fasti Capitolini*, on the third of the *Nones* of *April*. Two Days after, that is, the Day before the *Nones* of the same Month, *Menenius Agrippa* appeared with all the Magnificence of a Triumph. Being mounted on a Chariot, seated in a *Curule Chair*, clothed with the Robe embroidered with Palm-branches; he was conducted to the *Capitol*, with Sound of Trumpets, and the Acclamations of the Army and People. *Menenius* had more than one kind of Merit, as will appear in the Sequel; and so exactly copied after *Poplicola*, that he seemed to have been restored to the Republick. Thus the *Roman* Virtue was preserved, and perpetuated, by a Succession of Heroes.

Year of
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SP. CASSIUS
USCELLINUS,
and OPITER
VIRGINIUS
TRICOSTUS,
Consuls.
Dion. Hal.
B. 5. p. 315.

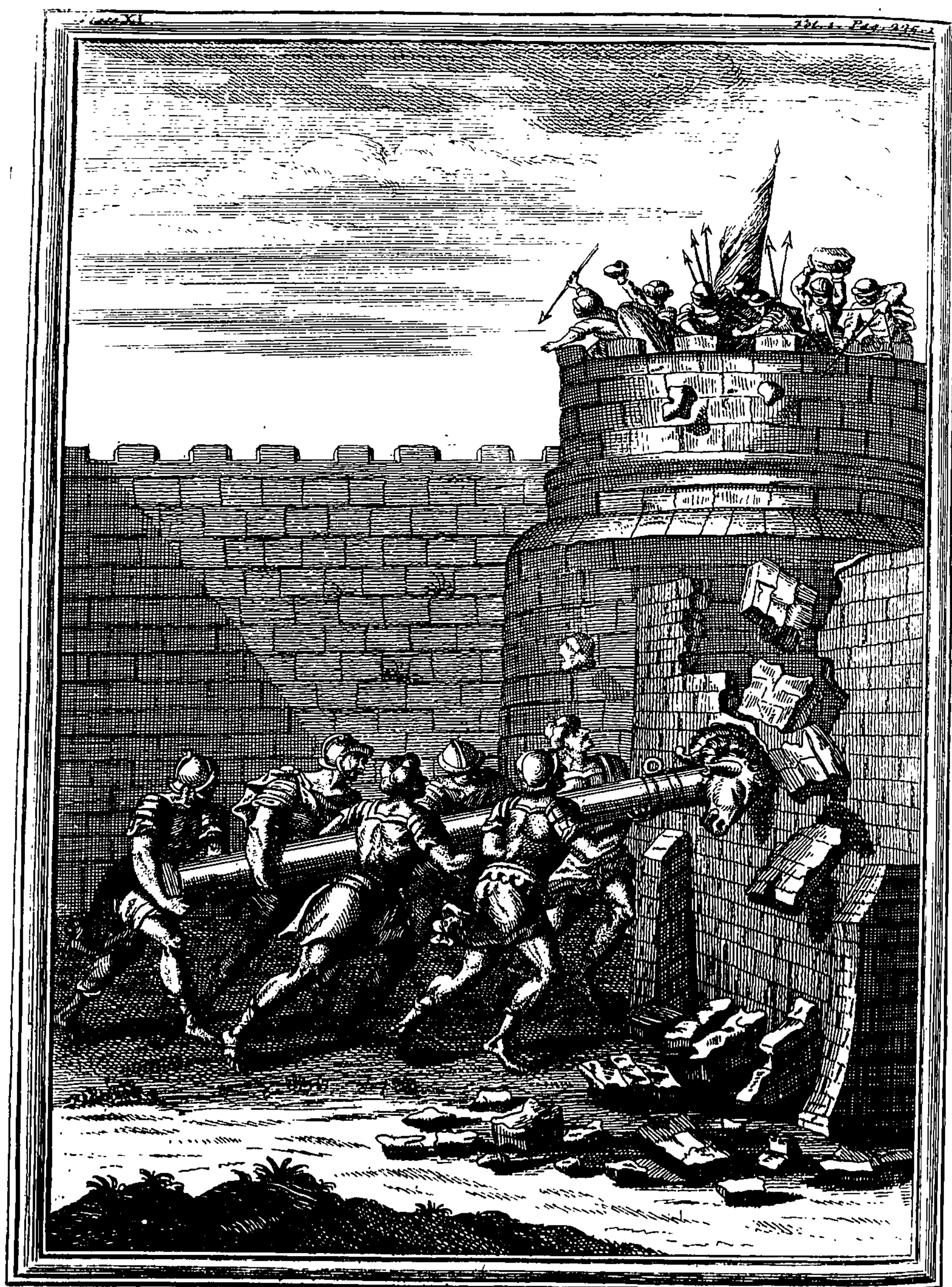
§. III. THE *Sabine* War continued under the new *Consuls*, *Sp. Cassius Uscellinus* and *Opiter Virginius Tricostus*, whom the People chose in the room of *Posthumius* and *Menenius Agrippa*. The two *Consuls* now no longer commanded in the same Army, but divided their Forces, to carry on the War in different Parts. *Sp. Cassius* was commissioned to give the last Blow to the *Sabine* Republick, already very much weakened by the Loss of so many Battels. He advanced into the Enemy's Country as far as *Cures*, the Capital of *Sabinia*. The *Sabines* then did their utmost, and once more faced the *Romans* in a pitched Battel. But Fortune was no more favourable to them in the Heart of their Country, than when they fought at the Gates of *Rome*. Their Army was cut in pieces, tho' but half of the *Roman* Force were employed against it. Ten thousand, three hundred, were killed in the Battel; and four thousand taken Prisoners. From that Time, the Obstinacy of the *Sabines* could hold out no longer against the *Roman* Valour. Humbled at last after so many Losses, they applied immediately to the Clemency of the Conqueror without delaying their Submission, till their Capital had been razed, or burnt to Ashes. The Embassy which they sent to the *Consul*, was modest and respectful without any thing mean and servile. They made him an Offer of their Friendship. *Cassius* did not forget himself, but sent their Request to the Senate of *Rome*. Then the *Sabine* Ambassadors met with a suitable Return for the former Pride of their Ne-

triumphansque de Sabinis Posthumius Tubertus in Consulatu—Myrtho Veneris victricis coronatus incessit, &c. But *Dion. Halicarn.* gives him a Crown of Laurel. *Pliny* mistook in this, as well as in the Reason he alledges, why *Posthumius* received only the Honour of an *Ovation*. It was, says he, because the Victory did not cost him much; and because he had not shed Blood. *Quoniam rem leviter sine cruore gesserat.* I agree, that commonly he who was honoured with the *Ovation*, was crowned only with Myrtle, a little Tree, consecrated to *Venus*. The *Ovation* was not always granted for Victories. The Honours of it were decreed to those, who by prudent Negotiations, engaged the Enemy to lay down their Arms, or Cities to submit, without shedding of Blood. In such Cases, they wore in their *Ovation*, only Myrtle Crowns; and instead of Trumpets, were accompanied only with Flutes, and other Instruments of Peace. When the *Ovation* was granted for Victories, gained either over Nations of little Note, or over Pyrates, or rebellious Slaves, the Crown of Myrtle, and Instruments of Peace, were not proper. Accordingly, *Dion. Halicarn.* gives *Posthumius* a Crown of Laurel in his *Ovation*. But from one Example, or from a certain Number of Examples, we ought not to draw general Rules, as all the Antiquaries do in the present Case. Such general Rules are frequently contradicted by contrary Examples. Once more; there was nothing fixed in general, by the Senate, as to the *Ovation*. Every time they granted it, they diminished or enlarged the Honours of it, according to the Merit of the Action

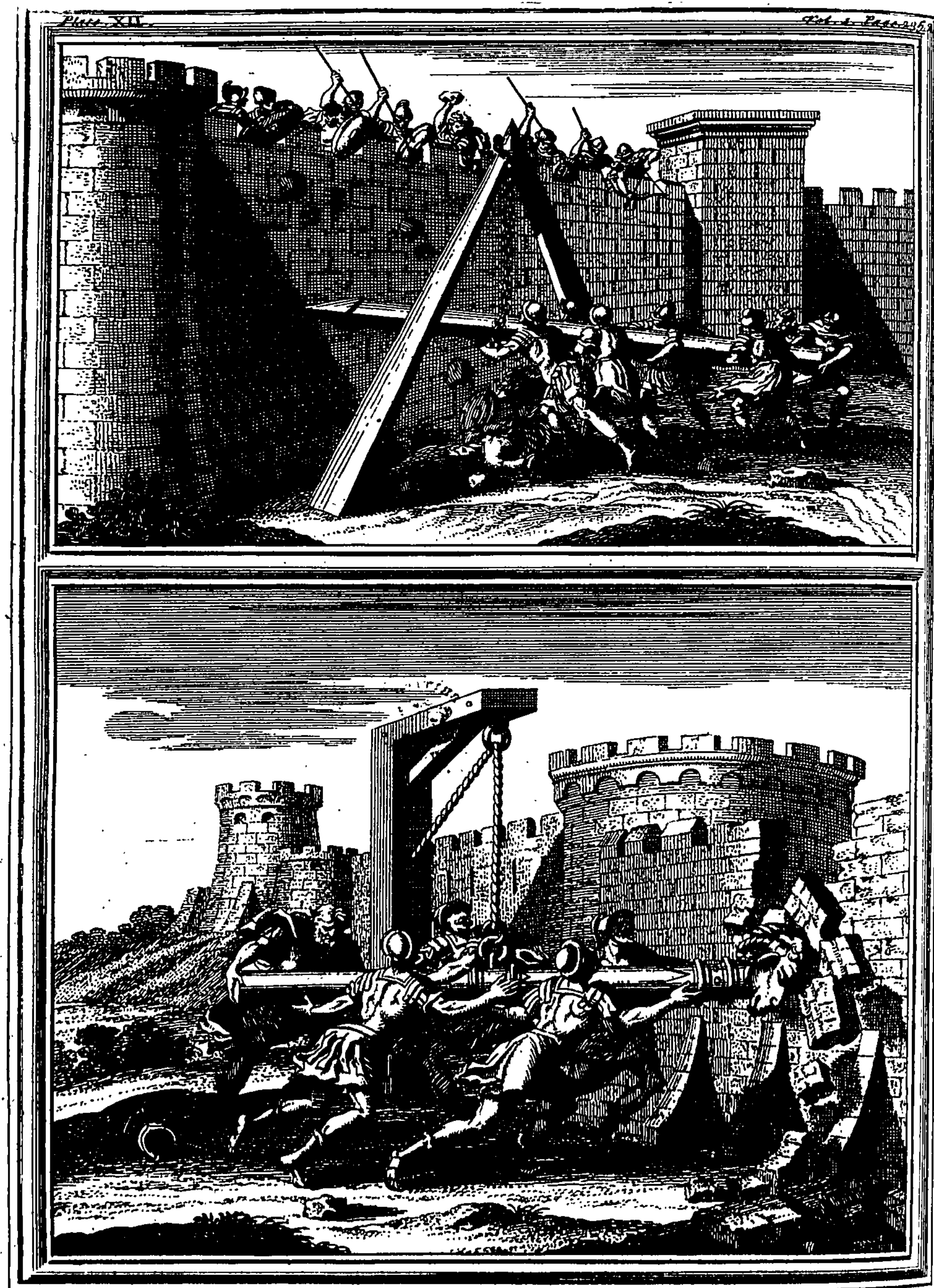
they intended to reward.

7 *Marcus Crassus*, who was Victor in the War against the Fugitives, (as we shall see hereafter) refused the Myrtle Crown, and had it changed, by Decree of the Senate, into a Crown of Laurel. True it is, that there was nothing fixed, as to the Ceremonies of the *Ovation*.

8 It is allowed, that in the present Year, *Cassius* and *Virginius* were *Consuls*. The only things which are doubted of, are, 1. Whether the Surname of *Cassius* was *Uscellinus*, which *Dion. Halicarn.* gives him. In other Authors he is called *Viscellinus*, or *Vitellinus*, and in *Cicero's* *Laelius*, *Becillinus*; which seems to be the Fault of the Editors. 2. It is doubted, whether the Surname of *Virginius* was *Tricostus*. Some read *Tricastus*, but without Ground. *Tricostus* was a common Surname in the Family of the *Virginius*. 3. The *Praenomen* of the same *Virginius* is *Opiter*. Every one knows, that these *Praenomina* had commonly a Signification taken from the Circumstances of the Birth of the Person, who was called by them; as the *Praenomen* *Caius* meant, the Birth of this Child gave much Joy to his Father; that of *Spurius*, that the Child was born on the Death of his Father, and this latter was commonly written *S. P.* which stood for *sin Patre*. As to *Opiter*, it signified something more than the Surname, namely, that not only the Father of the Child was dead, at the time of his Birth, but also that his Grandfather was yet alive. This Sense of the *Praenomen* *Opiter*, we learn from *Festus* and *Valerius*.



A Ram worked by the Soldiers by mere Strength of arms.



Two different sorts of Rams. hung different ways.

The *Romans* made them purchase with many Submissions, the Peace, which they pretended to make a Difficulty of granting: tho' at the same time, the War, with which they were threatned from *Latium*, made the *Romans* the more glad to be free from so troublesome an Enemy as the *Sabines*: And they therefore contented themselves with inflicting only a light Punishment. *Cassius* first demanded of them, as much Corn as he thought proper for the Subsistence of his Troops. Afterwards, a Poll-Tax was laid upon the whole Nation, which was likewise obliged to give unto the *Romans*, ten thousand Acres of arable Land. Thus was completed the first Conquest, which *Rome*, since it became a Republick, made of an entire Nation, which was formerly subdued by her *Kings*. Her Dominion now began to be enlarged: But how many Battels had she still to fight, in order to extend her Empire from East to West!

§. IV. WHILST *Cassius* signalized his Valour in *Sabinia*, *Virginus* was besieging *Camerium*. This City of *Latium*, in the Neighbourhood of *Alba*, had been subject to the *Romans*, almost from the very Foundation of *Rome*; *Romulus*, having made it a *Roman* Colony, about the fifth Year of his Reign. Since the Revolution, which changed the Monarchy into a Republick, *Camerium*, like all the other Nations, which formerly were subject to the *Roman Kings*, had revolted from the Republick; had lately refused to assist the *Romans* in their most urgent Occasions, and looked upon herself as a City delivered from the Yoke, and exempt from the ancient Conditions of her Alliance. It was in order to bring her back to her Duty, that *Virginus* led the half of the *Roman* Troops before the Place. Their March was kept secret by the *Consul*; who marched out in the Night, without the Knowledge of the neighbouring Nations, or of the *Camerini*. So that, early in the Morning, he shewed himself at the Foot of their Ramparts, and surprized the City, which was far from expecting a Siege. *Virginus*, even before he had formed his Camp, set the ¹¹ Battering-Ram to work, made a Breach in the Wall, and offered to scale it.

THE

Nothing perhaps makes it better appear, how defective an Author *Livy* is, than his Omission of this War with the *Sabines*. He does not lead the Mind gradually into that Series of Successes, by which *Rome* rose to its Grandeur; but compiled his History, rather like an Orator, than an exact and critical Writer. *Dion. Halicarn.* eclipses him much in the little Part of the History which he has handled. What pity it is, we have not the rest from the same good Hand!

Livy makes *Pometia* to be the City which was besieged by one of the *Consuls*, who at first met with an unlucky Accident before the Place, was dangerously wounded, and carried back to *Rome*; and afterwards returned with new Recruits, to make himself Master of the Town, which surrendered upon Terms, but nevertheless was destroyed. *Livy* did not foresee, that he was to tell us, that nine years after, *Pometia* was yet standing, and forced the *Romans* to retire from the Country of the *Volscei*. He even forgot, that *Pometia* was already demolished, and that *Suessa Pometia*, which had received the Inhabitants of it, and had added the Name of *Pometia* to that of *Suessa*, had been raised by *Tartarus* the Proud. This Historian here has jumbled and confounded every thing; and made a double contradiction, both in respect of what was past, and what was to come: for which Reason, we have not followed him. The same Writer adds, that the *Arunci*, who came to the Assistance of *Pometia*, were cut in pieces; that their principal Commanders were punished with Death; and the rest of the Prisoners exposed to publick Sale.

¹¹ The Battering Ram was a great wooden Beam, bound about with Iron at the End, or armed with a Head of Iron, representing that of a Ram. The Antients used it, to beat down the Walls of a City. *Vitruvius* ascribes the Invention of the Battering Ram to the *Carthaginians*. They made use, says he, of this sort of Battery at the Siege of *Cadiz*. At

first, it was only a mere Beam, or kind of Lever, which the Besiegers drove against the Walls, with repeated Blows, by Strength of Arm. *Pephasmenos*, a Carpenter of *Tyre*, taking the Hint from the first Tryal which was made of this Machine, fixed up a Mast of a Ship, to which he hung cross-ways by Cables and Iron Chains, on a huge Piece of Timber. This heavy, unwieldy Mass, poised and pushed with Violence, threw down the Walls of the City besieged. After this manner, as *Josephus* tells us, B. 3. the *Romans* set their Ram against *Jerusalem*. To guard the Machine, and those who worked it, from the Attacks of the Enemy, *Cetras* of *Chalcedon*, was the first who made a Lodgment in the Shape of a Penthouse, or Gallery, covered over with Skins soaked in Water, for fear of Fire. It went upon Wheels, that the Ram, which was hung up within, upon one or two Rafter, might be brought forward with greater Ease. This Lodgment, covered with a Roof, was afterwards call'd the *Ram-Tortoise*, either because its Motion was slow, according to *Vitruvius*; or, as *Vegetius* has observed, because the Machine resembled the Figure of a *Tortoise*, who carries his Head out of his Shell, and draws it in again, in like manner as the Head of the Ram moved out and in, as there was Occasion. Above the *Tortoise*, there was sometimes raised a Century-Box, in the Form of a Turret, where two Soldiers were posted, to observe the Motions of the Besieged. *Vitruvius* assures us, that *Polydus* of *Ibessaly*, perfected the *Tortoise* at the Siege, which *Philip* of *Macedon*, Son of *Amyntas*, laid to *Byzantium*. The Make and Disposition of the Machine was in this manner. He made a covered Gallery, thirty Cubits wide, and fifteen high, without reckoning the Roof, which it self was seven from the Platform to the Ridge. Over the Roof, he raised a little Tower, at least twelve Cubits wide. It contained four Stories, in the uppermost of which were put the *Scorpions*, and the *Catapults*. In the lower Stories was placed

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TRICOSTUS,
Consuls.

THE Fear which some of the *Camerini* had, that they should be put to Death and the Hopes which others entertain'd of a Pardon, made them of two very contrary Opinions: The one, was for appeasing the *Consul* by Submissions; the other for receiving his Attacks, and risking all, to preserve their Liberty. Whilst they were still deliberating, the *Consul* assaulted the Town in the weakest Place. He made a Breach in the Walls, broke down the Gates, scaled the Ramparts, and with Sword in Hand, made himself Master of the City. All that Day in which it was taken, and the Night following, the Houses were left to be plundered by the Soldiers. The Day after, the Citizens were all brought together; and when the *Lictors* had beheaded with their *Axes* the most guilty, the others were sold by Auction. As for the City, it was razed.

THE Expeditions of both the *Consuls* were glorious, but not rewarded with equal Honours. ¹² *Cassius* only triumph'd, notwithstanding what *Livy* says to the contrary. The Senate, no doubt, did not think that an Advantage gain'd with very little Danger, over rebellious Subjects, was to be compared with a decisive Victory, which reduc'd a formidable Nation under the Dominion of the *Romans*.

Year of
R O M E
CCLII.

POSTUMUS
COMINIUS,
and T. LARTIUS,
Consuls.

S. V. THE Union, so lately renew'd, between the *Roman* Republick and the *Sabines*, had like to have been broken in the Beginning of the Administration of the new *Consuls*, ¹³ *Postumus Cominius*, and *T. Lartius*. Publick Games were celebrated at *Rome*, at which the *Sabines* were present, who came to taste the Fruits of the Hospitality of their new Friends. But a Company of young *Sabines* combined together, to carry off ¹⁴ some *Roman* Girls of Pleasure, who made themselves free with the Strangers while they staid at *Rome*. Perhaps it might be only in Defence of the famous Rape of the *Sabines* managed formerly by *Romulus*, at the Time of a publick Shew: But whatever was the Motive, the *Roman* Youth could not bear either to be robb'd of the Objects of their Passions, or to have such ignominious Reprisals made upon them, after more than two Centuries. They run to their Arms, and had almost come to Blows; but however were quieted by the wisest of them, who thought such a light Prank too trifling an Occasion for a Quarrel. Nevertheless, the *Sabines*, from this Accident, entertain'd some Distrust of their new Friends, who wou'd not tamely suffer themselves to be insulted.

Livy, B. 2.
c. 18.

Dion. Hal.
B. 5. p. 316.

THE *Romans* had then upon their Hands a more important Affair than to revenge themselves upon a few Debauchees: *Mamilius*, *Tarquin's* Son-in-law, who was very zealous for the Restoration of his Father-in-law, and had great Interest among the *Latins*, did his Endeavours to make them take up Arms against *Rome*. We may remember, the *Latins* had made several Treaties with her in the Time of her Kings, by which they had oblig'd themselves to furnish her with as many auxiliary Troops as she shou'd require; and to give the Precedence to the *Romans* in the *Feriae Latinae*, or general Diets of the Nation. These general Assemblies were commonly held at *Ferentinum*, in the Temple of *Jupiter Latialis*. From the Time that *Rome* had chang'd her Form of Government, the *Latins* had carried Things very fair with her. If they had not declar'd themselves in her fa-

placed a great Quantity of Water, to extinguish the Fire which might be thrown from the Top of the Ramparts. *Vitruvius* makes the Length of the *Ram*, a hundred and six Feet; *Plutarch*, eighty only. The *Ram-Tortoise* is described in these Verses of *Propertius*:

*Dumque Aries cornu murum pulsabat abeno
Pincaque inductum longa tegebat opus.* 1. 4.

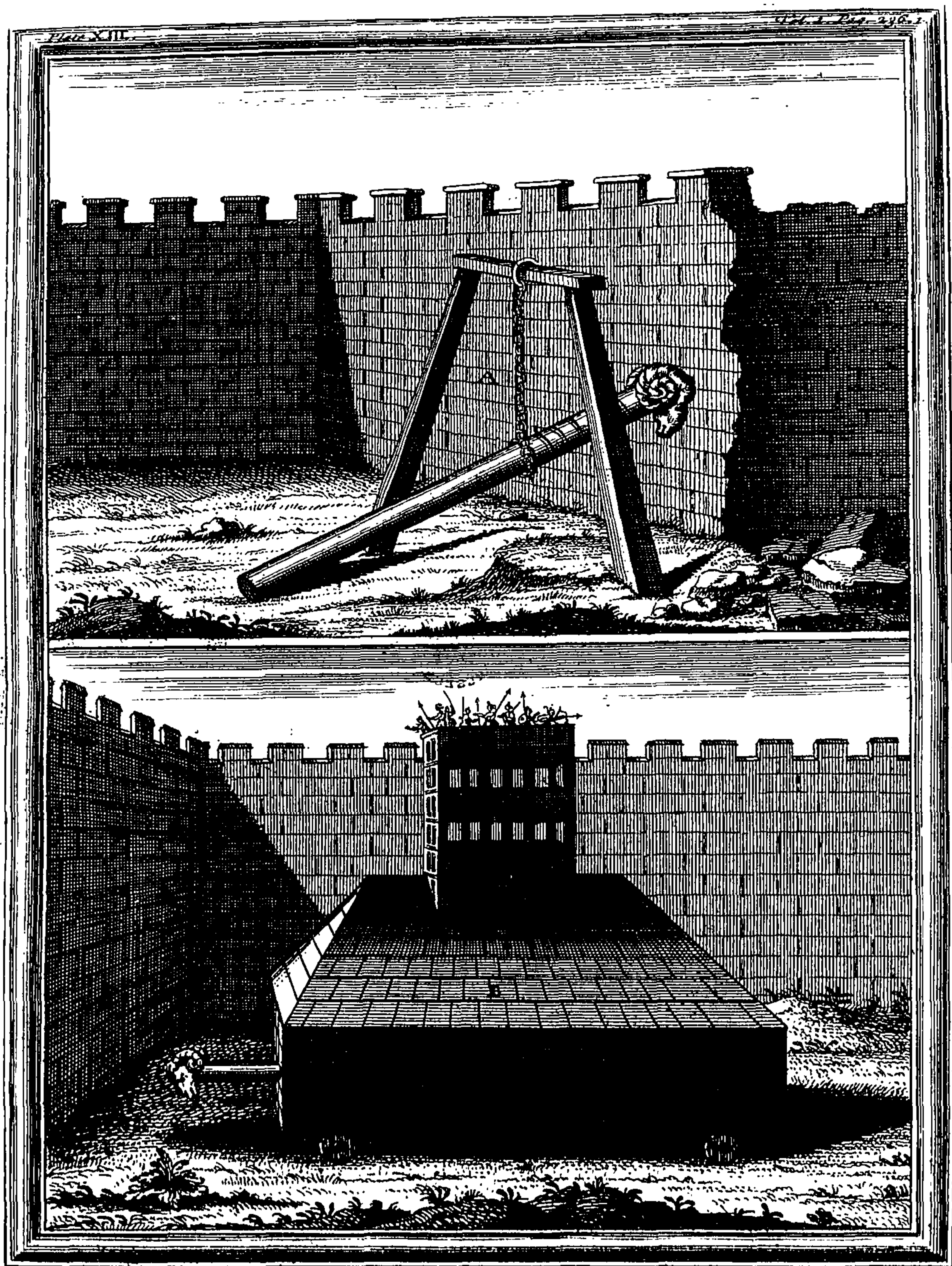
We have also given another manner of erecting the *Ram*, after *Hero*, *Vitruvius*, *Vegetius*, and *Justus Lipsius*, have expatiated upon the different Forms of this ancient Engine of War; but they all amount to the same thing. Those which we have here represented, will enable the Reader to form a Judgment of the rest.

¹² *Livy* assures us, that this Triumph was decreed to both *Consuls*; *Consules, magis ob iras graviter ultae, quam ob magnitudinem perfecti belli triumpharunt.* *Dion. Hal.* makes *Cassius* only triumph. This would be Authority for Authority; but the *Fasti Capitolini*, more to be credited in this Matter than

either, confirm the Account given by the *Greek* Historian. Under the Year 251, they mention only the Triumph of *Sp. Cassius*. This Mistake in *Livy* is but a Consequence of his other Errors; having doubtless, upon this Year, consulted but bad Memoirs.

¹³ All agree, that these two *Consuls* were in Office in the Year of which we are speaking. We find *Cuspinian*, and *Valerius Maximus*, that the Summe of *Cominius* was *Auruncus*. That of *T. Lartius* was *Rufus* or *Flavus*, according to the *Sicilian* *Chronologists*, and *Dion. Hal.*; no doubt, because his Name was of the same Colour with his Brother's *Sp. Lartius*, who had been already *Consul*; that is, was inclining to red.

¹⁴ *Justus Lipsius* and *Bulenger* have falsely imagined, that by these debauched Girls, *Livy* intended to speak of such as were appointed to act a lascivious Part upon the Stage, in the Satyrical Pieces. This Mistake in Chronology is not to be pardoned; since as *Gruter* has observed, the Diversions of the Stage were not yet in Use among the *Romans*.



A. *Another way of hanging the Ram.* ———
 B. *The Ram-Tortoise invented by Polidus of Theffaly*

four, they had at least held an even Balance between the Republick and the Friends of *Tarquin*: Which Neutrality of the *Latins* could not be accounted a Re-
sult. But now, *Mamilius* thought to make them declare in Favour of the exil'd
Party. He had solicited the principal Deputies in the last Diet, and prevail'd up-
on them, either by Promises or Entreaties, to interpose for the Restoration of
King *Tarquin*. In vain did *M. Valerius*, the Brother of *Poplicola*, who had for-
merly been *Consul*, go over the Cities of the *Latins*, and endeavour by a more
masterly Management to defeat that of *Mamilius*. He foresaw from that time,
that the Interests of his Republick wou'd not prevail against that of the *Tarquins*,
in an Assembly where *Rome* had not so much as been invited to send her De-
puties. Nay, some *Latins*, privately arm'd by the Nobles of the Country,
had already committed Ravages in the *Roman* Territory. So that these Be-
ginnings of Hostilities, and the general Disposition in which *Valerius* found the
People of *Latium*, made him expect nothing favourable to the *Romans*. The
Diet was held at *Ferentinum*. *Valerius* came thither as Deputy of *Rome*, and de-
manded the chief Seat, as his Place. He reminded the *Latins* of their antient
Treaties, mention'd the Favours they had receiv'd from the *Romans*, and complain'd
of the Breach of an Alliance written upon Brass, and ratified in the most sacred
Manner by Religion. But to these Complaints, the *Aricini* oppos'd the Breach
which *Rome* had made of these solemn Treaties, with Regard to them; pretend-
ing, that it was only at the Instigation of the *Romans* that the Son of *Porfena*
had attack'd *Aricia*, a City of the *Latins*. It was by your Intrigues, said they,
that all the Latin Nation had like to have become a Prey to Hetruria. The Friends of
Tarquin likewise insisted, that the Treaties made with and by him, should be ob-
serv'd; and urg'd, that the *Latin* Confederacy had been concluded with the King,
and not with the Republick. Besides, the Inhabitants of *Camerium* and *Fidenæ*
complain'd to the Diet, the one, of the sacking of their City; the other, of the
Slavery to which *Rome* had reduc'd their Fellow-Citizens. The whole Assembly
was in a Flame. *Mamilius* kindled it by his Speeches and Clamours: and in vain
did *Valerius* endeavour to extinguish it. The Goodness of his Cause, and the Rea-
sons he laid before them serv'd only to make them defer the Decision. The Assembly
cou'd come to no Determination the whole Day, but was adjourn'd to the Day fol-
lowing; and then it kept no Measures with *Rome*. *Valerius* was excluded the Diet,
and only the *Tarquins* and *Mamilius* permitted to lay their Grievances before it.
The *Aricini* were heard, their Conjectures were taken for Proofs; the *Romans*
were deem'd guilty of having broke the Confederacy; and lastly, it was ordered,
that the Assembly should deliberate more largely upon the Manner in which they
should avenge it upon them. Upon which, *Valerius* was told, that he was to ac-
cuse his Republick, That the *Latins* renounc'd all Intercourse with her; and,
that the Ties by which they were attach'd to *Rome*, in the Time of her Kings, were
broken by the Change which she had introduc'd in her Form of Government.

WHEN it was known that the Republick was to be plunged again in a new
War, there was a general Commotion at *Rome*. She saw that she was oblig'd to
be for ever in Arms: Every Enemy she conquer'd rais'd up a more formidable
one: And, as an additional Misfortune, a Spirit of Mutiny began to creep into
the City it self; without doubt, thro' the Weakness of the *Consuls* for the Year.
It was first rais'd by a Conspiracy of the vilest Members of the Republick: A
certain Number of Slaves combined together to seize the Citadel, and the Towers
of the City, and to set Fire to the Town in several Quarters. Their Plot was in-
stantly discover'd; but this Example prov'd contagious. We shall soon see the *Citi-
zens* of *Rome* raising Seditions, and promising themselves better Success than
they attend'd their Slaves. The latter were prevented by posting the Cavalry in the
Places they intended to seize. The Guilty were taken from their Masters Houses,
and from the publick Places, and, after having been beaten with Rods, were all
crucified 15.

IN

15 Every one knows, that at *Rome* the Cross was
the Punishment for Slaves. All Antiquity agrees
in this, and *Juvenal* says it exprelly, in these Words:

*Pone Crucem servo. Meruit quo crimine servus
Supplicium?*

Yet the Masters were not permitted to crucify their
Slaves by their own Authority. The Sentence of
a Judge was necessary. At *Rome* the Magistrates,
who were called the *Trium-viri Capitaes*, con-
demn'd the Slaves. In the Provinces, this Right
belong'd

P p p

Year of
R O M E
CCLII.
~~~~~  
POSTUMUS  
COMINIUS,  
and T. LARTI-  
US, Consuls.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCLII.

POSTUMUS  
COMINIUS,  
and T. LAR-  
TIUS, Consuls.  
Liv. B. 2. c. 18.

It was in these Circumstances, which the Senate judged critical, that it first thought of creating a <sup>16</sup> *Dictator*; that is, a Magistrate whose Authority should be absolute, and differ from that of the *Kings*, in this Point only, that it should be temporary, and last but six Months. The Rumour of this Project was spread among the neighbouring Nations; and it alarm'd the *Sabines* <sup>17</sup>, and made them think of Peace in earnest. <sup>18</sup> As to the *Romans*, they gave their Design Time to ripen, and reserv'd the Execution of it for a more difficult Conjunction <sup>19</sup>. The *Consuls Postumus Cominius*, and *T. Lartius*, very probably ended their Year without having a Superior.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLIII.

SERV. SULPI-  
TIUS, and MA-  
NIUS TULLI-  
US, Consuls.  
Dion. Hal.  
B. 5. p. 318.

§. VI. But the principal Governors of the *Latins* had enter'd into too strict an Alliance with *Tarquin*, to remain long unactive. Under the *Consuls* of the following Year <sup>20</sup>, who were *Serv. Sulpitius*, and *Manius Tullius*, the Princes of the *Latin* Nation propos'd an Expedition, which might have brought on a War: But it met with Opposition from the People. For altho' the Assembly of the Nobles of *Latium* had renounc'd the Alliance of *Rome*, yet the richest Citizens were displeas'd with a Rupture, the Consequences of which they foresaw. They knew that the Nobility of their Country had join'd the *Tarquins*, only in Hopes of

belong'd to the Presidents, such as was *Pontius Pilate*, at *Jerusalem*. Those who were to be crucified, were led out of the City, carrying upon their Necks an Inscription, which declar'd the Cause of their Death. They were fasten'd to the Cross with four Nails, as we read in these Lines of *Plautus*.

*Ego dubo ei Talentum, primus qui in crucem  
excucurrerit,*

*Sed eâ lege, ut affgantur bis pedes, bis brachia.*  
Most.

<sup>16</sup> It is a Question much disputed, whether the Senate actually created a *Dictator* at this time, or delay'd it for three Years longer. *Dion. Hal.* mentions no *Dictator* at *Rome*, till the Year 255. *Livy* doubts if there was not one in the Year 253. *Eusebius*, *Entropius*, and *Cassiodorus*, follow this last Opinion; but, as it often happens, they expressly affirm, what their Guide asserts dubiously. I have taken the Medium between these two Opinions, and believe that the Senate then thought of creating a *Dictator*, and that the Rumour of it was spread abroad. This Opinion, in other respects, is agreeable to the Expressions of *Livy*: *Dictatoris primum creandi mens est orta. Mention was made of it, says he, but with regard to the putting it in Execution, it is not certain when that was done*; His Words are, *Sed nec quo anno nec quibus Consulibus, necquis primus Dictator creatus sit, satis constat*. But what *Livy* was ignorant of, *Dion. Hal.* appears to have known. He, without Hesitation, places the first *Dictatorship* of *Rome* under the Year of *Rome* 256, according to his Way of computing, which answers to the Year 255, according to the Computation which we follow, for the Reasons we have formerly given.

<sup>17</sup> At the News of a *Dictator*, according to *Livy*, the *Sabines* were alarm'd, thinking that *Rome* was preparing to revenge the Insult which was committed during the publick Games, in respect to those disorderly Girls which the *Sabine* Youth had resolv'd to carry away from the *Romans*. They believ'd that the Republick was going to unite all her Forces against them, to have Satisfaction for this Outrage. They thought seriously therefore upon preventing the Storm, and sent Deputies, who in the Name of all, implor'd the Clemency of the *Dictator* and Senate in Behalf of the Guilty. They were answer'd, that *Rome* intended less against the young Fellows, carried away by the Heat of Youth, than against the Magistrates of their Nation, who were incessantly sowing Seeds of Division; but that however Peace should be granted to the *Sabines*, upon Condition that they wou'd indemnify the Republick for the Charges of the last War. The Condition was not accepted; and from that Time both Sides prepar'd for taking the Field. Never-

theless, Hostilities did not commence till the Year after. This Account is so oddly related in *Livy*, and is so doubtful, as to its principal Circumstance, which concerns the Fact of the *Dictatorship* of *Titus Lartius*, that I have not judg'd it proper to venture it in the Body of this History. Besides, *Dion. Hal.* tells us nothing of it.

<sup>18</sup> However undetermin'd *Livy* appears in fixing precisely the Beginning of the *Dictatorship*, yet upon the Credit of the antient Memoirs which he had in his Hands, he is inclin'd to believe that *Titus Lartius*, the present *Consul*, was dignified with that Office; and not *Manius Valerius*, as some, and among others *Festus*, have advanc'd, without Ground. *Manius Valerius* had not yet obtain'd the *Consulship*. Now, by an express Law, which had been in Force above an hundred and fifty Years, it was enjoin'd, that none but Persons of *Consular* or *Patrician* Rank, shou'd be rais'd to the *Dictatorship*. So that the *Plebeians*, as yet, had no Part in it. And even the *Dictatorship* of *Titus Lartius*, whatever *Livy* may say of it, appears as chimerical, with regard to the Year we are in, as that of *Manius Valerius*.

<sup>19</sup> Here *Livy*, going upon the Supposition that a *Dictator* was created in the two hundred and fifty third Year of *Rome*, assures us that the People were under Apprehensions at the Sight of the *Dictator*, who, arm'd with their *Axes* and *Fasces*, guarded *Titus Lartius*. A Power almost sovereign lodg'd in one single Person, appear'd formidable to them, in Comparison of the *Consular* Authority, which it was difficult for either of the *Consuls* to abuse, without meeting with some Opposition from his Collegue. This is what *Livy* says of the Matter; but it must be granted, that since the Time when the first *Dictator* was created is uncertain, this may reasonably make us doubt of the Truth of a Relation, which depends upon it.

<sup>20</sup> The Surname of *Sulpitius* was *Camerinus*, and that of *Tullius* was *Longus*. *Tullius's* *Prænomen* was *Manius*. *Cicero* mentions him in his *Brutus*, and owns that he had not the Honour to be descended from this *Tullian* Family, which, he says, was *Patrician*, and furnished the Republick with a *Consul*, in the tenth Year after the Expulsion of the *Kings*. The *Prænomen* then of this *Consul Tullius* was *Manius*. As the *Prænomen* were often written with only the initial Letter, as *M.* is put for that of *Tullius*; and as moreover this initial *M.* might as well stand for *Marcus*, as *Manius*, the *Fast Capitolini*, and several Manuscripts, add an Apotrophe to the *M.* to shew it signifies *Manius*, in this manner, *M'*; and they omit it in the Initials of the *Prænomen Marcus*. The *Prænomen Manius* was given to the Children who were born in the Morning, from the Word *Manc*.



making themselves considerable during the War; of enjoying the chief Posts in the Army; and of making themselves Tyrants over their Districts, after they had restor'd Tyranny in *Rome*. The *Latin* People therefore murmur'd at this new Expedition, which wou'd expose them to the Danger of a War, with a City in Alliance with them, and invincible. The Scheme of the Nobles was to begin with so bold an Attack upon the *Roman* State, as should raise the Spirits, and lessen the Fears, of the People

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NIUS TULLI-  
US, Consuls.

THE *Fidenates* had a violent Inclination to revolt; though often chastiz'd by the *Romans*, and, in spite of the Garrison, which was a Check upon them, many of them thought of nothing but shaking off the Yoke. This *Tarquin*, and the Heads of the *Latins*, knew; and resolv'd to take Advantage of it. To seize upon *Fidenæ*, was to fix themselves at the Gates of *Rome*. They therefore took Care to secure Correspondents in that City; and it was agreed, that the Citizens of their Faction shou'd make themselves Masters of the principal Posts, and by the Assistance of the Troops which shou'd be sent them, drive out the *Roman* Garrison, and all such as were well affected to the Republick. Which Measures were so well concerted, that the Design succeeded. In vain did the Deputies of *Rome* endeavour to dissuade the Rebels from their Design. The most seditious Citizens were for putting them to Death, or confining them; the most moderate only for driving them out of the City. So that *Rome* was enraged at these violent Proceedings, and *Tullius* marched with a great Army against the *Fidenates*. The Plunder of their Country was the least Punishment they had deserv'd: And they were closely invested by the *Romans*, who entrench'd themselves all round their Walls, and thereby reduc'd them to so great an Extremity, that, without an extraordinary Assistance from the *Latins*, it was difficult for them to escape Destruction. But nevertheless, their Allies, were as slow in granting them Succours, as the *Fidenates* had been hasty in coming into *their* Measures. A new general Council, not only of the Nobles, but also of the Deputies of all the *Latin* Cities, was called: In which it was consider'd, whether it was proper to break the antient Treaties made with *Rome*, and whether Relief shou'd be sent to the *Fidenates*. The Nobility voted in Favour of the besieged City, and of the *Tarquins*. The rich Citizens declar'd in Favour of *Rome*. And at length, after much Debate, the Nobles obtain'd this at least, That an Embassy shou'd be sent to the Republick, to offer her two Propositions. The first was, That she should receive the *Tarquins*, after having obliged them by Oath, to grant a general Pardon for all the Attempts made against the regal Authority; the second, That she should raise the Siege of *Fidenæ*: And the Council granted the *Romans* a Year to deliberate upon them.

HOWEVER, *Tarquin* was too wise to build all his Hopes upon mere Conferences. He foresaw, that the *Senate* wou'd refuse, with Disdain, to receive Laws from a People to whom it had been used to give them: And his principal View was to take the Opportunity of this Embassy, to raise a Sedition in *Rome*. To the Ambassadors therefore of the *Latins*, he join'd some of his own emissaries, and among others, two of his own Name, who were descended from a Branch of the *Tarquins*, settled at *Laurentum*. *Publius* and *Marcus*, as the two Brothers were called, followed the Embassy, and were furnish'd with a great Sum of Money. <sup>21</sup> When they were come to *Rome*, they found two Sorts of People, disposed to enter into their Measures; the Slaves, and the meanest Citizens. The whole Body of the Slaves were enraged at the severe Punishment which was inflicted the Year before upon their Companions; and *Rome* had a Distrust of them, and kept her Eye upon them. But they alone were not thought sufficient to execute the Project which was laid by the *Tarquins*. They engaged indeed the Slaves, but entrusted to them only the Execution of the tragical Action, which was intended. The two Heads of the Conspiracy sought likewise among the vilest of the Citizens for some of those factious and bold Men, who are easily brib'd into dangerous Enterprizes, by small Presents, and fine Promises. Tho' Freemen and Citizens of *Rome*, their Dispositions, and the Qualities of their Mind were no better than those of the Slaves. These were the Conspirators pitch'd upon, and to them

*Dion. Hal.*  
*E. 5. p. 319.*

<sup>21</sup> *Livy* says nothing more of the Consuls *Servius Sulpicius*, and *Manius Tullius*, than that nothing memorable happen'd during the Year of their Consulship. We may judge of the Incorrectness of the

*Latin* Historian, by the important Facts which, after *Dion. Hal.* we place under this Year, and which *Livy* has either wholly omitted, or misplaced.



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were given the following Parts to act. These seditious Citizens were first to make themselves Masters of the Ramparts and Gates of the City, at an appointed Time in the Night; then to raise a great Cry from every Part of *Rome*, as a Signal to the Slaves, who lay round about their Masters, and who had engaged to massacre them at the same Instant: And the *Tarquins*, who were to be in Ambush at several Gates, which were to be opened to them, were to enter *Rome*, while it was yet reeking with the Blood of the Senators, and of the other Republican Magistrates.

§. VII. It is almost incredible! but yet it happened, that not one of so great a Number of vile and mercenary Men, betrayed the Secret. A Heathen Author here attributes the Preservation of *Rome*, to the Providence of God, which, to his Time, he tells us, *had taken this virtuous People under its Protection*. He adds, that it so terrified the two Heads of the Conspiracy, by nightly Visions, and frightful Dreams, that they were forced to become themselves the Informers of a Crime, of which they were the Authors. It must be own'd, that Conscience has very surprising Effects upon the Hearts of the most audacious Villains. It fills their Souls with Fear; and the Impressions it makes upon them in the Day-time, dwell upon their Imagination in the Night. The Disturbances it occasions in a Man's Mind, are often stronger than his most violent Passions, and so stifle them, as to make him sacrifice his most important Interests. Such was the Power of it at this time over the two *Tarquins*. They thought themselves surrounded with Furies, and had recourse to the Diviner. Without discovering the Secret of the Conspiracy, they asked him only in general, what Success they might expect, in a Project they were upon. It is likely, the wild Looks and Air of Concern which appeared in the two Strangers, gave room enough to conjecture, that they were troubled with frightful Thoughts. *Your Projects*, replied the Diviner, *will end in your Ruin. Disburthen yourselves of so heavy a load*. Upon which, the two *Tarquins* needed no more to make them betray the Party they had formed. Fearing lest some one of the Conspirators should be beforehand with them in informing, they went immediately to *S. Sulpicius*, the only *Consul* who remained at *Rome*. *Sulpicius* received their Depositions with great Marks of Benevolence; and moreover made them Promises, detained them in his House, made secret Enquiries, and kept a profound Silence. When he was assured of the Truth of their Report, the *Consul* hastened to assemble the Senate. The Ambassadors of the *Latins* were called in, to have their Audience of Leave: And the Answer which the Senate made to their Proposals, had in it a Mixture of Politeness and Pride. *It is surprizing*, said they to the Ambassadors, *that the Latins, our Friends, our Confederates, and tied to us by so many reciprocal Marriages, should attack the Liberty of a City which is attached to them, and demand, with Menaces, the Restoration of her Tyrants. What Blood have we not spilt, to preserve our recovered Liberty? What Extremities have we not suffered, that we might not fall back again under a Government we detest? Porcena, and his Hetrurians, were affected with them, and the Equity of our Cause prevailed over their Engagements. As to our raising the Siege of Fidenæ, which you demand, with Threats of War in case of Refusal, this is only a frivolous Pretence, to give Countenance to your Hatred. Let it therefore break out! Let it shew it self! Rome will not want Means to turn the fatal Effects of it upon her Aggressors*. After this Answer, the Ambassadors were conducted back out of the City, and the Senate continued their Consultations.

THE most important Matter before them, was the Conspiracy, which was then first made known to the Senators by the *Consul*. The Enormity of the Crime struck them with Horror: But, that they might not be embarrassed with passing a capital Sentence, which by the Law of *Poplicola*, was reserved to the People in the *dernier Recours*, they laid upon the *Consul* the difficult Task of finding out Ways to punish the Guilty. And *Sulpicius* behaved himself wisely in so nice an Affair. To have taken the Conspirators from their Families, by Force; or to have made a search for them, thro' the different Quarters of *Rome*, would have made the whole City rise up in Arms, and would have kindled a Flame, which might be attended with fatal Consequences. Besides, what other Evidence was there of the Crime, than the Testimony of two Strangers, which might be excepted against, by the *Roman Citizens*? The Plot indeed was certain, but the Proof of it difficult; especially before Citizens inclined to maintain the Interests of one another. These Inconveniences were there-  
fore



fore remedied by an innocent Stratagem. Out of the Senate, who kept the Secret inviolable, no body knew at *Rome*, that an Insurrection was intended: and the Conspirators themselves were ignorant of the Discovery of their Plot. Upon these Grounds, *Sulpicius* thought he could make use of the Service of the Accusers, to make the Crime of their Accomplices apparent. He engaged <sup>22</sup> the two Brothers to assemble the Heads of the Revolt, as if they were to take the last Measures with them, about the Execution of the Enterprize. The *Rendezvous* was appointed in the *Forum*, precisely at Midnight. In the mean time, the Senators were desired to get together their Friends and Clients, each in his Quarter, and to take Possession afterwards of the Bulwarks of the City. The Cavalry had Orders to march, upon the first Signal, to the Entry of the Streets which led into the *Forum*. Nor was this all. The *Consul* wrote to his Collegue at the Camp before *Fidenæ*, to come secretly to *Rome* with a Detachment of his Troops, and to enter it silently before Midnight: And these good Orders were executed. The most considerable of the Faction, on the other hand, run to the Place of Assignment: so warm and eager do Men often appear in a bad Cause! In an instant, the Conspirators were met in the Place where the *Comitia* were held, and immediately they saw themselves invested on every Side, without any Place of Refuge, without any Means to escape. As soon as it was light, the two *Consuls* appeared upon their Tribunal; and without delay, convened the People by *Curia*, in the usual Place of Meeting. While they were assembling, the Senate made a Decree, by which the Privilege of *Roman Citizens* was granted to the two Informers, and a Reward was assigned them of a hundred thousand *Asses*, and twenty Acres of Land in Fee. And lastly, the Seditious were condemned to Death, if the People consented. The Guilty were convicted beyond Dispute, not one of them had the Boldness to deny his Crime. So that the Decree of the Senate was confirmed by the Voices of the People. The Populace then had Orders to retire; and the Seditious, those unworthy Citizens, together with those barbarous Slaves, who, by the Murder of their Masters, were to restore Monarchy in *Rome*, were delivered up to the Soldiers, and put to the Sword. This was a considerable Service done by *Sulpicius*; and it was thought to be of great Importance to his Country. Doubtless, he deserved the Honours of a Triumph for it: But warlike *Rome* regarded little else at that time but military Virtues. 'Twas from these principally, that she expected her Glory and Greatness.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLIII.  
SERV. SULPICIUS, and  
MANIUS TULLIUS, Consuls.

THE *Romans* had yet been far from punishing all the Conspirators with Death; but nevertheless they judged not proper to carry their Enquiries any farther. The Peace of *Rome* was thought to be sufficiently secured, by this single Instance of Severity: and nothing now remained, but to testify their Gratitude to the Gods, for the Protection, for which the Republick thought it self obliged to them. The Senate made a Decree, commanding that the City should be purged by Expiations, Victims sacrificed by Way of Thanksgiving, and Publick Games celebrated. Three Festival Days were appointed, for these three different religious Ceremonies; but an Accident interrupted the Pleasure of the Games, and turned them into a melancholy Show. *Tullius* was carried upon a Chariot in the *Circus*, and the People were conducting him back in Pomp to his House, when he fell from his Chariot, and died three Days after. The Year of his *Consulship* was almost expired; so that his Collegue continued alone in Office. *Sulpicius* had lately signalized his Zeal for the Republick; and could not be suspected of being capable of forming ambitious Designs against it.

§.VIII. *FIDENÆ* remained blocked up, in the <sup>23</sup> new *Consulship* of *T. Æbutius*

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLIV.  
T. ÆBUTIVS, and  
P. VETURIUS, Consuls.

<sup>22</sup> It is difficult to conjecture, from what Branch of the *Tarquins*, these two Brothers, *Publius* and *Marcus*, were descended. *Tarquin the Proud* had no Brother but *Arunc*; and all the *Roman Writers* allow him to have had but four Sons, *Sextus*, *Arunc*, *Lucius*, and *Titus*. Perhaps *Publius* and *Marcus* were the Sons of *Arunc*, Brother of King *Tarquin the Proud*; and retired to *Laurentium*, after the Death of their Father, to avoid the Persecution of their Uncle.

<sup>23</sup> There is always something to remark upon the Names, *Prenomina*, and Surnames of the *Consuls*. They are not always uniformly related by the Greek or *Latin Authors*. For instance, *Cassiodorus*,

in his List, gives *Æbutius* the *Prenomen* of *Titus*; and *Dion. Halicarn.* changes it into *Publius*. The Name of *Veturius* is changed by *Cassiodorus*, into *Vetutius*: because antiently, the *R*, in Pronunciation and Writing, especially when it came between two Vowels, was changed into an *S*. Thus, *Aurelius* and *Papirius* were read and pronounced, *Anselius* and *Papisius*. As for the Surname of *Veturius*, it was *Geminus*: and that of *Æbutius*, was *Elva*. The *Prenomen Titus* is said to come from *Titulus*, or *Tutulus*, which in old *Latin* signified a Soldier. As for the Meaning of the Surname *Elva*, I am entirely ignorant of it.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCLIV.

T. ÆBUTIUS,  
and P. VETU-  
RIUS, Consuls.

*tius*, and *P. Veturius* <sup>24</sup>. *P. Veturius* <sup>25</sup> was sent to the Army, to supply the Place of *M. Tullius*; whilst *Æbutius* staid at *Rome*, to govern a Populace easily seduced, and always ready to make Insurrections. The *Romans*, in the Choice of their *Consuls*, had at this time respect to the present State of their Affairs. They elected one of them as a popular and peaceable Man, to govern *Rome*, already shaken by the last Sedition; the other, a Warrior, to finish the Wars which were begun, and carry on new ones. *Veturius* came to the Camp before *Fidenæ*, made some Attempts upon the Place; but at last resolved only to invest it. Nevertheless in spite of his Precautions and Care, a considerable Body of *Latins*, with a Convoy of Provisions, entered the City, very seasonably for the *Fidenates*, who were pressed with Hunger, and almost reduced to Despair: and such was their Confidence in this Recruit, that they thought themselves in a Condition to leave the Town, and to take the Field. This was giving the *Romans* a great Advantage; because they had a Courage and Experience in Battels, which rendered them invincible. The *Consul* attacked the united Troops of the *Fidenates* and *Latins*, at the Foot of their Ramparts, and forced the former to retreat within their Walls. The Nearness of the Place prevented the Battel's being bloody; but at least it occasioned the Desertion of the *Latins*. These auxiliary Troops had no Mind to be shut up within the City, and to undergo the Fatigues and Distresses of a Siege. *Fidenæ* then was reduced to her first Misfortunes, but yet held out for some time; the Activity of the *Consul* being turned another Way. He <sup>26</sup> went to take *Crustumerium*, a City situated between the *Tyber* and the *Anio*: and to complete his good Fortune, *Præneste* <sup>27</sup> left the Party of the *Latins*, and submitted to the *Romans*. The *Tarquins* then, by Way of Reprisal, attempted to surprize *Signia*, a new *Roman* Colony; but being repulsed by the Garrison which defended it, and the Succours the *Consul* sent to it, they were forced to raise the Siege.

Livy, B. 2.  
ch. 19.  
Year of  
R O M E  
CCLV.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 5. p. 324.  
T. LARTIUS,  
and Q. CLOE-  
LIUS, Consuls.

§. IX. The first Care of the Republick, after the Choice of <sup>28</sup> two new *Consuls*, *T. Lartius*, and *Q. Clælius*, was to put an End to the long Siege, which detained its Troops about *Fidenæ*. *Lartius* was both a good Politician, and a great Soldier; and *Clælius* appeared born for the Administration of Affairs, in Times of Peace. The former therefore was sent to the Camp; the latter remained at *Rome*, with a Part of the Troops. The Blockade of *Fidenæ* was then turned into a Siege, which *T. Lartius* carried on with all the Vigour and Skill of a great General. Day and Night he kept the Inhabitants in play, who were already fatigued with Labour, and wasted by Want. Sometimes he crected Machines, as high as the Top of their Towers; sometimes he raised *Cavaliers*, or high Platforms, from which he commanded the City; and sometimes he undermined the Ramparts. The Besiegers had nothing to fear from the *Latins*. None of their Cities was in a Condition to send sufficient Succours to *Fidenæ*; nor had the Body of the Nation yet declared against *Rome*. In the mean time, the Besieged flattered themselves daily with the Hopes of a speedy Relief: and in their Extremity, they formed two Projects, neither of which succeeded. To hasten the Relief, they deputed to the *Latins*, Men agreeable to that Nation; and they sent to the *Consul*, to demand a Truce for some Days, to deliberate, as they said, upon the Articles of their Capitulation. But *Lartius* was

<sup>24</sup> Till this time, *Livy* has said nothing of the Siege of *Fidenæ*; believing, contrary to the Opinion of *Dion. Hal.* that this Siege was not begun, till the Consulship of *Titus Æbutius*, and *Publius Veturius*.

<sup>25</sup> It is very probable, that this *Consul* was the same, who was made first *Quæstor* of *Rome*, with *M. Minucius*, under the first Consulship of *Poplicola*. *Plutarch* calls him *Publius Veturius*. In the bad Editions of *Livy*, he is called *Caius*.

<sup>26</sup> The Account of this Siege is from *Livy*. He does not say indeed, that the City was taken by one of the *Consuls*; but all military Expeditions were at that time carried on by them. Besides, we should find the *Consul's* Army inactive, after the Battel he had gained. To speak freely, I much doubt this Invasion of *Crustumerium*, which *Livy* only relates, and of which *Dion. Hal.* speaks not a Word. *Crustumerium* was a City of the *Sabines*. How is it likely, that the *Romans*, just upon the breaking out of a great War with the *Latins*, as *Livy* acknow-

ledges, would have provoked the *Sabines* to revolt, by taking their Towns?

<sup>27</sup> *Præneste* was a City of antient *Latium*. According to *Pliny*, it was formerly called *Stephanæ*. It was extended from the Top of a high Mountain, to the Valley. We may yet see some Remains of that famous Temple, dedicated to *Fortune*: in which she was consulted, by casting Lots. *Florus* and *Appian* place it among the finest Cities of *Italy*. *Præneste* was about twenty-one Miles distant from *Rome*. *Palestrina*, which gives Name to a Bishop's See, was built upon the Ruins of the antient *Præneste*.

<sup>28</sup> All the Historians, and all the Lists of *Consuls*, agree, to join together those whom we have named as Collegues, in this Consulship. To *T. Lartius*, *Dion. Hal.* gives the Surname of *Flavus*; and *Cassiodorus*, that of *Rufus*: which amounts to the same thing. Both Authors concur, in giving the Surname of *Siculus* to *Q. Clælius*.

informed



Year of  
R O M E  
CCLV.  
T. LARTIUS,  
and Q. CLOE-  
LIUS, Consuls.

informed of their Under-hand Dealings with the *Latins*, and refused to enter into Treaty with the *Fidenates*, till they had opened their Gates, and submitted themselves to their old Masters. In the mean time, the Deputies could not return to *Fidena*. The *Consul* had blocked up all the Avenues to it, and the Besieged had no other Remedy, than to have recourse to the Clemency of the *Romans*. It was determined therefore, to surrender at Discretion.

*LARTIUS*, now become Master of the Place, pronounced nothing upon the Fate of the Rebels. Like a good *Roman* Citizen, he left it to the Republick to pass Sentence upon the Conquered: and the Senate, in Return, charmed with an Example of Moderation, which, in the Sequel, might serve for a Law to the *Roman* Generals, decreed, that the Heads of the Revolt only should be punished with Death. With regard to the rest, the Senate referred it entirely to the Wisdom of the *Consul*; and *Lartius* made a moderate Use of his Power. A few of the *Fidenates* were beheaded. The rest remain'd in their native City, and suffered only the Loss of a Part of their Lands; which were given to the *Roman* Soldiers who were left to keep the City in Awe.

§. X. THE Surrender of *Fidena* struck a Terror among the *Latins*. They had de- lay'd to succour it, and regretted its Loss, after it was taken. The *Latin* Republick was much inferior, in Point of Wisdom, to the *Roman*. All the *Latins* were extremely concern'd that they had neglected the *Fidenates*, who were useful Allies, serv'd as a Barrier against the *Romans*, and cover'd the *Latin* Nation from their Invasions: and <sup>29</sup> the *Tarquins*, *Mamilius*, and the *Aricini*, all implacable Enemies to *Rome*, took Advantage of these Moments of Fear, to re-unite the *Latins*, once for all, against the prosperous Republick. In the Diet of *Ferentinum* they managed with so much Dexterity, as to engage <sup>30</sup> all the *Latin* Cantons in their Party. They made the Deputies of the Cities swear an universal Confederacy against *Rome*; and all of them bound themselves by Oath, never to make Peace with the *Romans*. Moreover, it was agreed, that whoever acted contrary to an Article in which they were all so much concern'd, should be separated from the Body of the Nation, and look'd upon as a common Enemy. And lastly, it was order'd that every Canton shou'd furnish, for its Quota, as many armed Men as should be required by *Tarquin* and *Mamilius*, who were appointed by the Diet to command the Army. The *Latin* Nation however still kept some Measures with *Rome*: And sent an Embassy thither, consisting of the principal Heads of their several Cantons. The Ambassadors, when they had Audience of the Senators, complain'd of the Proceedings of *Rome* against the *Aricini*. 'Twas the *Romans*, said they, who turned against *Aricia*, the Fury of the *Hetrurians*, after it had long threatened *Rome* it self. According to them, it was not owing to *Rome*, that it had not savaged the whole *Latin* Country: and they added, that if the *Romans* wou'd submit the Quarrel which they had with *Aricia*, to the Decision of the *Latin* Diet, they might prevent the dreadful War with which they were threatened.

It must be own'd, that *Rome* was never in so terrible a Perplexity. To submit to the Judgment of the *Latins*, was to give up the Dominion the *Romans* had acquir'd by Arms, over the neighbouring Nations. To refuse it, was to run the Risque of being born down by the Strength of a whole Nation much more powerful than *Rome*. She could reckon upon her Valour, but had Reason to fear the Numbers of the Confederates. Nevertheless, the bold Republick rejected the

<sup>29</sup> We have already taken notice, that, according to *Dion. Hal. Sextus Tarquinius*, that infamous Rafter of the chaste *Lucretia*, was alive in this War, and had the Conduct of it. Yet if we believe *Livy*, he was killed at *Gabii*, in the 244<sup>th</sup> Year of *Rome*. This Difference of Opinions has made us use the general Expression, *The Tarquins*.

<sup>30</sup> *Livy* only says, that thirty *Latin* Cities were in the Confederacy against *Rome*. But *Dion. Hal.* who is always exact in his Relations, gives us a List of these Cities. It would have tired the Reader to have inserted them in the Body of the History: But that nothing of this Antiquity may be lost, and that we may know, pretty near at least, the Extent of the *Latin* Nation, it may be proper to insert them in these Notes. Those then, who signed the Treaty,

were the Deputies of *Ardea*, *Aricia*, *Bovilla*, *Bubentum*, *Cora*, *Corventum*, *Circaum*, *Corioli*, *Corbintum*, *Cabanum*, *Fortincum*, *Gabii*, *Laurentium*, *Lanuvium*, *Lavinium*, *Laticum*, *Nomentum*, *Norba*, *Prænestæ*, (a City however, which, according to *Livy*, had submitted to the *Romans*;) *Peda*, *Corcotulum* or *Querquetulum*, *Satricum*, *Scaptia*, *Setia*, *Tellenium*, *Tibur* or *Tivoli*, *Tusculum*, *Tolerium*, *Tricrinum*, and *Velitræ*. *Plin. B. 3. c. 5.* reckons up fifty-three *Latin* Cities, which, in his Time, were no longer in Being. *Bubetum*, or *Bubentum*, was of this Number, as well as *Tolerium*, *Querquetulum*, and *Scaptia*. The Cities of *Corventum*, *Corbintum*, *Fortincum*, *Cabanum*, and *Tricrinum*, are absolutely unknown to the Geographers. We shall hereafter speak of those which we have not yet mentioned.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCLV.

T. LARTIUS,  
and Q. CLOE-  
LIUS, Consuls.

Proposals of the *Latins*, and thought of nothing but making Alliances with other Nations: but these Negotiations of the *Romans* were every where unsuccessful. <sup>31</sup> *Hernici* requir'd Time to consider, and wou'd enter into no Treaty with *Rome*, till they had examined the Right of the two Parties. The *Rutuli* declared themselves for the *Latins*; and only promised proud *Rome*, that if she would be governed by Reason, they would intercede for her with her Enemies. The <sup>32</sup> *Volsi* insulted her Ambassadors, and reproached them with their Assurance to ask the Aid of a People whom she had injured by her Invasions. The *Hetrurians* wavered between an Alliance with *Rome*, and the Protection which they owed to the *Tarquins* originally of their Country: and the Result of their Deliberation, was to stand neuter. Nevertheless, the Republick, tho' left to herself, was not discouraged. *Rome* promised herself so much the more Glory, by how much fewer were the Allies, who were to share it with her. Her greatest Difficulty was, that in her own Bosom were found rebellious Sons, who refused to lend their Aid for the Defence of their Country.

Polyb. B. 6.

It was the Province of the *Consuls* to direct the levying of Men for the War, which was now done with great Order, and, as usual, before the *Capitol*. The two *Consular* Armies, generally speaking, consisted then of four *Legions*, each containing at least four thousand two hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse. So that these two *Roman* Armies, in these early Times, were in Number about eighteen thousand Men.

<sup>33</sup> AFTER the *Consuls* had chosen twenty four *Tribunes* <sup>34</sup>, fourteen from among the *Roman* Knights, and ten from among the *Plebeian* Families, six of these *Tribunes* were appointed to every *Legion*, to command and lead it: And it was the Business of all the *Tribunes* to chuse their Soldiers in the following manner. Every *Tribe* of the *Roman* People was brought into the *Area* before the *Capitol*, one *Tribe* after another, according to the Order in which it was their *Lot* to be summoned. Then this *Tribe* was divided according to the Order of the *Classes*, Regard being had to their Superiority, *i. e.* their Riches. After this, four Persons, who were of Age to serve, were called out of these *Classes*; and the *Tribunes* of each *Legion* chose one of the four into their *Legion*. The *Tribunes* of the first *Legion* chose the first Man, the *Tribunes* of the second *Legion* the second Man, and so on. When these four were thus distributed, four others were called; and then the *Tribunes* of the second *Legion* had their Turn of chusing the first Man: so that the *Tribunes* of each *Legion* had the first Choice, one after another, according to the Order of their *Legion*; and every *Legion* was very near equally furnish'd with good Men. After a certain Number of Soldiers were chosen out of one *Tribe*, another was called in; and the same Number was chosen out of that, in the same manner, till the *Legions* were sufficiently full.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 5. p. 327,  
328.

§. XI. THE *Consuls* and the *Tribunes* for this Year met with great Difficulties in inlisting their Men. In the inferior *Classes*, a great many refused to enter into the Service, and take the military Oaths. When their Names were called over in their *Tribes*, they made no Answer, nor appear'd to be incorporated in the *Legions*. The Cause of this Revolt was their Poverty. *Plung'd in Debt*, say they, *by the Usury of the richer Citizens, and covetous Patricians, shall we also go to*

<sup>31</sup> The Country of the *Hernici* comprehended formerly, what is now called the Territories of *Anagnia*, and *Alatro*, in the *Campagna di Roma*.

<sup>32</sup> The *Volsi* inhabited a great part of the *Campagna di Roma*, since called *Pasiano*, *Velitri*, *Capo d'Anzo*; and a little of the *Terra di Lavoro*.

<sup>33</sup> At this time, none of the *Legionary Tribunes* were elected by the Voices of the *Roman* People. The Choice at first belonged entirely to the *Kings*, and the *Consuls*. About the Year 392, the People assumed the Privilege of naming six of them, and afterwards sixteen. But for some time, the People lost their Right, by a Decree of the Senate; till it was at length determined, that the *Consuls* should name one half of the *Legionary Tribunes*, and the People the other. The Number of these Officers varied, as the *Legions* consisted of more or fewer Men. A *Legion* of three thousand Men had only three *Tribunes*, (so they were called, because they were drawn from the Body of the *Tribes*.) A *Legion*, of 4, 5, and 6000 Men, was commanded by four, five, and six *Tribunes*, who, by Turns, had the Command of all

the *Legion*, agreeably to that Verse in *Horace*:

*Quod mihi paruerit Legio Romana Tribuno.*

The *Tribunes* created by the People, were called *Tribuni Comitiati*: Those nominated by the *Consuls*, *Rutuli* and *Rufuli*; since the Law of *Rutulus Rufulus*, which gave the *Consuls* a Right to elect *Tribunes* for the *Legions*.

<sup>34</sup> Here we must observe, that the *Roman Knights*, as being higher in Rank, came sooner to the *Tribuneship*, than the *Plebeians*. But neither of them could be chosen *Legionary Tribunes*, till they had served half of the Time the Laws prescribed them. Thus the *Knights* who were obliged to ten Years Service, might be promoted to the *Tribuneship*, after five Campaigns; whereas, the *Plebeians* could not come to it, till after ten Years Service in the Army; because they were obliged to serve twenty complete. The latter were called *Seniores Tribuni*; and the former, *Juniores Tribuni*. We see by this Distinction, that the Nobility had a considerable Privilege, with regard to military Employments.



throw away our Lives for the Usurpers of our Estates? Let the Republick, in Re-  
compence of our past Services, and to obtain fresh ones, free us from our Debts, and  
we shall then share the Dangers with which she is threatned! What Advantages  
have we to hope for from serving an ungrateful City, which makes us suffer Want  
within her Walls, and forces us to meet Death in the Field? Let us abandon a  
Republick which is both hateful to its Neighbours, and unprofitable to those who  
serve it! It is probable that Rome, seeing her self deserted by her Allies, intended  
to enlarge the Number of her Legions, or augment them with the Addition of  
these lower Sort of People <sup>35</sup> who were called *Capite-censi*, and who were not rich  
enough to be incorporated in the Legions, in which, according to the Custom of  
those early times, every Roman served at his own Expence.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLV.  
T. LARTIUS,  
and Q. CLOE-  
LIUS, Consuls.

THE Mutiny spread among all those Citizens who were very much in Debt, and  
whose Creditors were rigorous in exacting Payment. These Murmurs of the Poor  
against the Rich, went so far, that an universal Insurrection was apprehended. It  
was a new Danger, within the City, as much to be dreaded as her Enemies with-  
out.

THE Consuls endeavour'd to pacify these domestick Troubles, that they might  
be in a better Condition to make Head against all the Forces of the *Latins*. The  
Affair was brought before the Senate, who sought Expedients to appease an angry  
Populace, who were obstinate in refusing to serve the Publick in its Distress. The  
Senators were divided in their Opinions, as they had more Debts to exact from the  
People, or were more disinterested. Some were for treating the Mutineers with Ri-  
gour, but others thought it wou'd be proper to remit Part of the Debts of these  
poor, but brave Men, and to buy, at a mean Price, the Affection of those Citi-  
zens, who wou'd repay the Republick, by their Valour, the trifling Interest it shou'd  
sacrifice to them. *M. Valerius*, Brother of the great *Poplicola*, was at the Head of  
those who voted in Favour of the People. An Affection for them, was, it seems,  
deeply rooted in the Hearts of all his Family: And he express'd it with Warmth,  
in a long Harangue, of which this is the Substance. *Every Failure of Submission*,  
said he to the Senators, *is not equally odious; nor are all who are refractory with*  
*regard to our settled Customs, equally guilty. These are not the most cowardly of*  
*our Citizens, who demand Relief in their Poverty, before they will engage them-*  
*selves in our Troops. There is, even in their Fault, a noble Courage, which gives*  
*us Reason to expect every thing from them in the Field. Will those whom Fear*  
*has render'd most submissive, be most vigorous in an Action? They who decline*  
*obeying the Orders made for raising of Troops, speak aloud; they do not plot in se-*  
*cret against the State; what they do, they do openly. 'Tis in the Forum that they*  
*make us hear their Complaints. Of what Use, say these unhappy Men, will it be to*  
*us, to have preserv'd Rome from Slavery, if we are only to be rewarded with*  
*Slavery our selves? Is to languish in the Chains of our merciless Creditors, a less*  
*Evil to us, than to have new Masters? And hitherto, indeed, the Despair of these*  
*poor Citizens has only appeared in Words. But we are threatned, Conscript Fa-*  
*thers, with a yet greater Danger than that of being barely depriv'd of the*  
*main Strength of our Armies. What if these Men, deceiv'd by the Flatteries*  
*of the Tyrants, should take up Arms against the Patricians, and assist the Tar-*  
*quins in recovering the Throne? Shall we be able to maintain our Ground*  
*against domestick and foreign Enemies at the same time? On such Occasions*  
*as these, we should be less haughty in our Decisions, and believe that a little*  
*Indulgence does not debase the Dignity of the Senate. Thus did Solon, at A-*  
*thens. In a Time of Necessity less pressing than ours, his Senate order'd the Debts*

Dion. Hal.  
p. 328.

<sup>35</sup> Dion. Hal. who gives us this Account of this  
Mutiny of the People, to avoid being enlisted,  
does not expressly say that they were of the very  
lowest Classes; that is to say, those who were cal-  
led *Proletarii*, and *Capite-Censi*; but his Words give  
us room to conjecture it. *Anulus Gellius*, l. 16.  
tells us, that the *Proletarii*, and those who had  
the Name of the *Capite-Censi*, were the very lowest of  
the Roman People. *Qui in plebe Romani tenuissimi,*  
*pauperrimique erant, neque amplius quam mille*

*quingentum aeris in censum descerebant, Proletarii ap-*  
*pellabantur; qui vero nullo aut perquam exiguo aere*  
*censebantur, Capite-censi vocabantur.* It is true that  
these Sort of People were not commonly employ'd  
in the Army, but at present there was an extraordi-  
nary Occasion for them. *Nam asperis reipublice*  
*temporibus, cum juventutis inopia esset, in militiam*  
*tumultuariam legebantur.* Then the Republick fur-  
nish'd them with Arms, and all that was necessary  
for the Service.



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with which the People were over-loaded, to be remitted. And have not we our selves been often obliged to stoop to the Necessity of the Times? By how many Condescensions, till then unheard of, did we avert the Anger of Porcena? Hostages given; Towns deliver'd up to his Hetrurians; the Equity of our Proceedings against Tarquin, submitted to the Decision of a foreign King; are not so much Monuments of our Shame, as Proofs of our Wisdom. Rome would have been no more, had Rome never stoop'd. We have not been asham'd to grant every thing to our Enemies, and yet we blush to give up a trifling Interest to our Fellow-Citizens. They are indeed, in Point of Rank, contemptible; but are their Arms and their Courage to be despised? Our Kings have used them in their Victories; our Consuls employ'd them to merit Triumphs; and the Tarquins have found them invincible Obstacles to their Restoration. Poverty is the Cause of their Disobedience; and renders them formidable. The less they have to lose, the more enterprizing will their Necessity make them, and the more prodigal will they be of a Life too miserable to be endured. Relieve them therefore, Conscrip't Fathers, and let not the Avarice, either of private Persons, or of the Publick, become the only Obstacle to our Union at Home, and to the Defeat of our Enemies Abroad. Let us purchase Liberty at so small a Price. Let Compassion be join'd to the Love of our Country. A little Liberality will sooth a Multitude of unhappy Men, and supply our Want of Allies.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS was at the Head of the Party who oppos'd the Opinion of Valerius. As he was but newly come from Sabinia to Rome, he retain'd the Austerity and Inflexibility peculiar to his Nation. He spoke after this manner: If the Interest of the Poor were the only Question at present, we could readily give way to Compassion. But shall we be less touch'd with the Losses which so many honourable Citizens must undergo? Are the Riches they have receiv'd from their Ancestors, increas'd by a wise OEconomy, and preserv'd with Industry, as well as the Loans with which they have favour'd the less wealthy, to be deliver'd up at the Demand of an insolent Populace? Are the Rich to have their Wealth taken from them by the most vile and debauch'd Part of the Citizens? What will become of Contracts, on the due Observation of which the publick Welfare depends? What will become of Trade, what of Agriculture? when Idleness and Prodigality shall find Refuge in your Decrees, and it shall be the same thing either to work for a Livelihood, or to subsist upon Credit? Who will trouble himself to raise his Fortune by Industry and Frugality, by Sweat and Labour in manuring the Ground, or by traversing the Seas, at the Hazard of his Life? Thus the City will be destitute of Provisions, and our Fields lie uncultivated. The lazy Citizen will be put upon a Level with the laborious Hireling, or the industrious Artificer. Idleness and Labour will have the same Recompence; and Injustice will take place by Force, and prevail against Equity. Do you fear Seditions? Destroy the true Causes of them, by proscribing Laziness. Can Rome ever enjoy Tranquillity when the Desires of the most mutinous are regarded, and when her Distress is thought a sufficient Encouragement to demand the Overthrow of her Laws, and of all the Foundations of Society? One Condescension, in Favour of bold Demands, will be a Step to draw on others. Such is the Temper of the Populace, when they have got the upper Hand. How many Greek Cities have, by too easily paying Regard to the Cries of the People, seen Licentiousness introduc'd among them, and their entire Ruin occasion'd by numberless Claims? This were to suffer the Passions to lord it over our Reason, and the Body to give Laws to the Mind. Besides, where is the Loss, if a few indigent Wretches refuse to take Arms? The Sling is the only Arms allowed the Men of this last Class, who are of least Use in our Armies, and yet whose Revolt terrifies us. Moreover, if we compassionate their Distress, yet let us shew our just Resentment at the Causes of it! Are not these the People upon whom we have heap'd our Bounties? Have not these had the Benefit of the Spoils of the Tarquins? If they have consumed those Riches in Debauchery, must we be for ever supplying of their Profuseness? Let the innocent Poverty of some frugal Families be reliev'd, at the Expence of the Publick: I readily consent. But to encourage Vice, to the Detriment of the most honourable Citizens; to take from them, by a Decree, the Rights they have acquir'd over their Debtors; to deprive them of those Rights, in Favour of Men who won't think themselves oblig'd by it, are Condescensions unworthy of the Roman Justice. What just Resentments will not

Dion. Hal.  
B. 5. p. 320.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 5. p. 332.



not the Wealthy have, upon the account of our thus reducing their Estates? With what Courage will they serve a Republick, which will sacrifice their Interests to those of a Multitude become insolvent by their own Faults? Is not the Desertion of our most useful Soldiers more to be fear'd, than the Obstinacy of a Crew bent upon refusing us their Services? Let us not, Conscript Fathers, draw upon the Republick the Displeasure of the higher Classes, by complying with the Murmurs of one which is contemptible for its Beggary, its Incontinence, and the Kind of Arms it bears. At worst, is it not better even to be subdued by the Latins, than insulted over by the Dregs of the Roman People? I conclude then, that none be listed for the War against the Latins, but those of our Citizens, who are willing to hazard their Lives for the Defence of the Publick. By this Means we shall see even those, who refuse to assist us in our Necessity, come and offer us their Services, when their Assistance is no longer desired.

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OTHER Senators were of different Opinions. Some were for releasing the Debts to those only, who had never had any Lands of their own. Others, for allowing the Creditors only to attach the Goods, but not seize the Persons of their Debtors. Some again were of Opinion that the Debts of the meaner People should be discharg'd out of the publick Treasury. And lastly, it was the Judgment of others, that such of the Citizens should be redeemed from Slavery<sup>36</sup>, as had been sold, or were to be sold by Auction, for their Debts; and that their Creditors should have other Slaves given them in the room of those Citizens, who should be taken from under their Power. But the Senate at present follow'd none of these Advices: It was judg'd more proper, not to decide the main Point, but only suspend all Actions for Debt, till the War with the *Latins* was ended. This Decree, when it was publish'd, made some People easy; but did not remove all the Pretences of the seditious. The most factious exclaim'd, That it was putting a Trick upon them, to suspend their Misery, without putting an End to it; and That it was easy for the Rich to forego, for a Time, the Interest of their Debts, but wou'd be very burdensome to the Poor, to be under a perpetual Obligation of paying, one Day, the Arrears; which wou'd be continually increasing, to their Ruin. In a word, they demanded to be freed from their Debts, by a Decree, otherwise they refused to enlist themselves in the *Roman Legions*.

Dion. H. l.  
B. 5. p. 333.

§. XII. It is unquestionable, that the enlisting of the meaner People was of more Importance to the Republick, than *Appius Claudius* had represented it: And the Senate was so fully satisfied, that the lowest *Class* was necessary in the War, at least to make the *Roman Army* appear more numerous, that it omitted nothing to bring them to Reason. In order to this, it was considered, that the Authority of the Government, as it was divided among the *Consuls*, the Senate, and the People, was not sufficient in some Circumstances, to quell the Seditions of the Populace. The Mutineers were to be judged, in the last Resort, by Citizens of the same Rank with themselves; whence they might hope to escape with Impunity. It was remembered likewise, that under some of the *Kings*, (sole Arbiters of Life and Death in criminal Causes) the People were always kept to their Duty. And in fine, this Republick, tho' transported with its Liberties, was obliged, in the very first Years of its Establishment, to regret the Loss of the Monarchical Form of Government. Nay, its Senate thought it for the Publick Good, to invest one Person, at least for a time, with all the Regal Authority. In

<sup>36</sup> When the Debtor was insolvent, the Creditor had a Right to put him in Irons, or to sell him as a Slave. Sometimes he was cruel enough to whip him unmercifully. After a certain Number of Summons's, the Law granted to the Debtor thirty two Days of Grace, to give him Time to raise the Sum for which he was accountable. These are the Words of the Law: *Aeris confessi, rebusque jure judicatis triginta dies justi sunt. Post dein manum endo jacito—Vincito aut nervo aut compedibus—* After the thirty two Days were expir'd, if the Debtor had not discharg'd the Debt, he was led to the *Praetor*, who deliver'd him up to the Mercy of his Creditors. These bound him and kept him in Chains, for the Space of sixty Days. Afterwards, for three Market-days successively, this Debtor was brought to the Tribunal of the *Praetor*. Then a

publick Crier proclaim'd, in the *Forum*, the Debt for which the Prisoner was detain'd. Oft-times there were found rich Persons who redeem'd the Prisoners, by offering to pay their Debts. But if no Body appear'd in Behalf of the Debtor, after the third Market-day, the Creditor had a Right to inflict the Punishment appointed by the Law. *Ter-tiis nundinis capite pallas dato, aut trans Tiberim peregre venunduito, &c.* If there were several Creditors, they were allow'd, in consequence of so rigorous a Law, to divide the Body of the Prisoner into several Parts, and share them among them, in Proportion to the Sum which they demanded. But according to *Quintilian* and *Cæcilius*, Humanity and Custom had given Prescription against so barbarous a Law, and it never was put in Practice.



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Dion. Hal.  
B. 5. p. 354.

order to which, it was necessary, to strike at 37 the Law of *Poplicola*, to take from the People the Prerogative of deciding in criminal Affairs, and to transfer it to a Magistrate, superior to all the Laws. Opposition was therefore to be feared from the *Curia*, and it was necessary to impose upon them by a prudent Artifice. To this End, the Senate made a Decree, requiring the *Consuls*, and all the Magistrates of the present Year to resign their Offices; and empowering the Senate 38 to chuse from among those who had been *Consuls*, one Man, on whom should be conferred an Authority superior to that of the *Consuls*, for 39 the Space of six Months. The People, who did not foresee, whither this Alteration of the Government tended, approved the Decree in *Comitia*, and permitted the Senators to proceed to the Election of one independent Commander, to govern the Republick for six Months.

Licinius apud  
Dion. Hal.  
B. 5. p. 337.

THE first things the Senate deliberated upon, was the Extent of Power, which should be granted to him whom they were going to entrust with so important a Commission, and the Title they should give him: And it was resolved, as to the former, not to limit his Authority. He was invested with a Sovereign Power to make War and Peace, to dispose of the Revenue 40, and to give Judgment in capital Affairs. But tho' he was to be possessed of all the regal Prerogatives, yet he was not allowed the Title of *King*. The Usurpation and Proceedings of the last *Tarquin* had made it too odious. The Title of *Dictator* 41 was preferred to all others. This Name was not unknown to the *Romans*; it had been in Use among the *Albans*, from the Time of *Romulus*. After the Death of *Numitor*, who left only the Founder of *Rome*, to succeed him; the *Alban* State was governed by a *Dictator*, whom *Romulus* set up or deposed at pleasure. The Senate thought this Name would well suit to the borrowed and temporary Power, with which they were going to invest one of the Members of the Republick. The greatest Difficulty was, to fix upon a Person capable of supporting all the Weight of this new Dignity, without Ambition on his Part, and without Jealousy from his Competitors. How many Qualities ought to meet in this single Man! What Moderation in his Desires, not to aspire at keeping himself in the Post, in which they were going to place him! What Love for publick Liberty, in an exalted Station, which would furnish him with many Opportunities to oppress it! What Valour and Experience in martial Affairs, to be the sole Commander in the War! What Wisdom, to govern the Tempers of a factious Populace! What Resolution, not to condescend blindly to the Demands of the Seditious! What Sweetness of Temper, not to irritate a People, by rough Answers, or haughty Airs, whom it was necessary to sooth, and lead, by gentle Means! And lastly, What faithful OEconomy, not to dispose of the publick

37 *Poplicola*, as we have said, made many Laws which were call'd *Leges Valeriae*. That which we mean at present, runs thus: *Utique adversus Magistratum quemvis, ad populum a cive provocari possit.* This Law is to be understood of criminal Causes punishable with Death; which we are to distinguish from those which were called *Capital* Affairs. Under the latter Kind, were included those Crimes which were punishable with Slavery only; as that of a Man's having fail'd to bring in his Name, and the Value of his Goods, in the *Census* of the People; and that of not having appeared, when summon'd to be enlisted in the Troops.

38 The first and chief Law relating to the *Dictatorship* enacted, That no one should be nominated *Dictator*, till he had been *Consul*. And this Law, which *Livy* admits, will serve as a Rule to correct a considerable Mistake, into which he is fallen. Another Law imposed upon the *Dictator*, was, according to *Plutarch*, That during his Administration he should never mount a Horse, unless to go to the War; and that even then, he should ask Leave of the Senate and People.

39 The Law which confin'd the *Dictatorship* to six Months, was not at all times observ'd. *Sylla* was made *Perpetual Dictator*. Yet it was reviv'd again, and it was order'd that the *Dictator*, under the Name of *Master of the People*, or *Magister Populi*, shou'd govern only six Months. These are the Terms of the Law, as stated by \* *Cicero*. *As*

*quando Duellum gravior, Discordia ve Civium crescunt; unus ne amplius sex menses, nisi Senatus creverit, idem juris, quod duo Consules, teneto: isque, ave sinistra dictus, Populi Magister esto.* We see that at that time the Authority of the *Dictator* was lessen'd; and that the Name, having become odious, had been chang'd. There were other Alterations likewise made, as to his Power; and the Person whom he should choose for his Grand Master, or General of Horse, was made equal to him in Authority; so that one had only a Sovereignty over the People, and the other over the *Roman Knights*. *Mark Anthony* the *Triumvir* at last abolish'd the *Dictatorship* by a Law.

40 It appears that the *Dictators* could not dispose of the publick Money, without the Advice of the Senate; but this was not till afterwards. At the Time we are speaking of, the Authority of the *Dictator* had no Bounds.

41 The Etymology of the Word *Dictator*, is disputed. *Varro* derives it from the Latin Word *Dictus*, or *Dictatus*; because he was nam'd neither by the People nor the Senate, but by one of the *Consuls*; much in the same manner as *Romulus* nam'd the *Dictator* of *Alba*. This Derivation appears to me the most rational, and most agreeable to History. Some derive the Word from the Verb *Dicto*; because the *Dictator* had a Power to make, or dictate, Laws: And this last Etymology is most agreeable to Grammar.



Treasure, either in favour of his own Relations, or to promote ambitious Designs! *Titus Lartius*, one of the *Consuls* at that time, was the only Person who appeared to want none of the Qualities necessary for the new Office. His Collegue *Clælius*, form'd from his Infancy to *Civil* Virtues, was less qualified for military Affairs. His Sweetness often degenerated into Indulgence; and, thro' too much Fearfulness, he yielded at the first Approach of a Storm. But then, the more Humanity and Complaisance he had, the more dear he was to the Senate. They were afraid to offend him, by the Preference they wished to give his Collegue: And therefore one of the oldest Senators propos'd an Expedient, to make the *Dictatorship* fall upon *Lartius*, without affronting *Clælius*. This was, to give the two *Consuls* the Power of chusing a *Dictator*, and to oblige them to chuse one of themselves. So that one of them would have the Honour of being chosen; the other, that of having made the Choice. The Advice was followed, and pass'd into a Decree: it being expected from *Clælius*, that he would in Justice yield the Office to his Collegue, and be content with having made a *Dictator*.

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AND then, the *Roman* Virtue shone in its full Lustre. No ambitious Desire of a high Station could raise an Emulation for Preference in the two *Consuls*, and make them Rivals for Glory. Their only Contest was, which should advance the other to so great an Honour: and this mutual Deference was not a mere outward Civility, but proceeded from the real Esteem they had for each other. The Day appointed for the Election, which was to be made in Presence of the *Senate*, was wholly spent in the Praises which *Clælius* gave to *Lartius*, and which *Lartius* returned upon *Clælius*; each found in himself, Defects which disqualified him for the Office in question; and in his Collegue, all the necessary Qualifications for the *Dictatorship*. In fine, the Deliberations being spun out to a great Length of Time, the Senate was adjourned to the next Day: and in the mean while, a new Scene opened at the Houses of the *Consuls*. They were continually crowded with their Relations and Friends, who came to entreat them to agree together. The most considerable Persons in *Rome* flocked to *Lartius*, and reproached him with neglecting the Interests of his Country, by a Modesty which might prove fatal to the publick Weal. But he could not be brought to consent to any thing, unless the Promotion of *Clælius*; and he shew'd the same Constancy the Day following, in the Senate; where he persisted in nominating his Collegue for *Dictator*. At length, *Clælius* took a brisk Step, and brought the Affair to a Determination. He started up of a sudden, abdicated the *Consulship*, and descended from the Tribunal. In an instant, the Assembly proclaimed *Titus Lartius* <sup>42</sup> *Dictator*, who, without being able to excuse himself from it, was obliged, whether he would or not, to take upon him the Government of the Republick. A memorable Event, in which the Glory of the *Consul* was equal to that of the *Dictator*, and which gave *Rome* the highest Expectations from the great Man she had placed at the Head of her Affairs.

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Dictator.  
*Dion. Hal.*  
B. 5. p. 335.

§. XIII. *LARTIUS* indeed took as much State upon him, after he had entered upon his Office, as he had shewn Modesty in refusing the Honour which was offered him. He begun immediately, by creating <sup>43</sup> a General of the *Roman* Horse, an Office which lasted only during the *Dictatorship*, and which all subsequent *Dictators* revived immediately after their Election. *Sp. Cassius*, formerly *Consul*, and honoured with a Triumph, was the Person advanced to this second Station in the Republick. Then *Lartius*, being by this means secure of the *Roman* Knights, resolv'd to make the People respect and fear him. He never appeared in Publick, but attended with twenty-four *Lictors*, to whose *Fasces* he again added

<sup>42</sup> We see here, that *Dion. Hal.* and *Livy* do not agree, either as to the Time, or the Occasion, of erecting the new Office of *Dictator*. *Livy*, as uncertain as he is of the exact Time of its Creation, seems to refer it to the tenth Year after the Expulsion of the *Tarquins*. The former is more positive, and carries it back to three Years after, namely to the *Consulship* of *T. Lartius* and *Q. Clælius*. As to the Occasion, which gave Birth to the Design of creating a *Dictator*, the *Latin* Historian makes it to have been the War which the *Romans* were engaged in against the *Sabines* and confederated *Latins*. But the *Greek* Writer, with more Probability, makes the Re-

publick to have acted upon more pressing Motives; namely, the Insolence of a factious Rabble, which threatened her at home; while she had formidable Enemies to contend with abroad. The two Historians agree only in this, that *Titus Lartius* was the Person chosen to exercise this new Office of *Dictator*.

<sup>43</sup> As the regal Power was revived in the Person of the *Dictator*, he was permitted to create a chief Officer in the Army, under the Name of *Magister Equitum*, i. e. *Master*, or *General of Horse*, which answered to the Office of the *Tribunus Celerum*, in the Time of the *Kings*. It was the second Dignity in the *Roman* State; but it was temporary.



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the *Axes*, which *Poplicola* had caused to be taken from them, when out of respect to the *Curia*, he resigned to them the Power of Life and Death, in criminal Causes. The Novelty of this Sight was alone sufficient to awe the Seditious. But *Lartius* did not make use of these Instruments of Terror, to shed Blood: His *Dictatorship* was free from Proscriptions, and cruel Executions; tho' it spread a Consternation throughout *Rome*. And when by this means the Murmurs of the inferior *Classes* were silenced, the *Dictator* ordered a *Census* to be taken of the People, in the manner King *Servius* had appointed. Every one, without Exception, brought in his Name, Age, the Particulars of his Effects, and the Names of his Wife and Children. There were found in *Rome* a hundred and fifty thousand, seven hundred Men, who were past the Age of *Puberty*. The *Lustrum* followed the *Census*; and this may be reckoned the sixth, since the Institution of that Ceremony.

THIS new Enumeration was of Service in forming the *Roman* Armies. The old Men were separated from those, who were of the Age required to serve in the Troops; and these were divided into *Centuries*, of Horse and Foot. Four Armies were formed out of this great Number of Soldiers. The *Dictator* took on him the Command of the first, gave that of the second to *Clælius* his late Collegue; that of the third, to *Sp. Cassius*, General of Horse; and he left the fourth in *Rome*, under the Command of *Sp. Lartius*, his Brother, for the Defence of the City. These Levies were made without Murmuring; and none durst refuse to be enlisted. *Titus Lartius* took the Field, with Forces sufficient to make head against the Enemy; and the *Roman* Troops forming three Camps, each under the Command of its proper General, they possessed themselves of the three Posts, by which alone the *Latins* could enter the *Roman* Territory. But the Expedition of the *Latin* Generals was not equal to their Threatnings. That Son of *Tarquin*, who with *Mamilius* directed their Motions, halted a long time in the Neighbourhood of *Tusculum*: either, as was said, because the *Latin* Cities had not as yet furnished their Quota, or because the March of the Army was retarded by ill Omens. And all the Hostilities of the *Latins*, against *Rome*, this Campaign, amounted to no more, than the sending a Detachment into the *Roman* Territory, to lay it waste. Upon which, the *Dictator* detached *Clælius* with the Cavalry, and some light Infantry; and the latter intercepted the Pillagers in their March, attacked them, killed some, and took the rest Prisoners: And the *Dictator* behaved himself generously, and with great Humanity, upon this first Advantage. He ordered the Wounded to be dressed, and sent back the Prisoners to the Camp at *Tusculum*. The expert *Roman* hoped to gain the *Latins*, by treating them rather like Allies, than Enemies. And indeed, tho' his Forces were in the Field, he did not break off the Negotiations which *Rome* had begun in *Latium*. He deputed unexceptionable Persons to the *Latin* Cities, and to the general Diet of the Nation; and by their Interposition, he much lessened the Zeal, and Number, of the Enemies of *Rome*. The *Latins* began even to dislike their Generals, and the *Tarquins* to sink in their Credit. All which, made it easy for the Deputies, whom the *Dictator* sent to the *Latin* Army, to obtain a Conference with its principal Officers, wherein a Truce was concluded for a Year. The *Dictator* was then better pleased with his Conduct, than if he had merited, by a Battel, the Honours of a Triumph. He had the publick Good more at Heart, than his own personal Glory. His Army returned to *Rome*, after having gained more by its Inaction, than it could have done by a Victory: And *Lartius*, seeing the Republick in a perfect Tranquillity, immediately resigned his *Dictatorship*; tho' the Time prescribed for its Duration, was not yet expired. This great Man chose rather to give Posterity an Example of a ready Abdication, than leave future *Dictators* a Pretence for continuing themselves longer in this exalted Station, than the Necessities of the Publick required. An illustrious Instance of Republican Probity, which the 44 *Latin* Historians have not sufficiently celebrated.

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SEMPRONIUS  
ATRATINUS,  
and M. MINUCIUS  
AUGURINUS,  
Consuls.

S. XIV. THE *Consuls* for the following Year were nominated, before the *Dictator* resigned. They were *Sempronius Atratinus*, and *M. Minutius Augurinus*: whose Year was not fruitful in glorious Events. *Rome* had at that time no other Enemy than the *Latins*; and the Hostilities even between the two Republicks were sus-

44 It is surprizing, that neither *Livy*, nor his *Ab-* manner in which he resigned it, before his Time  
bridgers, have spoken either of what *Lartius* did in was expired. Are then the *Greek* Historians more  
his *Dictatorship*, or of the noble and disinterested careful of his Glory, than the *Latin* Writers?  
pendent



pended for a Year. The *Consulships* at *Rome*, like all other temporary Administrations, generally owed their Lustre to the settling Affairs at home, and certain accidental Occurrences. Nevertheless, it may be affirmed, that the Government, in general, did not suffer by its perpetual Change of *Consuls*. There was always lodged in the Senate and People, a sufficient Fund of Authority to carry on any great Enterprizes, and complete them, when they were once begun. The *Consuls* were little better than the Hands which executed the Projects which the Senate and People had formed.

BUT to return to the present Year: *Sempronius* and *Minutius* had very little to do. The Populace, upon whom no Demand was made for their Debts, were quiet, and all intestine Factions laid asleep. So that the Senate was wholly taken up with a compassionate Concern for the *Roman Women*, married into *Latium*. The Union which had long been preserved between the *Latin Cities*, and the *Roman State*, had produced many reciprocal Marriages, of the *Latin Women* with the *Romans*, and of the *Roman Women* with the *Latins*: And there was room to fear, that these unhappy Women might suffer by the Rupture of the two Nations, which formerly seemed to make but one. A Law therefore was passed at *Rome*, doubtless by Agreement with the *Latins*, that the *Latin Women*, who were willing to leave *Rome* to return to *Latium*, and the *Roman Women*, who were willing to come back to *Rome* from *Latium*, should have Liberty to leave their Husbands, and return to their native Countries. With regard to the Children, which they had had in the Places where they were married, it was ordered, that the Boys should remain with their Fathers, and the Girls follow their Mothers. Upon which it appeared to the Advantage of the *Romans*, how agreeable a Place *Rome* was to their Wives. Out of the great Number of *Latin Women* which had married *Romans*, two only went back to *Latium*; and almost the whole Multitude of *Roman Women*, scattered over *Latium*, left their Husbands, and the Places where they were settled, to return to their native City. Not that it was the Allurements of Licentiousness which enticed them back to *Rome*: For in those early Times, we find nothing which can lead us to suspect any Irregularity in the *Roman Women*. On the contrary, it appears, that they had a Horror for Incontinence, and a sincere Attachment to their Duties. Which was owing to the Virtue and Probity which, generally speaking, prevailed among the *Romans*; and which, as it made them good Husbands, so was it the principal Charm which endeared them to their Wives.

THIS short Interval of publick Tranquillity was likewise partly employed in Ceremonies of Religion. A Temple was dedicated to *Saturn*, upon the Declivity of the *Capitol*; and a <sup>45</sup> Festival instituted in Honour of that God. It is affirmed, that in the Place where this Sanctuary was built, *Hercules* had formerly erected an Altar to *Saturn*: and some say, that *Tarquin the Proud* had laid the first Foundations of the Temple; others, that the Building was not begun till the *Consulship* of *Titus Lartius*. But, be that as it will, the Dedication of it was solemnized, by a Decree of the Senate, in the Year of *Rome* 256; and *Posthumius Cominius* performed the Ceremony.

§. XV. The Year of the Truce with the *Latins* expired, when *Aulus* <sup>46</sup> *Posthumius*, and *T. Virginus*, took Possession of the *Consulship*: and the Renewal of the War opened to the *Consuls* a wide Field of Glory. In the beginning of their Administration, both *Rome* and her Enemies, (but not with the same Degree of Alacrity and Hope) were wholly employed in making Preparations for War. The *Romans* seemed to arm themselves, as if they had been assured of Victory. The

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SEMPRONIUS  
ATRATINUS,  
and M. MINUCIUS  
AUGURINUS,  
Consuls.

*Dion. Hal.*  
*B. 6. p. 341.*  
*Livy, B. 2.*  
*ch. 21.*

Year of  
*R O M E*  
CCLVII.

AULUS POSTHUMIUS, and  
T. VIRGINIUS,  
Consuls.

<sup>45</sup> It is evident that this Year, *i. e.* under the *Consulship* of *Sempronius Atratinus* and *Minucius Augurinus*, a Temple was dedicated to *Saturn*, at the Foot of the *Capitol*, and that a Festival was instituted in honour of this God, as *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* assure us. Yet this new Temple of *Saturn*, tho' placed likewise near the *Capitol*, does not appear to have been the same with that in which the publick Treasure was lodg'd. This had been already built, and consecrated to *Saturn*, from the Time of the Great *Poplicola*. With regard to the Festival of *Saturn*, which was instituted this 256th Year from *Romulus*, it was not that which, by way of

Eminence, was called *Saturnalia*. This latter, according to *Macrobius*, who has carefully enquired into the Original of it, had been instituted by *Tullius Hostilius*.

<sup>46</sup> These two *Consuls* are universally agreed on; but their Surnames are not, by the *Roman Historians*. *Dion. Hal.* gives *Posthumius* the Surname of *Albus*. *Plutarch* calls him *βαλβος*; a Fault to be ascribed rather to the Transcribers, than the Author, who probably had written *ἄλβος*. *Albus*, or *Albinus*, was a common Surname in the *Posthumian* Family. As to *T. Virginus*, he has two Surnames, *Tricostus*, and *Calimontanus*.



Year of  
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AULUS POST-  
HUMIUS, and  
T. VIRGINI-  
US, Consuls.

Return of so many *Roman* Women to the City, and the Resolution of the *Latin* Women to remain at *Rome*, was to them a favourable Omen. On the other hand, *Octavius Mamilius*, and the *Tarquins*, met with many Difficulties in getting their Troops together. The Nobles of *Latium*, bribed by Presents and Promises, were indeed almost all for the exiled King; but the People were hardly brought to consent to a War with *Rome*. The Citizens therefore were artfully excluded from the *Latin* Diets; and by this means the Nobility carried all before them. Upon this account, Multitudes of the *Latins* daily left their Country, and joined the *Romans*. Those who came to *Rome* with their Wives and Children, were joyfully received; and after having been enrolled in the *Roman* Soldiery, were incorporated into their *Centuries*. The rest were sent to the Garrisons of the Castles in the Country, where they were watched with a careful Eye. And altho' there was at this time no Sedition among the *Romans*, but a perfect Harmony between the People, *Consuls*, and Senate; yet it was thought proper to put the Conduct of the War into the Hands of a *Dictator*. *Rome* had succeeded so well under the transient Sovereignty of *Lartius*, that she returned to the same Form of Government. The two *Consuls* had a Power granted them to chuse one of themselves to be *Dictator*: and *Virginus*, tho' the oldest, readily yielded this Honour to his Colleague *Posthumus*. Men were not at that time so far bewitched with Ambition, as to prefer themselves before Men of superior Merit, in prejudice to the publick Good. *Posthumus* was a great Soldier; and, what *Rome* most wanted at this time, was a General of approved Courage, and Experience: *Virginus* therefore did Justice to *Posthumus* 47, and named him *Dictator*.

Year of  
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AULUS POST-  
HUMIUS, Dic-  
tator.

§. XVI. THE new Sovereign did not think it below him, to regulate his Conduct by that of *Titus Lartius*: He created a General of Horse, which was *Æbutus Elva*, formerly *Consul*; and, like *Lartius*, he also divided the Forces of *Rome* into four Bodies. The first, he commanded himself; the Conduct of the second, he committed to *Virginus*, his late Colleague; that of the third, to *Æbutus*; and the fourth, he left in *Rome*, under the Command of *Sempronius*, whom he made Governor of the City.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 6. p. 342.

THE *Dictator* had no sooner made these Regulations, but the News of the Enemy's Approach was spread at *Rome*; and a few Days after this first Rumour, it was reported, that the *Latins* had forced the Post of *Corbio* 48. This was one of those Castles, which the *Romans* fortified at certain Distances, to serve for a Retreat to the Country People, and as Places of Security, to which they might remove their Effects. The Garrison of *Corbio* was indeed but small; and they were all put to the Sword. But the Country suffered very little by it. The Peasants, who were most exposed, had taken Refuge elsewhere, and had carried their Moveables and Cattel to other Places. *Rome* received no other Damage on that Side, than the burning of a few Houses, and the spoiling of the Fruits of the Earth. This first Advantage however determined Part of the *Volsci* to join their Troops to those of the *Latins*. The *Volsci* of *Antium* especially signalized their Hatred against *Rome*, by taking the Field before any of their Countrymen; and gave *Tarquin* Hopes, that their whole Nation would soon come and assist him in his Conquest. It must be owned, that the exiled King had reserved the most formidable Enemies against *Rome*, to the last. The *Latin* Confederacy was much more terrible to the Republick, than that of the *Hetrurians* and *Sabines*, whose Valour he had already made Tryal of against *Rome*. *Tarquin* undoubtedly discovered as much Ability in the Business of Nego-

47 *Livy*, according to Custom, confounds the Chronology, in placing the *Dictatorship* of *Posthumus* under the *Consulship* of *Publius Veturius*, and *Titus Æbutus*. Which is a Mistake of three Years, according to the Calculation of *Dion. Hal.* whose Authority we prefer to that of the *Latin* Historian. Besides, even according to *Livy's* own Account, and the Order of the *Consular* Years, *Posthumus* must have been raised to the *Dictatorship* before he had been *Consul*: Since he was not made *Consul* till three Years after the *Consulship* of *Publius Veturius* and *Titus Æbutus*. Whereas in those early Times, the *Romans* never suffer'd the least Infringement of the Law, which ordain'd, That the *Dicta-*

*tors* should be chosen among those who had been *Consuls*. 'Tis true, *Livy* acknowledges, that in some *Memoirs* he found the *Dictatorship* of *Posthumus* under the Year 257. But they mention one Circumstance, which does not agree with the Account of *Dion. Hal.*; namely, that *Posthumus* abdicated the *Consulship* before he had been *Dictator*, because he suspected his Colleague of having ill Designs.

48 *Stephen of Byzantium* places this Castle or City of the *Æqui* beyond the Hill *Algidus*, near the *Lavican Way*. But *Kircher* and *Cluverius* place it where *Monfortino* now stands.



tations, as the *Romans* shew'd Bravery and Resolution in resisting the many Enemies he drew upon them.

AFTER the taking of *Corbio*, *Posthumius* appear'd in the Field without Delay. The Body under his Command march'd out first from *Rome*, and encamp'd, in the Night, near the Lake *Regillus*<sup>49</sup>, upon a steep Hill, which was inaccessible on every Side. From the Top of this Rock, he had a full View of the formidable Army of the *Latins*, which was divided into several Camps. It consisted of forty thousand Foot, and above three thousand Horse; an inconceivable Number for so small a Nation! Whereas the Troops of the *Dictator* scarcely amounted to eight thousand Men. So that nothing but the Situation of his Camp could defend him from an entire Defeat. After this, the Leaders of the *Latin* Army drew their scatter'd Troops together into one Place, and form'd but one Camp.

HERE a general Council of War was held, to which even the *Centurions* were admitted. Three Generals had the Conduct of this numerous Army: The first, *Lucius Tarquinius*; the second, *Titus Tarquinius*; and the third, *Octavius Mamilius*, Son-in-law of *Tarquin the Proud*, as some think; or as others, with more Probability conjecture, the Son of that Son-in-law. It is not improbable that King *Tarquin* himself, tho' extremely old, was at that time in the *Latin* Army, and directed its Motions. The Point under Consideration was, whether they should attack the *Dictator* in his Post; at least, so far as to strike a Terror into him, and try, by a Bravado, the Courage of the *Latins*: And the Council was divided in their Opinions. Some thought it would be better to invest the *Dictator* on every Side with one Part of the *Latin* Forces, and to march the other before *Rome*, to lay Siege to it: And they were not yet come to any Resolution, when *Virginius*, with his small Body of Troops, came and took Possession of a Hill over-against that on which *Posthumius* was encamp'd. So that the *Dictator* being on the right, and the *Consul* on the left, in separate Camps, they kept the Enemy as it were blockaded in the Valley. Nor was this all: *Posthumius*, who had no other Intention than to tire out the Enemy, and disperse them without giving them Battle, order'd *Æbutius* to march with the Cavalry, and light-arm'd Infantry, to take Possession of a third Hill upon the Road, thro' which the Provisions and other Supplies must necessarily pass to the *Latins*. This General, favour'd by the Night, and marching a great way about, enter'd a Forest, the Ways thro' which he was acquainted with, and appeared the next Day posted upon that Rock, from which it was difficult to dislodge him. The Generals of the *Latin* Army seem to have understood better how to fight in an open Plain, than to choose advantageous Encampments: But *Posthumius* acquir'd the Glory of understanding both, in this single Campaign.

HOWEVER, *Æbutius* had not yet fortified his new Camp, before he was briskly attack'd by *Lucius Tarquinius*. The Body of *Latins* commanded by this General, made surprizing Efforts to force the *Romans* from the Place, of which they had just taken Possession. They charg'd the *Romans* twice without Intermision; but the valiant *Æbutius*, who had the Advantage of the rising Ground, got the better in both Attacks, and the Enemy was repulsed with Loss. At the third Attack, *Tarquinius* found the Number of *Romans* upon the Hill considerably increased, and therefore despair'd of dislodging them. The *Dictator*, who knew the Danger to which *Æbutius* was expos'd, had indeed sent him a Detachment from the *Legions*, by the same Way this General himself had gone. Upon which, the *Latins* lost Courage, *Tarquinius* retir'd to his Camp, and *Æbutius* found himself at Liberty to fortify his own, in this advantageous Post, without any Molestation. It is inconceivable how much the *Roman* distressed the *Latin* Army from thence; and how many of their Convoys he intercepted. But the most important Prize

<sup>49</sup> There was both a City and a Lake of the Name of *Regillus*. The City is sometimes called by Authors *Regillus*, sometimes *Regillum*, and sometimes *Regilla*. For my own Part, I can't think the Lake was near enough to the City to take its Denomination from it. The City was in *Sabinia*, the Lake in *Latium*, towards *Tusculum*; according to *Cluverius*, who is of Opinion, as well as *Fer-*

*rarius*, that this Lake is the same which is now called *Lago di S. Prassede*. Others guess that it is the Lake now called *Lago di Castiglione*. But *Holste-mus* makes only one Lake of these two, which he believes was formerly in the Neighbourhood of *Gabii*. At a little Distance from which, near the City *Colonna*, he finds a little Lake, which appears to him to be the Lake *Regillus* of the Antients.



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AULUS POST-  
HUMIUS, Dic-  
tator.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 6. p. 345.

Ibid. p. 346.

Ibid.

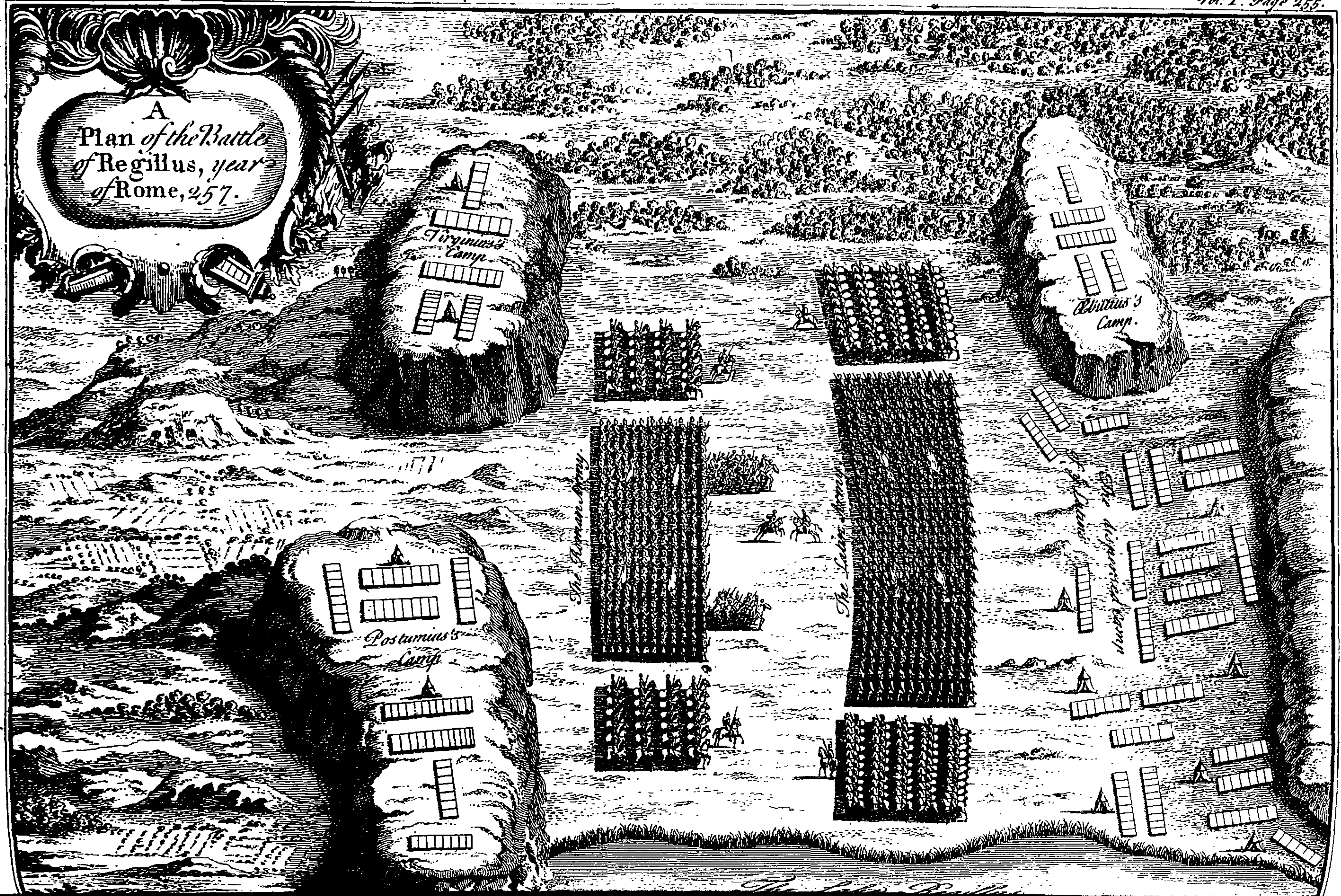
Ibid.

Ibid. p. 348.

his Parties took, was two Couriers, whom the *Volsci* sent to the *Latin* Generals. By the Letters found upon them, and the Questions put to them, the *Romans* discover'd, that in three Days, a very considerable Army of *Volsci* and *Hernici*, two of the *Latin* Cantons, which was already upon its March, would come and join the *Latin* Troops: And it may be presum'd, that if the Conjunction of all these Forces could have been made in time, there would have been an End of the Republick, and of all the *Roman* Glory. The Dictator's Thoughts were therefore fix'd on preventing the Danger with which he was threatned, and hazarding a Battle, before the Number of his Enemies made them invincible. He drew his three Bodies of Troops together with all Expedition, and found that he had only twenty four thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse, to oppose against forty thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse of the Enemy. But Necessity oblig'd *Posthumius* to hazard an Engagement, against all Rules. It was customary then for Generals to harangue their Troops, before they led them to Battle: And the Dictator may be said to have had all the *Romans* for his Auditors. The Senate, almost to a Man, had come Volunteers into the Army; it is well known, that no *Roman* was exempted from going to the War, nor bore any Office in the Republick, till after long Services in the Troops. The Dictator's Speech was as follows: *Romans, the Gods are for us. I judge so, by the Auguries, by the Entrails of Victims, and by the Goodness of our Cause. Our Enemies are Nations who have been more than once obliged by us, and related to us, and are now become faithless Allies, who contend for the Restoration of Tyrants justly banish'd. Heaven will undoubtedly punish Treachery, and revenge Injustice; and what Success then may we not expect? Besides, we do not form a Body, made up of scatter'd Members, accidentally thrown together; but one and the same City gave us Birth, the same Interests animate us, the same Gods have heard our Oaths, and we have all felt the same Oppressions, and shar'd the same good Fortune; and if we should be conquer'd, we shall all be in equal Danger from Tarquin, that hard Master, who spared not his People, when they were subject to him. The Banishment of our Magistrates, the Slavery of our Citizens, Outrages upon our Wives, Murders, Plunder, and Burning, are Evils with which Rome is equally threatned. How great will be the Rage of a furious King, when in a Condition to revenge himself upon those who have dethron'd him, expell'd him, confiscated his Estates, and banish'd his Relations? But after all, the Storm is not near so dangerous as we at first apprehended. Of all the *Volsci* and *Hernici*, we find only the *Antiates* in the *Latin* Armies. The Enemy's Battalions in general, consist only of Soldiers tumultuously rais'd, some of which are so discouraged by the Insufficiency of their Generals, that they have already deserted; others rather tarry with them, than help them; and those who are coming up to their Assistance, will, by coming after the Battle, be of no Service to them. Besides, what can a confused Multitude do, against the Valour and Resolution which the dearest Interests inspire? How many Examples have we of numerous Armies defeated by a Handful of brave Soldiers? Is it then now that the *Volsci* and the *Latins* shall for the first time become formidable Enemies? If the Greatness of their Nation frighten'd not your Fathers, shall it terrify their Children? Did the *Romans* ever raise an Army comparable to this which you compose? Was it ever before known, that the Senate it self put on the Buckler, and the oldest of our Magistrates cover'd their grey Hairs with the Helmet? Shall then the healthy and the strong, be unactive and cowardly? Shall the young and vigorous turn their Backs upon the Enemy, when the old and infirm bravely resolve to conquer, or die in Defence of their Country? If they do, I declare, That whosoever basely flies, shall infallibly be put to Death by my Order, and his dead Carcase shall enjoy none of the Rites of Burial, but lie above Ground, to be devour'd by Beasts and Birds. But he that, on the other hand, shall bring me Witnesses of his having signaliz'd himself in the Battle; he, besides the usual Honours Rome has always decreed to Men of distinguish'd Courage, shall receive from the Publick an Estate in Land, as a Recompence for his Bravery.*

THESE Words fill'd the *Roman* Legions with Ardour, and Confidence of Success; the Dictator immediately drew up his Army in Order of Battle; and the *Latins*, depending on the Number of their Troops, did not decline fighting. Besides, their Provisions fail'd, and they were not appriz'd of the Supplies which were coming







coming to them. *Titus Tarquinius*, and not <sup>so</sup> the old King *Tarquin*, was in the Center of their Army, at the Head of the Exiles and Deserters from *Rome*; *Mamilius* commanded the left Wing, and *L. Tarquinius* the right. In the *Roman* Army, *Æbutius* commanded the right Wing, *Virginus* the left, and the *Dictator* posted himself in the Center. So that *Posthumus* faced *T. Tarquinius*, *Æbutius* was posted against *Mamilius*, and *Virginus* against *L. Tarquinius*. In this Battle of *Regillum*, the antient Manner of fighting, as it was in the Times of the Heroes, and as *Homer* has describ'd it, seems to have been reviv'd. This great Action was sometimes interrupted by single Combats between the Generals, who gave Challenges to each other; and at other Times, all the Troops were engaged, and fought together. The first Body which advanc'd, was that of the *Dictator*, and as soon as it began to march, *T. Tarquinius* came out of the Ranks, and ran full Speed upon *Posthumus*, to fight him singly. The *Dictator* accepted the Challenge, flew at his Adversary, and threw a Dart, which wounded him in the right Side. Upon this, the first Line of the *Latins* immediately advanc'd, cover'd the General, who was mortally wounded, and depriv'd *Posthumus* of the Honour of his Spoil. Nevertheless, the main Body, though consisting of *Roman* Royalists, made but an indifferent Resistance. Their General was carried out of the Battle, and the Battalions, press'd by the Troops of the *Dictator*, gave way, and were already retiring and losing Ground, when *L. Tarquinius* came to take the Place of his Brother. Then the Presence and Valour of the new Commander gave fresh Courage to these broken Troops. They rallied, return'd to the Fight, and left it uncertain, whether they, or the *Romans* their Adversaries, had the Advantage.

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HUMIUS, Dic-  
tator.  
*Dion. Hal.*  
B. 6. p. 345.

*Ibid.*

ON the Side of *Mamilius* and *Æbutius*, the Fury of the Battle was equal. The Generals, on both Sides, animated their Soldiers, by their Words and their Example; no Man gave Ground; but all were either dying or fighting, in the Place where they were drawn up; when the two Generals thought that a single Combat between them might determine the doubtful Victory. The Challenge was given and accepted: And the two Champions pushed on their Horses against each other. *Æbutius* run his Lance thro' *Mamilius's* Cuirass at the Breast, and *Mamilius* with his Sword wounded *Æbutius* on the right Arm. Neither of the Blows were mortal, but both the Generals fell from their Horses, and the Combat ended. *Æbutius's* Place was then supplied by *Marcus Valerius*, the most antient Lieutenant General in this Army; he was the Brother of *Poplicola*, and had been honoured both with a *Consulship* and a Triumph. He immediately put himself at the Head of the *Roman* Cavalry, and with them endeavour'd to break the Enemy's Battalions. But the Body of *Roman* Royalists, which the Enemy order'd to advance, made a brave Resistance to the Cavalry of the Republick, and repulsed them. At length, *Mamilius* being recover'd of the Blow, which had only stunn'd and knock'd him down, but not wounded him, appear'd again in the Van-guard; and the bare Sight of him kindled the Anger of *Valerius*. He could not, without Emotion, see the Grandson of King *Tarquin* making a Figure at the Head of a *Latin* Army; and he flatter'd himself that he might cut off this young Branch of a hateful Family, and by this means make his own Glory equal to that of his Brother who proscrib'd it. Without deliberating therefore he pushed on his Horse, and with his Dart in his Hand came furiously upon *Mamilius*; who retir'd back into a Battalion of the Royalists. *Valerius*, with the Assistance of his two Nephews, the Sons of *Poplicola*, and a Troop of the most illustrious Volunteers, tried in vain to break the Battalion; he was wounded in his Side, fell from his Horse, and died: And his Body, which lay upon the Ground, occasioned a new Battle. The Royalists surrounded it, and would have got it into their Possession; but the two Nephews of the decess'd beat them off, and carried away the Body, and deliver'd it to *Valerius's* Servants, who brought it to the *Roman* Camp. A courageous and pious Ac-

<sup>so</sup> *Livy* represents the old King *Tarquin* as engaged in this Battle; but it is very improbable, he being then above ninety Years old. He might be in the Camp, but did not appear in the Battle. According to *Dion. Hal.* it was his Son *Titus*, who fought against the *Dictator*: And this Author likewise makes the infamous *Sextus Tarquinius* to have

been living, engaged and killed, in this Battle. Whereas *Livy*, with more Probability, supposes him to be slain by the *Gabini*, a long time before the Battle of *Regillum*. For which Reason I have changed the *Prænomen Sextus*, into that of *Lucius*, who was the fourth Son of *Tarquin*.

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tator.

tion in the two Sons of *Poplicola*, but it cost them dear! They were surrounded on all Sides, and overpowered by the Multitude of their Enemies, who gave them numberless Wounds.

THE Loss of *Valerius* and his two Nephews, and especially the Absence of *Æbutius*, who was wounded, put the right Wing of the *Roman* Army into a great Consternation. They now fought but faintly, and had begun to think of making a Retreat; when the *Dictator*, who perceiv'd it, left the Center and came to them, attended by a Troop of Horse. He instantly gave Orders to *Titus Herminius*, the Captain of his Guards, to put all the *Romans* of his Army, who fled, to the Sword. The Voice of *Posthumius* therefore, and the Fear of meeting with Death in trying to avoid it, brought the Troops into Order, and every Man return'd to his Colours. <sup>51</sup> Then the *Dictator* commanded some chosen Squadrons of the *Roman* Knights to cut the Bridles of their Horses, and drive them upon the closest Battalion of the Royalists: And the Stratagem succeeded. The Horses carried their Riders thro' the Infantry of the Enemy, who were put into Disorder, and trodden under Foot by them. In the mean time, *Herminius* came up with his Troops, and some Fugitives whom he led back to the Battle, and with them he penetrated into the Enemy's broken Squadrons. His whole Aim was at the Person of *Mamilius*, who was easily known by his tall Stature, and by the Richness of his Habit and Arms. *Herminius*, in order to come at him, beat down all who stood in his Way; and as soon as he was within Reach of him, attack'd him, and with his first Blow run him thro' the Side, and laid him dead on the Ground. Happy had he been, could he have contented himself with putting an End to the Life of one of the fiercest Enemies of *Rome*! But too great a Love of Glory proved fatal to him. Whilst he was busying himself to carry off the Spoils of *Mamilius*, in order to erect a Trophy of them, an unknown Hand run him thro' with a Sword. The Wound was dress'd; but he died of it in the Camp, while they were opening it, in order to a second Dressing.

THUS one of the Sons of *Tarquin*, and the General *Mamilius*, were already killed in the Battle. *Lucius Tarquinius* continued yet in the Right Wing of the *Latins*, fighting against the Consul *Virginus*. He had indeed the Advantage, and charged the *Romans* briskly. But *Posthumius*, as if it had been reserved for him, to recover all the Disadvantages of the *Roman* Army, after he had commanded the Horse to dismount, and serve on Foot, hastened to the Place where his *Legions* were most distressed. The *Dictator* recruited the Van-guard of *Virginus*, which was tired with long fighting, and overwhelmed by the Multitude of Enemies, with a Supply of fresh Troops.

AND now *Lucius Tarquinius* was no longer Master of himself; he threw himself, like one mad, into the midst of the *Roman Knights*, who had already got the better of his Troops. He was surrounded, and sunk under a Multitude of Wounds, after he had sold his Life very dear. Such were the Misfortunes, and End, of a Family, which Cruelty, Incontinence, and Ambition, brought to Ruin. It must be granted, that *Tarquin*, and his Sons, had several of those Endowments, and Qualities, which form Heroes; an excellent Capacity for Negotiations; an Address, whereby they alienated from the *Romans*, their antient Allies; a Pliantness, which could give way to tempestuous Times; an Invention, fruitful in Expedients in all Emergencies; an intriguing Disposition, whereby they sowed Divisions, in the new Republick; an inconceivable Power of Persuasion, whereby they brought the neighbouring States into a League against *Rome*; Experience in Arms, intrepid Courage, and a steady Resolution, never to quit the Hopes of the Throne, but with Life. All these together, made an Assemblage of Qualities, not to be wholly despised. This Character of the *Tarquins*, would perhaps have had its Admirers in *Greece*, from whence they drew their Original: But at *Rome*, true Glory was judg'd of by other Principles. There the Equity of the Cause was more esteem'd, than Skill in maintaining it; Honesty and Truth, than Art in colouring

<sup>51</sup> Some Historians make the Order for cutting the Horses Bridles, to have been given by *Æbutius Elva*; but they did not consider, that *Æbutius* had been carried out of the Battle wounded, before the Cavalry drove their Horses without Bridles thro' the Enemy's Battalions. *Florus* is mistaken, in saying

that the General of the Horse, whom he ignorantly calls *Cassus*, put the *Romans* upon this Piece of Bravery: And the same Author adds, that *Posthumius* caus'd a Standard to be thrown among the Enemy, to rouse the Courage of his Soldiers.



over Injustice ; a virtuous Heart, than a superior Understanding ; and lastly, a true Courage conducted by the Love of one's Country, more than any Intrepidity founded in private Interests. Such was the Heroism of *Brutus*, *Poplicola*, and all the first Republicans of *Rome*.

Year of  
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AULUS POSTHUMIUS, Dictator.  
*Dion. Hal.*  
B. 6. p. 350.

THE Death of the three Generals of the Royalist Party, was follow'd by the entire Defeat of the *Latins*. No Victory hitherto gained by the *Romans*, was either more necessary, or more complete. Scarce ten thousand return'd to *Latium*, of the forty three thousand who came out of it. The whole Nation, for a long time after, felt this Blow ; nay, it may be said never to have recover'd it. The vast Camp however, which the *Latins* had fortified, fill'd with those who fled from the Battle, still made some Resistance. The *Dictator* attack'd it, and promised a distinguishing Reward to the two first who should enter it. The Reward was probably Crowns of Gold ; for, according to the Historians, *Posthumius* was the first of the *Roman Generals*, who made Presents of them to the brave Men of his Army. The Camp was quickly taken, and given as a Prey to the Conquerors. The *Roman Army* rested there all Night, and at break of Day the *Dictator*, crown'd with Laurel, after having distributed the Rewards to those who had distinguish'd themselves, return'd Thanks to the Gods by Sacrifices. The Ceremony was scarce ended, when the Scouts brought Advice, that a great Army covered the Plain, and was marching in order of Battle. It was that of the *Volsci* and *Hernici*, who were come from their own Countries to assist the *Latins*. The *Dictator* immediately commanded his *Romans* to stand to their Arms, repair to their Colours, and be ready upon the first Order.

*Plin. B. 33.*

*Dion. Hal.*  
B. 6. *ibid.*

§.XVII. IN the mean time, the auxiliary Army was still advancing, but was astonish'd to find neither Enemies to intercept their March, nor Allies coming to meet them. And the Surprize of the *Volsci* was yet greater, when they learn'd, from the Fugitives, the entire Defeat of the *Latin Army*. It was debated, whether they should return, or attack the Enemy which was fatigued with an Action, which was indeed glorious, but in which the Conquerors had lost many of their bravest Men, and had their Arms either broken or blunted. And the Resolution the *Volsci* took seemed the wisest, because the most artful. This was, to encamp in Sight of the *Romans*, to amuse them with Negotiations ; and in the mean time to send to the *Latins*, and the Country of the *Volsci*, for new Supplies to make the Victory more certain. In short, the *Volsci* dispatch'd some Persons to the *Roman Camp*, under the Name of Ambassadors, who were in reality no more than Spies. They in vain endeavour'd to persuade the *Dictator* that they had left their Country only to assist *Rome* in her Necessity. *Posthumius* produced before them their Couriers and their Letters, and convicted them of Deceit : And all the Authority of the *Dictator* was scarce sufficient to hinder the Soldiers from putting those perfidious Wretches to Death. However, Regard was paid to the Law of Nations, even on this Occasion ; but without giving them time to observe the State of the *Roman Army*, they were sent back with a Challenge to their Generals, to fight the next Day. Upon this, the affrighted *Volsci* did not wait the Morning-Light, but decamp'd in the Night, and return'd to their Towns.

THE *Latins* then had no Remedy, but in an entire Submission. They therefore chose Deputies, out of the Cities which had oppos'd the War, to serve as Mediators at *Rome*, in favour of the whole Nation. These appear'd in the Senate, carrying in their Hands Olive Branches \* bound round with Wool. In this suppliant Posture they laid the Blame of the Insurrection of some Cities upon the Nobility of the Country, seduced into the Revolt by the *Tarquins*. Nothing cou'd be more moving than the Relation they made of their Misfortunes. *No one of our Houses*, said they, *is out of Mourning ; and the Loss of the Flower of our Youth cuts off all Hopes from Latium, and all Occasion of Fear from Rome. We yield our selves wholly to you ; and shall think our selves very happy to be received either as Allies, or as Subjects ! Whatever you shall leave us of our antient Dignity, will only serve to augment the Grandeur and Happiness of the Roman State.*

\* *Vide D. Hal.*  
p. 354. and  
*Potter's Antiq.*  
V. 1. p. 239.  
*Dion. Hal.*  
B. 6. p. 355.

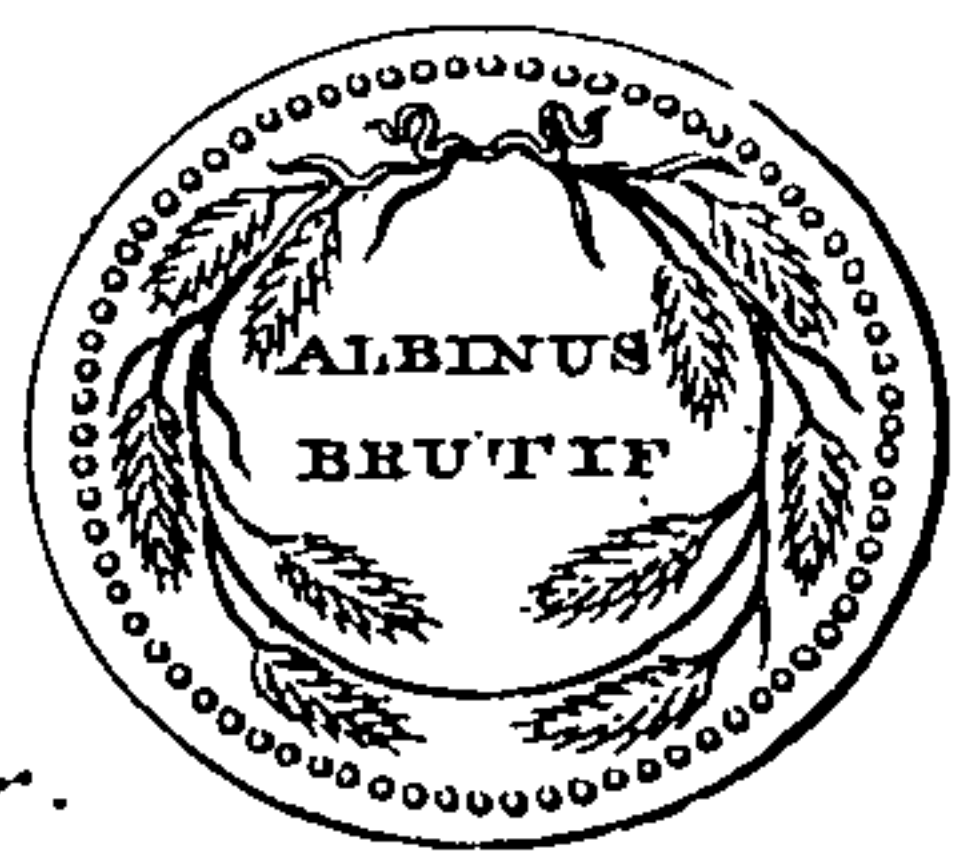
ROME had long since made it a Maxim, to spare the Nations which submitted, and to crush the proud. Nevertheless, the Senate was not without some severe Men, who were for razing all the Cities of *Latium*, seizing their Territories, and reducing all their Inhabitants to Slavery ; except those who had continued



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B. 6. p. 354.

constant in their Fidelity. But this cruel Motion was rejected. The Senate contented it self with condemning the *Latins*, to send back the Prisoners they had made during the War, to deliver up the Deserters, and to drive the *Roman* Exiles out of *Latium*. As to their recovering the Rights of their antient Confederacy, they were suffered to languish three Years in Expectation of it. The Law which the Republick was pleased to impose upon them, was received with Thankfulness and in consequence of the Treaty and new Oaths, King *Tarquin* was driven out of all the *Latin* Country. At the Age of at least ninety Years, after having been rejected by the *Hetrurians*, the *Sabines*, and all the free Nations, and left without Protector, and without Issue, he found his last *Asylum* at *Cumæ*, in *Campania*, with *Aristodemus*, a Tyrant like himself, who at that time invaded the Liberties of his People. There the old King of *Rome* lived only a few Months, after fourteen Years Exile, which he had made remarkable by almost as many Wars. But now, the Battel of *Regillum* brought Tranquillity to the Republick: all the Incendiaries, who stirred up the Nations of *Italy* against her, being there cut off. *Rome* was indebted for this great Happiness, to the Conduct and Valour of the Dictator *Posthumius*<sup>52</sup>. The Honours of a Triumph were therefore decreed to him; and to his other Names was added that of *Regillensis*, taken from the Place where this great General had made his own Name illustrious, and raised the Glory of the *Roman* Arms. At his Entry into *Rome*, he was followed by five thousand five hundred *Latins*, taken Prisoners in the Battel, and a great Number of Chariots, loaded with the Spoils and the Arms of the Enemy. The Conqueror devoted a tenth Part of the Booty, to defray the Expences of Publick Games, and to build some Temples in Honour of the Gods. One was raised to *Bacchus* and *Ceres*, because the Irregularity of the Seasons, and the War, had made the *Romans* apprehensive of a Scarcity this Year. But this Temple was not dedicated till three Years after. Another<sup>53</sup> was erected in Honour of *Castor* and *Pollux*. These Gods were said to have appeared, during the Action, upon<sup>54</sup> white Horses, and to have fought for the *Romans*. This Fable, which



Silver.

<sup>52</sup> According to *Livy*, *Posthumius* was not the only Person who triumphed, after the Battel of *Regillum*. He makes *Æbutius Elva* share the Honour of the Triumph with the Dictator. But the *Fasti Capitolini*, as *Sigonius* represents them, are silent about it. They speak only of the Triumph of *Posthumius*, who had from thence the Surname of *Regillensis*. The Antiquaries conjecture, that the *Posthumian* Family, one of the most illustrious among the *Patricians*, caused the Medal, which we here represent, to be struck as a Monument of *Posthumius's* Victory. On the Reverse is a Crown, which is a Symbol of the Triumph of this Dictator, with this Inscription, ALBINUS BRUTII, F. The *Albini* were one Branch of this Family.

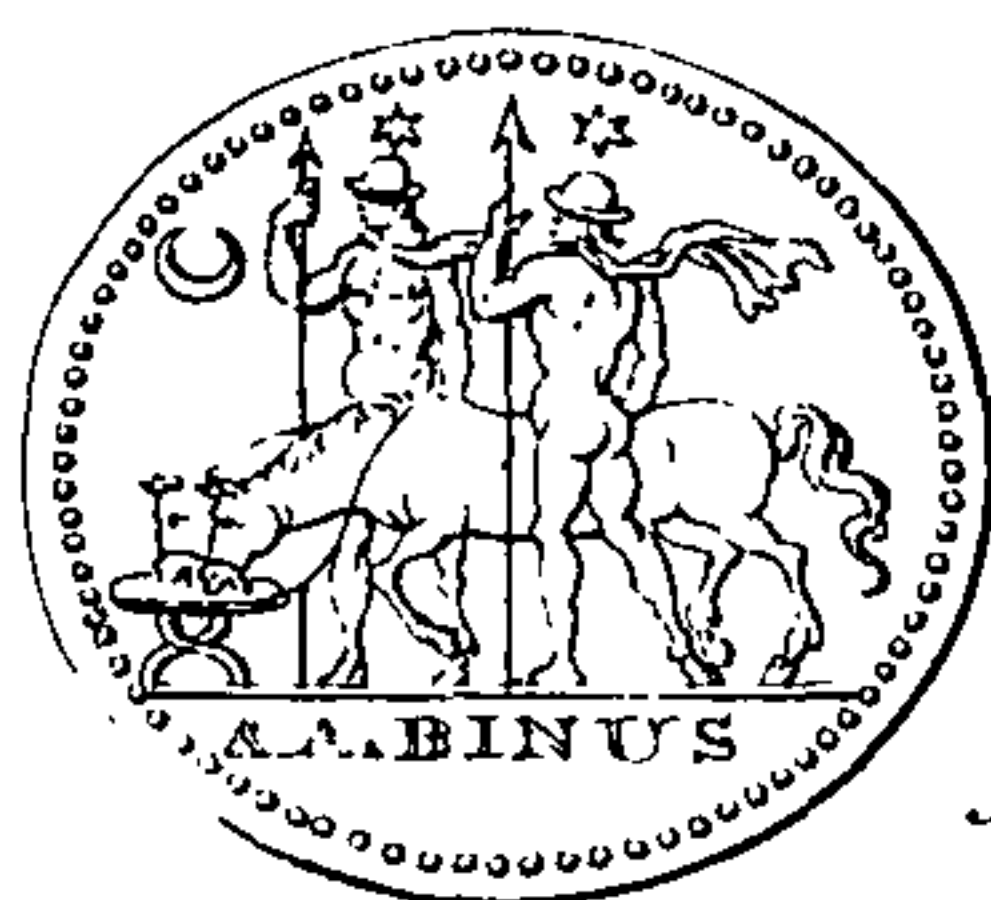
<sup>53</sup> This Temple, which afterwards fell to Ruin, was, according to *Cicero*, *Verr.* 3. rebuilt by *Luc. Metellus*. The Edifice, tho' erected in Honour of the two Brothers, *Castor* and *Pollux*, was called only by the Name of the former. Upon which, *Suetonius* tells us a Joke of *Bibulus*. *Bibulus*, who was *Consul*, had contributed as much as *C. Caesar*, his Collegue, towards the Expence of the publick Games: and yet *Caesar* had all the Honour of the Show. This made *Bibulus* say pleasantly, that he had had the Fate of *Pollux*, and *Caesar* the Fortune of *Castor*. The Fountain in the Neighbourhood of this Temple, was likewise consecrated to those two Deities.

<sup>54</sup> *Dion. Halicarn.* is pretty long in relating the Circumstances of this fabulous Event. Two young Horsemen, says he, of an extraordinary and majestic Stature, appeared to *Posthumius*, and his Party. They marched at the Head of the Cavalry, striking Terror among the *Latins*, whom they wounded with Darts and Lances. In the Evening, after the Battel was gained, the same Horsemen appeared at *Rome*, in the *Forum*. Their fierce and threatening Countenances, and their Horses all dropping with Sweat, made People conclude, that they were returned from the Battel. When they had dismounted, they washed themselves in the Basen of a Fountain, whose Spring is near the Temple of *Vesta*: and they told the Crowd of Citizens, who surrounded them, the first News of the Victory gained by the *Romans*; after which, they disappeared. *Plutarch* adds to this Relation, that *Lucius Domitius* was the first who was informed by *Castor* and *Pollux*, of the entire Defeat of the *Latins*: and to make the Fable still more wonderful, the same Author affirms, that *Domitius* having appeared surprized at the Account of the new Victory, the two Horsemen took him gently by the Beard, and it immediately changed its Colour, from black to red. This pretended Miracle confirmed the Relation, and got *Domitius* the Surname of *Ænobarbus*: and this Fact, as fabulous as it is, was believed among the *Romans*. They transmitted it to Posterity, in their publick Monuments, which were in



which was spread abroad among the People, was founded on the Bravery of the *Roman* Cavalry in the last Battel. *Castor* and *Pollux* passed for the Protectors of the Cavalry: and in Memory therefore of so glorious a Victory, the *Romans* appointed a Festival in Honour of these two Deities, which was to be celebrated on the *Ides of July*, that is, the fifteenth of that Month; being the same Day in which the *Romans* had conquered the *Latins*, near the Lake *Regillus*. After so memorable an Expedition, which was finished in less than six Months, *Posthumius*, loaded with Glory, resigned the *Dictatorship*, before his Time was expired.

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in being, even in *Dion. Hal.*'s Time. The Reverses of the two Medals, one of the *Scribonian* Family, the other of the *Posthumian*, have perpetuated the Memory of these two fabulous Apparitions. In the first Reverse, *Castor* and *Pollux* have on their Heads a Cap, which, according to *Lucian*, represents the half of the Egg, from whence the Fancy of the Poets have made them Spring. *Castor* and *Pollux* are denoted by the two Stars, or Constellations, which take their Names from these two fabulous Deities.

This Festival was celebrated in After-times, with a Pomp worthy of the *Roman* Majesty. *Dion. Hal.* gives this Account of it. After the magnificent Sacrifices which the principal *Knights* offer,

yearly, in Honour of *Castor* and *Pollux*, on the *Ides of July*, the Day in which the War was happily ended, those, to whom the Republick allow a Horse, form a pompous Cavalcade. They are distinguished in the Procession by their *Tribes*, and by their *Curia*, are crowned with Olive Branches, and wear the *Trabea*. They begin their March at the Temple of *Mars*, situated without the Walls; from thence they cross the City, and pass thro' the *Forum*, before the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*. They are sometimes in Number five thousand, who carry with them all the Marks of Honour, which they have merited in the Battels, wherein they have signalized their Courage.





# T H E

# Roman History.

## B O O K VII.

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§.I. **T**HE *Romans* found themselves at length delivered from an ambitious Family, which had long been labouring to enslave them : but Ambition itself was neither banished from *Rome*, nor perfectly extinguished, with the *Tarquins*. The last of the Kings had succeeded in his Design, of excluding the Senate and People from any Authority in the Government, which the Laws obliged him to share with them : and the too absolute Power he assumed, alienated the Affection of the *Romans* from him, even more than the Disorders of his Court. The latter were indeed the avowed Pretences made use of to dethrone him ; but the true Cause of his Ruin, was that Pride and Independence which he affected, and which made him carry his Pretensions beyond the fundamental Laws of the State.

UNDER the Republican Government, which succeeded the Kingly, the publick Authority ought to have been almost equally divided between the People and the Senate. But can the Heart of Man contain it self within the strict Bounds of Reason and Equity ? The very same Year *Tarquin* died at *Cumæ*, his Spirit of Dominion seems to have entered into the *Patricians* at *Rome*. They began to assume the same Power over the Commonalty, which *Tarquin* had usurped over both Senate and People. They laboured to engross to themselves the publick Authority, of which the *Plebeians* ought to have had their Share. The Consequence of which was, that the Ambition of the Nobility, which made them usurp an Authority which did not belong to them, was also punished : and the People being oppressed by the Great, not only maintained their Rights, but extended them, and took away from the Senate, and the *Consuls*, the best Part of their Prerogatives. This is a second Scene of Troubles and Divisions, which we shall soon see produced in the *Roman* Republick, by a passionate Desire of Dominion.

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LIUS, Consuls.  
*Livy, B. 2.  
ch. 21.*

THE *Dictator Posthumius*, who had quieted the domestick Dissentions, only by the Help of a foreign War, his Success in which had made him immortal, now thought of nothing but laying down his Office. He therefore appointed an Assembly of the *Comitia*, in the *Campus Martius* : in which <sup>1</sup> *Appius Claudius*, and *Publius Servilius*, were raised to the *Consulate*. Every thing seemed then to favour the Hopes of the Senators. They presumed, the Time was now come, for bringing the People into Subjection, and reducing them by Force to an Inferiority, above which the publick Necessities of the State had hitherto, in some measure, raised them. The chief Dependence of the *Patricians* was upon *Appius Claudius*. They knew what an Enemy the new *Consul* was, to the Pretensions of the People ; and were persuaded, that his Dignity would not at all abate the Rigour of his Sentiments, with respect to the *Plebeians*. Besides, the Death of the last King, the Report of which was spread abroad at *Rome*, elated the Minds of the Nobility, who

<sup>1</sup> *Claudius's Prænomen* is not universally agreed upon. According to the Historians, it was *Appius* ; and according to the *Fasti Capitolini*, it was *Marcus*. But this is a Mistake in the *Fasti*. *Tully* calls him *Appius*, *B. 1. de Oratore* ; as *Pliny* does, *B. 35*. The latter relates a Transaction in *Claudius's Consulate*, which we could not insert in the Body of our History ; and which is this : That he first caused the *Roman* Bucklers to be consecrated by publick and private Sacrifices. By this means, every

Soldier became more careful of his own, in Battle. It was now become a sacred thing ; and the Soldiers made a scruple of throwing it away, even when it was to help their Flight. This *Claudius's* Surname was *Sabinus*, or *Regillensis*, because he was born at *Regillum* in *Sabinia*. *Servilius's* Prænomen was *Publius*, and his Surname *Priscus*. The *Fasti* of *Cappian*, and those of *Sicily*, call these *Consuls* only by their Surnames. This Year, say they, *Sabinus* and *Priscus* were *Consuls*.



expressed their Satisfaction at it in a very extravagant manner. The Reason was, they thought they might now pay less Regard to the People, whose Assistance became less necessary to them, since they were got rid of so troublesome an Enemy. The *Patricians* therefore assumed an Ascendant over the Commonalty, which fell little short of Oppression. Probably, the Creditors then very much harassed their Debtors, who were left open to their Prosecutions, and were treated by them without Mercy; because they knew how severe *Appius Claudius* was in relation to them. The Populace were therefore enraged against the Nobility; the News of the Parties which were formed in *Rome*, soon reached her Enemies; and the *Volsci*, who always looked on the Prosperity of the Republick with a jealous Eye, thought to have taken Advantage of these Times of Division. They negotiated with their Neighbours for Succours: They raised a formidable Army, and proposed nothing less than to besiege and take *Rome*.

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§. II. THEN the Senate thought it necessary to employ the Forces of the *Romans* Abroad, in order to give a Diversion to the Mutineers at Home. The Preparations the *Volsci* were making, gave the Republick a fair Opportunity of declaring War against them, and preventing them. Besides, other Pretences for taking up Arms against them were not wanting. The *Volsci* had lent the *Latins* Forces, in the last War; which was Ground enough for the *Romans* to fall upon them: And it was therefore decreed, that one of the *Consuls* should go and carry the War into the Country of their old Enemies. All the Difficulty was, how to raise Troops enough to form an Army. The *Roman* Youth had Notice to come to the *Capitol*, as usual, in order to their being enlisted, and formed into *Legions*; but tho' they were more than once summoned, no Body appeared. And this Disobedience of the People, divided the *Consuls* into contrary Opinions, and created a Difference between them, which lasted the whole Time of their Office. *Claudius* was a *Sabine*, who was naturally of an austere and frugal Temper, and this complexional Severity was increased by the Education he had had in his own Country. Being therefore an Enemy to all Licentiousness, he was enraged at this of the *Roman* People: And being persuaded that the only way to reform it was to humble the untractable, he thought to subject them all at once, both to the Rigour of the Laws, and the Sovereignty of the Senate. The Rectitude of his Intentions, made him deaf to all prudential Considerations, and he miscalled his Obstinacy, Steadiness and Constancy. *Servilius* was a weaker Man, who turned with every Wind. He had entered into *M. Valerius's* Schemes, more out of Pusillanimity, than on any rational Motives; and inclined to favour the People. He therefore was of Opinion, that in the present State of Affairs it was necessary, either wholly to forgive the People their Debts, or to lessen considerably the Weight of them. At least, he was against granting Actions to any Creditor who had suffered the Time appointed for the Payment of Debts to lapse. But *Servilius's* Moderation made no Impression on the inveterate Prejudices of *Appius*. He persisted in suffering Creditors to pursue the Recovery of their Rights with the utmost Rigour; and was of Opinion, that the *Consul* who should be left in the City, during the War, ought to pass a severe Sentence upon those, who having been summoned into Court on account of their Debts, had failed to give in their Appearance on the Day appointed. To favour the People, said he, so far as to authorize their Acts of Injustice, is to furnish them with Weapons for usurping an arbitrary Power in *Rome*. This People was tractable and submissive in the Time of the Kings, when none of them durst defraud his Creditors, and every one paid likewise the Taxes which were laid upon him. But now, that they are delivered from these Burdens, they demand such Immunities as it were unjust to grant them. Will they ever set Bounds to their Pretensions, till they are entirely released from all Obedience to the Laws, and from the Performance of the most inviolable Contracts? If therefore they attempt to raise any Disturbances, let us quell them at once by the sober Part of *Rome*, which we shall find to be superior to the mad and profligate. Our young *Patricians* excel them in Valour, and almost equal them in Number. But the surest Weapon to be made use of against them, is the Majesty of the Senate; which strikes the most audacious with Awe and Reverence, and the Laws make them drop their Arms. If the People should gain the Ascendant, thro' our Condescension, and set up an ambitious Man to be their Head,

Dion. Hal  
B. 6. p. 359.

Ibid. p. 360.

Ibid.



Year of Rome will then be thrown back into all those Misfortunes, from which the Gods and her own Valour have delivered her.

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THIS Diversity of Opinions in the Senate, produced nothing but Disputes. It assembled daily, and as oft broke up without coming to any Conclusions. The whole Time of the Debates was spent in personal Reflections and Contradictions. One of the *Consuls* was kept steady by his Fear, the other by his Intrepidity. But in the mean time, the Season drew on apace for taking the Field against the *Volsci*: And the Senate therefore, without coming to any Determination about the Affairs of the People, decreed that *Servilius* should take upon him the military Expedition Abroad; and that *Appius* should continue in *Rome* to regulate Affairs at Home. The *Patricians* hoped, that by this means *Servilius*, who was more popular than his Collegue, would be able to raise an Army with the more Ease; and that *Appius* would, by his Severity during the War, restrain the Attempts of the People, and force them to pay their Debts. They did not then foresee what Misfortunes *Appius's* Rigour was going to produce.

ACCORDINGLY *Servilius*, whom the People looked on as the Support of their Interests, assembled Troops enough to make him venture to take the Field. The Army he commanded, did not indeed consist of Soldiers formally enrolled and sworn: The People persisted in refusing the Senate Levies legally made. *Servilius's* Men were all Volunteers, who made his Army the more formidable, in that they served only out of Affection to their General. So that they entered into the Country of the *Volsci*, and struck them with Terror. These old Enemies of the *Roman* Name, were surprized to see themselves prevented by armed Citizens, whom they thought sufficiently employ'd in Broils and Dissentions in their own City.

Disen. Hal.  
 B. 6. p. 361.  
 Liv. B. 2. c. 22.

As for the *Volsci*, neither were their Preparations made, nor their Troops assembled. As soon as their Surprize was over, they found they had no Refuge left, but Supplications and Intreaties: And the too weak *Servilius* suffered himself to be wrought upon by the Sight of the most honourable Inhabitants of the Country lying prostrate at his Feet. He shewed them Favour, and contented himself with requiring of them Subsistence, and Clothes for his Troops, and three hundred Hostages of the most illustrious Nobility in the Country.

§. III. AFTER *Servilius's* Return, the *Consuls* and Senate thought *Rome* in no Danger from any other Quarter: Upon which, the rich prosecuted their Debtors with more Violence, and the Judgments which were given against the poor Debtors, were more severe. By this means, the Imprisonment and Slavery of the common People, who were delivered up to their Creditors, renewed all the old Complaints against those who had most Power in the State. *It is in vain then*, said they, *for us to venture our Lives for an ingrateful City, which uses us here like Slaves taken in War. If we were subject to the Enemies of Rome, whom we have so often subdued with our Swords, could we have less Liberty than we now have among our Fellow-Citizens?* But whilst these Clamours were neglected, and the People made to submit to the Rigour of the Law, Envoys came to *Rome* from the *Latins*, who were become wise, and well-affected to the Republick, since the great Overthrow they had received near the Lake *Regillus*. These brought to *Rome* some Deputies which had been sent to their Nation by the *Volsci*, in order to engage them to join with them against the *Romans*. It seems to have been a Breach of the Law of Nations to deliver up Ambassadors to their Enemies: Nevertheless, *Rome* knew how to make her Advantage of the Informations she received from them. She learned by them, that the *Sabines* and *Hernici* were entered into a League with the *Volsci*, and that the latter were fortifying their Towns, and secretly making Preparations for War. And then the Fidelity of the *Latins* was thought worthy of a Reward. The Republick gave them back about six thousand Prisoners, which had been taken from them in the last War: And it was likewise ordered that they should be new-clothed, before they set out for their own Country. By this handsome Treatment the *Romans* became absolute Masters of the Affections of the *Latins*: Who, in Proof of their Gratitude and Attachment to them, sent to *Rome* a Crown of Gold, to be hung up in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. In short, these reciprocal Marks of Union were followed by mutual Hospitality.

Livy, lib. 2.

§. IV. It is easy to conceive, that the haughty *Romans* would not let the Ingratitude of the *Volsci* escape unpunished, who had been guilty of breaking a Peace, which



had just been granted them, at their own Request. So that the Senate decreed, that War should be made with them: And it was the People's Business to confirm the Decree of the Senate. But an unexpected Accident raised fresh Troubles in the City all on a sudden, and increased the publick Divisions. Whilst the Senators were assembled in the Place where they usually met, a *Roman*, tall of Stature, and advanced in Years, lean, and of a pale livid Complexion, whose Eyes were sunk into his Head, his Beard long and bushy, and his Hair in Disorder, appeared in the *Forum*. At his Clamours and extravagant Gestures, the Multitude ran together about him. The Crowd increased every Moment, and became at last almost as great as used to assemble when a Magistrate ascended *The Tribune* to harangue the People. They looked on the *Roman* with great Attention; till at length several knew him, and remembered to have seen him in the first Ranks of the *Legions*, in which he had gained himself some Reputation for Valour. His Appearance alone drew the Peoples Compassion upon him; but when they had heard him give an Account of his Misfortunes, they were exceedingly grieved for him, and filled with Rage and Resentment. *I was born free, says he, and I have often hazarded my Life in the Service of Rome. Eight and twenty Battles, in which I distinguish'd my self, and often gained the usual Rewards of Valour, have placed me among the honourable Veterans<sup>2</sup> of the Roman Soldiery<sup>3</sup>. But alas! it was my great Misfortune that I did not die honourably, by the Hands of an Enemy! Do you remember the extreme Want to which the City was reduced, during the War with the Sabines? A Contribution was then raised upon the People, which I did not refuse to pay. But still the Price of Provisions increased, and I could no longer support my Family without borrowing. Yet, after all, my Frugality would have enabled me to have paid my Debts, if our Enemies had not taken from me the Remains of a moderate Fortune, in the Devastations they committed in the Roman Territory. By their Robberies, and a Fire, I was deprived all at once of the little I had left to live upon, and to satisfy my Creditors. But nevertheless, the Enemies of Rome were not the most cruel Persecutors I have met with. My covetous Fellow-Citizens have brought me, by degrees, into an Abyss of Misery. First my Corn and my Cattle were seized; then I saw my Land put up to publick Sale; and, to complete my Misfortunes, I, with my two Sons, was reduced to Slavery, by my Creditors; and I, alas! have lost that Liberty<sup>4</sup>, which I spilt*

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<sup>2</sup> Those were called *Veterans*, or *Milites emeriti*, in antient *Rome*, who had served the Republick as many Years as was usually required of Soldiers: which was twenty Years for the Foot, and ten Years for the Horse; whether they were enlisted the first Year after they came to the Age of Man, or later. It has been already observed, that the legal Age for military Service, was from seventeen to forty six. Not that, as *Sigonius* thought, every *Roman* was indispensably obliged to be enrolled as soon as he was seventeen. At that Rate every one must have begun to serve at that Age. Which will appear to be absolutely false, and utterly improbable, especially if we reflect ever so little upon the established Order of making Levies, and choosing Soldiers, among the *Romans*. Besides, in that Case the Law, instead of requiring twenty Years Service, would have required thirty. Now it is certain, according to *Polybius*, *Livy*, and *Tacitus*, that a Soldier, as soon as he had served twenty Years, was absolutely discharged from further Service, tho' he was not arrived at the Age of forty six Years; and much more therefore, when he had entered into the Service at seventeen. It's true, some Authors, and *Livy* himself, seem to extend the military Age to fifty Years. *Seneca* says as much, *De brevitate vite, cap. ult.* — *Lex a quinquagesimo anno militum non cogit.* But they only meant, that a Soldier who at the Age of forty six, had not fulfilled the Time appointed by Law, might be forced to serve till he was fifty; or else, that in Cases of urgent Necessity, the Republick had a Right of requiring some Years Service, beyond the Time limited by Law. At fifty, a Soldier, whether he had served

twenty Years or not, might either demand his Discharge, or continue to serve as a *Veteran* and Volunteer, as he thought proper.

<sup>3</sup> *Livy* makes this Soldier say, he had been an Officer.

<sup>4</sup> The first Custom that prevailed among the *Romans*, with respect to Debtors, was exceedingly severe. The Creditor was suffered to keep those who could not pay him, in Prison. The *Patricians* themselves pleaded this Custom, for causing those *Plebeians* to be whipped, who did not pay their Debts at the Time appointed. The Intent of the *Kings*, was thereby to prevent the Debauchery, Prodigality, and Idleness of the common People. But after all, so severe a Law had its Inconveniences. Unforeseen Conjunctions happened, in which the People were obliged to borrow, to support Life: And then no body in *Rome* would lend, but at an immense Interest. The Laws permitted lending at 20, 30, nay *Cent. per Cent.* not only for a Year, but even for a Month. This was exorbitant Usury: and it was afterwards reformed: But the Republick tolerated it at first, to hinder the Citizens of *Rome* from borrowing, and to lay a check upon Debauchery and Excess. Nay, which is more, when a Man died insolvent, his Body was given up to his Creditors, who tore it in pieces, and took every one a Bit, by way of Payment. This was a barbarous Law, and did not continue long in Force. This Barbarity was changed into the Punishment of *Coercition*, that is, into the Right the Creditors had of imprisoning their Debtors in their own Houses, and making Slaves of them. These were called *Nexi*, and not *Servi*; because their Slavery lasted no longer than



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*my Blood to establish in Rome.* At these Words he pulled off the Rags which covered his Body, and shewed on his Breast, the Scars of the honourable Wounds he had received from the Enemy; and on his Shoulders, the fresh Marks of the Whip with which he had been whipped, by his Master's Order. At this Sight, the Spectators, filled with Indignation, made great Outcries. The Senate, which was then sitting, and heard these Clamours, was affrighted at them. In short, all the City came by degrees, and joined the People which were in the *Forum*. The Artificers left their Shops, and the Citizens who were confined for Debt, broke their Chains and came out of their Prisons: And by the frightful Figure they made, the Noise of their Chains, their tattered Clothes, and their roaring, they raised both Pity and Terror. These Wretches spread themselves all over the City, and if any one pretended to stop them, he was immediately massacred. They were transported with Rage and Fury.

THE *Consul Appius* plainly saw, that the Fury of the Mutineers was like to fall upon him: And he therefore hastened away from the Senate, and got to his House. *Servilius*, after he had pulled off his Robe, that he might be thereby the more agreeable to the People, went in among the factious. And tho' he embraced some, threw himself at the Feet of others, and lamented all their Misfortunes, he had much ado to prevail upon them to suspend all Acts of Violence till the next Day. They would not hearken to him at all, till he promised that the Senate should have Regard to their Complaints. Nay, *Servilius* went farther; he made Proclamation by an Herald, That no one should molest any *Roman* Citizen for Debt, till the Senate had decreed otherwise.

THE next Day the *Forum* was full both of Citizens and Countrymen, whose common Interest had brought them thither. And whilst they were expecting the Answer of the Senate, the *Conscript Fathers* were disputing among themselves; some in favour of the People; others, in order to support the Rich, and establish the Sovereignty of the Senate. *Appius*, among others, who was an avowed Advocate for the Nobility, charged as a Crime upon his Collegue, the Method he had taken to appease the Tumult the Day before. He represented him as a vile Flatterer of the *Plebeians*, and a Favourer of the Revolt. On the other hand, *Servilius* accused him of indiscreet Severity, and made him the Author of the Insurrections. So that, there was no end of their Disputes. Besides, there was not a sufficient Number of Senators assembled, to make a Decree. The People therefore, who impatiently expected one, were enraged at these Delays. They put an ill Construction on the Absence of the Senators, and imagined it had been a thing concerted with the *Consuls*, on purpose to frustrate the Expectations of the People. Nor could any thing have hindered the seditious from revenging themselves on the two chief Magistrates of the Republick, if an unexpected Piece of News had not changed the Situation of Affairs.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 6. p. 362.

WHILE the People were yet in a Crowd in the *Forum*, they saw Deputies arrive from the *Latins*, who had come full Speed, to acquaint the *Romans*, that the *Volsi* had taken the Field, entered into the Territory of the *Latins*, and were advancing with Design to besiege *Rome*. How surprizing are the Effects of human Passions! The *Plebeians* were at first overjoyed to see their own Republick in Danger. Little Divisions among one another, made the greatest Part of the *Romans* forget the Love of their Country. When the Citizens overwhelmed with Debts, were invited to take up Arms, in Defence of the Publick, they shewed the Chains with which their Creditors had loaded them. *Is not it the same thing to us*, said they, *whether they are put upon us by the Enemy, or by our own Countrymen? Let the Patricians run to the War, since they are the only Persons who reap any Benefit from our Victories! Shall we make a Rampart of our Bodies, only to hinder the Enemy from pulling down our Prisons, and carrying away our Chains?* Such Discourses as these, scattered among the People, made them insensible of the Danger, with which *Rome* was threatned. Nevertheless, the Cries and Screams of the Women, who were terrified at the Approach of the Enemy, were equally proper to abate the Rigour of the Senate, and overcome the Obstinacy of

than till their Debts were paid. This Coercition of private Persons, who kept their Debtors in their own Houses, was afterwards changed into publick Imprisonments, which was a less rigorous Punishment than that Slavery, whereby Men were kept Captives in the Houses of their own Creditors.



the People. But it was necessary something more should be done, to bring the Commonalty to agree, to lend their Country their Assistance.

HAD *Appius Claudius's* Colleague been of his Temper, *Rome* had become a Prey to the *Volsci*. But the Republick had the Happiness to find a Remedy against the impending Misfortunes, in *Servilius's* Weakness. He was prevailed upon by his Friends, to go to the People again, and to carry them a second time, such Promises from the Senate, as the Senators were firmly resolved never to perform. None but a Man of his Weakness of Mind, would have taken upon him to delude so formidable a Part of the State. When the People were assembled in the *Forum*, *Servilius* ascended *The Tribune*, and spoke thus.

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DOMESTICK Feuds are now very unseasonable, when our Lives and Estates are in danger. Shall we see this City, which has been made sacred by such venerable Auspices, reduced to Ashes, through the Obstinacy of those who are most concerned in Interest to defend it? Shall these Houses, these domestick Altars, these paternal Lares, under whose Protection you came into the World, and which are a Refuge for your Wives and Children, be plundered and demolished, by Foreigners and Barbarians? Will you, Romans, suffer this? You, who have taken so many Cities, and have yourselves been thereby made Eye-witnesses of the terrible Desolation those Cities were overwhelmed with, in consequence of your Victories? You would have your Grievances first redressed, before you lend your Country your Assistance. But is this a regular Way of Proceeding? First begin with delivering us from the Danger which hangs over our Heads, and then come and stretch out your victorious Hands to the Senate. I know what the Intentions of the Senators are. They are too equitable a Body, to refuse great Rewards to important Services. I even dare promise you this, that your Demands shall be complied with, as soon as *Rome*, by being freed from her Fear, shall be in a Condition to give you Satisfaction, without Dishonour to herself. Has not the Senate been obliged hitherto to hold the Balance even between your Creditors and you? They justly demand those Payments, from which you think your Indigence ought to exempt you. This is a Debate, which it would take up a great deal of Time to discuss. And the Way to end it, is this. Make the rich Romans your Debtors, for the Preservation of their Estates, and put it out of their Power to refuse to acquit you of your Debts, without Ingratitude. To remit them now, is neither consistent with the Dignity of the Senate, nor with your own Glory. It would then be said, that the Decree was only granted you out of Fear, and that you could not have obtained it, but by Violence. This Discourse abated the Fury of the Populace; and the reading a Decree which was passed the same Day, entirely quelled it. All Creditors were thereby forbidden to prosecute any for Debt, who were entered into military Service, or to disturb their Wives, or Children, or to sell their Houses, Lands, or Cattel: but the Creditors were commanded to prosecute all such Debtors with Severity, as either should refuse to enlist themselves according to Law, or desert after they were once enlisted.

Disc. Hal.  
B. 6. p. 365.

§. V. To this wise Law the *Romans* owed their Preservation. Those who before were most warm in refusing the military Oaths, were now most pressing to take them. There never was a greater Concourse of People at the *Capitol*, than now. They seemed to make Interest to be admitted into the *Legions*. The Reason was, they were afraid of *Appius*, and of the Severity with which he would treat those

§ The giving the military Oath, which was called *Sacramentum*, was, properly speaking, the legal Method of forming the *Roman* Armies. After the Soldiers had been chosen out of each *Tribe*, in the manner elsewhere described, this Oath was administered to them. The Ceremony was this. The *Tribunes* of each *Legion* assembled the Body they commanded. Then one Soldier in a *Legion* swore, in the Name of all the rest, to obey the Commanders of the *Roman* Army. After this, every Soldier came, and singly engaged to perform what had been sworn. This Custom continued till the 538<sup>th</sup> Year of *Rome*; and then another Oath, called by *Livy*, B. 22. *Jusjurandum*, (of which we shall speak in its proper Place) was added to the former. By virtue of this last Engagement, Rebels and Deserters were punished with Death, and no Appeal admitted. There

was likewise another Way of enlisting Men, which was called *Conjuratio*. It took place, in case of unforeseen Commotions, and the sudden Eruptions of an Enemy. Then, that no time might be lost in raising the necessary Succours, the Soldiers were excused the Formalities, usually observed in enrolling them. The General only went up to the *Capitol*, and there erected two Standards; one red, for the Foot; and the other blue, for the Horse. After which, he pronounced these Words, with a loud Voice: *Let those who love the Safety of the Republick, make haste and follow me.* A third Way of enrolling or enlisting Men, then in Use, is this. The *Consuls* committed it to the Care of chosen Persons, to raise Troops in different Places, as the Republick had occasion for them; and this was called *Evocatio*.

Y y y

Debtors



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Debtors who should be left in *Rome*. As soon as the Levies were completed, the *Consul Servilius* immediately marched out of the City. He made haste, that he might come up with the Enemy, before they entered into the Lands of the *Romans*: And accordingly, by long and uninterrupted Marches, he reached them in the *Latin* Territories. The *Volsci* were there revenging, by their Robberies, the pretended Treachery of the *Latins*, who had betrayed their Ambassadors, and sacrificed them to their Attachment to the Republick. *Servilius* came and encamped over Night, within reach of the Enemy, in a Plain, bordering upon the *Pontine Lake*<sup>6</sup>. The Sight of the *Consul* raised the Valour of the *Volsci*; and they purposed to attack his Camp the Night following. They thought, that the *Romans*, when fatigued with a long March, and divided among themselves, would not be able to withstand their Attacks; and that the Malecontents would have a better Opportunity of concealing their Treachery in the Dark, if they engaged in the Night. In the mean time, the *Consul* fortified his Entrenchments with surprising Expedition. He was an abler Soldier, than Politician.

Livy, B. 2.  
ch. 25.

THE Night was already far advanced, when the *Volsci* marched silently on, to surprize or force the *Roman* Camp. But the *Roman* Centinels perceived they were in Motion, and gave the Alarm. Upon this, the *Consul* instantly drew up his Men upon the Rampart; and his Army made so great an Appearance, as disconcerted the Measures of the *Volsci*. But as soon as Day came, the Battel began. The Enemy had filled up a Part of the Ditch, and were already breaking down the Pallisadoes, which surrounded the *False-bray* of the Camp; whilst *Servilius* stood unactive, and made no haste to fall on the Enemy. He was not yet sufficiently assured of the Good-Will of his Troops. But when he heard his Men accuse him of Inactivity, and shew their Desire of fighting, by their Shouts; he then, being as desirous of fighting as they, ordered all the Gates of his Camp to be opened, and made a general Sally upon the *Volsci*. These did not look for so vigorous an Attack. They were for the most part dispersed about, without keeping their Ranks, and expecting nothing but to enter the *Roman* Camp, and plunder it. This unforeseen Eruption therefore forced the *Volsci* to fly. Those only made any Resistance, who persisted in demolishing the Fortifications of the *Roman* Camp. But they, being at last attacked both in Front and Rear, all perished in the Engagement. As for the Fugitives, the *Romans* pursued them close, and strewed all the Plain with their dead Bodies. It was observed, that those who were most in Debt, and had been the most mutinous in *Rome*, signalized themselves most in the Action. The Enemy, being repulsed by their Valour, retired, after much Loss, into their Camp: And, without giving them any time to breathe, the Camp of the *Volsci* was immediately invested. Upon which, their Terror was so great, that, after a slight Defence, they left it to be a Prey for the *Roman* Soldiers. And here they found more Spoil, than in a City taken by Assault. Money, Furniture, Clothes, Cattel, and Slaves, were all given up as free Booty to the Troops. The *Consul* reserved nothing of it for the publick<sup>7</sup> Treasury. His Design being to enrich his Army, and enable his Soldiers to pay their Debts.

THE gaining this Battle emboldened *Servilius* to undertake a Siege. His Troops also were ready to follow him, and undertake any thing he should command. He therefore turned towards *Suessa*, which was also called *Pometia*. The Largeness of

6 The *Pontina Palus*, or *Pontine Lake*, was in that Part of *Latium*, which is bounded on the East, partly by the Rivers *Ufens* and *Amazinus*, and partly by the City of *Anxur*, or *Terracina*; on the South, by the *Tyrrhenian* Sea, and the Promontory of *Circæum*; on the West, by the River *Astura*; and on the North, by the Cities of *Norba* and *Setia*. This Lake took its Name, from being in the Neighbourhood of *Pometia*, formerly one of the most considerable Cities in this Country. Before this Part of *Latium* was drowned by the Overflowings of the *Nymphæus*, the *Amasena*, the *Astura*, and the *Ufens*, it was thought the Garden of *Italy*, both for Pleasure and Fertility. There were, according to ancient Authors, and especially *Pliny*, B. 3. ch. 5. twenty-three Cities in it, which are supposed to have been swallowed up by Inundations, or overturned by Earthquakes. At least, there were no Remains of

them to be seen in *Dion. Hal.*'s Time.

7 It was then customary to divide the Spoils between the victorious Army, and the publick Treasury. The Product of these Spoils, which were taken from an Enemy, was generally applied either to the building of the Temples, or the Celebration of publick Sports, or to adorn the City. *Servius* even assures us, upon *Æneid*. 3. that the Generals made it Matter of Religion, to appropriate a Part of the Fruit of their Victories to the God whose Protection they invoked. Agreeably to this Custom, adds *Servius*, there was a Temple built at *Rome*, to *Jupiter the Plunderer*, *Jupiter Prædatori*. But ancient Authors give us no Account, either of the Place where this Temple stood, or of him that consecrated it: and their Silence creates a strong Suspicion of the Truth of *Servius*'s Relation.



its Circumference, and the Multitude, Riches, and Luxury of its Inhabitants, made it pass for the Capital of the *Volsci*. But it was taken, almost as soon as invested. The Besiegers perpetually harassed it Day and Night, by scaling the Walls, and gave the Besieged no Rest; till Famine, Fatigues, and Despair of Succours, sunk the Courage of the *Suessans*; and their City was at last taken by Assault. And now *Servilius* lost his Mildness and Good-nature all at once. He put all to the Sword, who were past the Age of *Puberty*. A strange Piece of Barbarity, which his Collegue imitated at *Rome*, but with more Equity! By *Appius Claudius's* Orders, the three hundred Hostages, the *Volsci* had given the *Romans*, upon *Servilius's* first Expedition, were all beheaded. With regard to the Spoil, the General did the same thing at *Suessa*, as he had done with the Camp of the *Volsci*. He gave up this wealthy City, as free Booty for his Troops, without reserving any Part of the Plunder for the publick Treasury. By this means, his Army was encouraged to make new Conquests under his Command, and had no Reason to repent of having followed his Standards.

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Dion. Hal.  
B. 6. p. 364.

WHILST *Servilius* was employed in conquering and punishing the Enemies of the Republick, the Fruits of his Victories were tasted at *Rome*. The *Ecetrans*, who were a Part of the *Volsci*, came, and desired a Peace of the Senate: Who treated them with much Severity. The *Romans* took from them the Property of their Lands, and granted them nothing but their Lives.

Livy, B. 2.  
ibid.

So glorious a Campaign had merited the Honours of a Triumph for the *Consul*; and he was returning to the City, full of Hopes of obtaining it. But he received Information, as he was on his March, that his Collegue obstructed his Glory, either out of Jealousy, or a rigid Love of Justice, or some Remains of Resentment, or lastly, barely as an austere Republican, alway suspicious of the ambitious Designs of the Successful. In short, *Appius Claudius* persuaded the Senate to refuse the Conqueror a Triumph. His Pretence was the Indulgence with which *Servilius* had treated his Troops<sup>8</sup>, and his profuse Bounties to them, contrary to the publick Interest. *He is a seditious Man*, said he, *whose Popularity tends to Tyranny. To increase his Honours, is to increase the Fears of all good Commonwealths-men.* But *Servilius* was sensibly affected with the Injustice of the Proceedings of the Senate, and avoided the Indignities they intended him, by a bold Step, which afterwards proved a fatal Precedent to his Country. When he was come before<sup>9</sup> *Rome*, he caused the People to be called together, in a Field without the Walls, and complained to them, both of the Jealousy of his Collegue, and the Injustice of the Senators: Upon which, the People encouraged him by their Acclamations to attempt whatever he pleased. Insomuch that, contrary to the Decision of the *Consulscript Fathers*, he, barely upon the Consent of the *Curia*, decreed himself a Triumph<sup>10</sup>. Accordingly, *Servilius* immediately took the Crown of Laurel, put on the

Dion. Hal.  
B. 6. p. 365.

<sup>8</sup> *Servilius* was accused by his Collegue, of having acted contrary to the Law, which ordained, that the General, who returned from any military Expedition, should not dispose of the Spoil he had taken from the Enemy, as he pleased. This Law made him accountable for it, and obliged him to bring all the Spoils which had been taken under his Command, into the publick Treasury. But nevertheless, it is certain the Republick often dispensed with this severe Law, and left it to the Discretion of the General, to distribute such military Rewards, and Bounties, among his Soldiers, in order to quicken their Courage, as he thought fit. Provided always, that he gave an Account of his Administration, to the People, and did not convert the Fruits of the Conquests he gained in the Name of the Republick, to his own private Use. We have Multitudes of Instances of this kind. Notwithstanding which, the Law made way for Chicane, and served for a Pretence to ill-designing Men, who were jealous of the Glory of a General; as will appear in the Sequel of this History.

<sup>9</sup> *Servilius* made an halt, as soon as he came in Sight of *Rome*, because the Laws did not permit him, who demanded a Triumph, to enter into the City. He was obliged to keep without the Walls with his Army. Here the Person who claimed a Triumph, waited for the Consent of the Senate; to which, he, according to

Custom, sent a Letter wrapped up in Laurel. Upon the Receipt of this, the Senators assembled in a Body, in the Temple of *Bellona*, which stood in one of the Suburbs of *Rome*. Here the General gave an Account of his Expedition to the Senate. After which, the Senators made a Decree, by which they granted the Conqueror the Honours of a Triumph. This Decree was reported to the People, who confirmed it, and fixed the Day for the Ceremony; unless the *Tribunes of the People* opposed it: which sometimes happened. And this Law was a great Instance of the Policy of the *Romans*. An ambitious General, at the Head of a victorious Army, might have caused great Disorders in *Rome*, if he had been permitted to enter it with his Army; and might have gotten a Triumph by Force, which he had not merited.

<sup>10</sup> *Servilius* appears to have been the first *Roman* General, who decreed himself what the Senate refused to grant him. It is true, the People consented to his Triumph, but it was contrary to Rule. It then belonged to the Senate first to pass a Decree, whereby the Honours of a Triumph were granted to the General: And after this, it belonged to the People to confirm this Decree. Nay, it was even necessary, that the Senate should be unanimous in the General's Favour. Afterwards, the Opposition of one single *Tribune of the People* was sufficient to hinder the Triumph of a *Consul*. As for *Servilius*,  
he



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Livy, B. 2.  
ch. 21.

the triumphal Robe, and marched into *Rome*, followed by his Army, and attended by all the People. This numerous Train conducted the triumphant Victor to the *Capitol*; and there he returned Thanks to the Gods, and hung up several Spoils, which he had taken from the Enemy. It is easy to imagine, this new Way of triumphing must give exceeding great Dislike to the Nobility, and draw the Hatred of the Senate upon the *Consul*. Accordingly, this Triumph is omitted in the *Fasti Capitolini*; and Posterity have thought it an unlawful one. And thus much may be affirmed in general, that *Servilius* never exerted himself with Vigour in Affairs at *Rome*, but when it was to promote his own Glory.

HOWEVER, the *Consulate*, which had been so fruitful in Events of Consequence, did not end with the Return and Triumph of *Servilius*. He had yet some Months left, to enjoy the inconstant Favour of the People in, before his Magistracy expired: And the Feastings and Sports which followed his Victory, engaged all the Attention of the *Romans*. The Debtors suspended their Murmurs, and seditious Assemblies, during this short Interval, which was employed in Works of Peace, and the Offices of Religion. It is probable, this Juncture was taken hold of, to strengthen the Colony of *Signia*. A Recruit of *Roman* Citizens was sent thither, who put this Colony, which King *Tarquin* had planted, out of the Reach of the Insults of the *Volsci*. And lastly, the Number of the *Tribes* was regulated, and fixed to <sup>12</sup> twenty one.

§. VI. BUT whilst *Rome* was enjoying some Months of Tranquillity, and the Earnestness of the People in pursuing the publick Games, made them forget their Misery, there came in the Evening a Piece of News to the City, which interrupted its Diversions. It was said, that some Squadrons of *Sabines* appeared about the *Tyber*, and committed Hostilities in the Territory of *Rome*. *Posthumius* therefore, the famous *Dictator* of the last Year, flew instantly upon these Rebels, at the Head of the Cavalry; and was soon followed by *Servilius*, who led the Infantry he had hastily raised, to the Banks of the *Anio*. These two Generals surrounded the Pillagers, surprized them asleep in the Peasants Cottages, and did not give them time to recover their own Country. So that this first Alarm which the *Sabines* gave the Republick, began and ended the same Night.

AT the same time, a new Enemy declared it self against *Rome*. The <sup>13</sup> *Aurunci* were a small Nation, in the <sup>14</sup> *Campania* of the *Latins*. They were situated in a fruitful Plain of this fine Country, and were Neighbours to the *Ecetrans*, who inhabited a Part of the Country of the *Volsci*. Ever since the Senate had deprived the *Ecetrans* of their Territory, *Rome* had sent thither a Colony, with Troops to defend it; and the *Aurunci* were disturbed at the Neighbourhood of the *Romans*. They therefore came to the Senate, and demanded that the Garrison, whose Nearness to them gave them Umbrage, should be removed. And to these

he triumphed, in direct Opposition to the Will of the Senate. This paved the Way for *Julius Caesar's* demanding at the Head of his Troops, what the Republick had refused him.

<sup>11</sup> We indeed don't find any mention of *Servilius's* Triumph in the Marbles which are now at *Rome* in the *Capitol*. *Livy* also omits it. *Dion. Hal.* alone speaks of it; and that in such a manner as to shew the Reason, why it was designedly suppressed by the *Latin* Historians, and not mentioned in the other publick Monuments. The Reason was, that it was contrary to the Laws, or at least contrary to Customs established in *Rome*, from the Beginning of the Republick.

<sup>12</sup> In almost all the Editions of *Livy*, we read 31 *Tribes*, instead of 21, in these Words, *Romæ tribus una & triginta factæ*. And the least we can say of it, is, that here is a Mistake crept into the Text. Otherwise *Livy* will contradict himself. In this Author's Life-time, there were really but 35 *Tribes* in *Rome*, in all; and yet we find him saying a little lower, that nine were added to the Number he had just mentioned. So that there must have been more than 35 in his Time, if the Number he spoke of before, was 31. And what further shews, that we ought here to read 21, and not 31, is this, that in *Coriolanus's* Trial, which we shall immediately men-

tion, all the *Tribes* were assembled; and when all had given their Suffrages, 9 were for acquitting, and 12 for condemning him, which make just 21 *Tribes* in all. If then what *Livy* assures us of, be true, namely, that in this Year 258, the Number of the *Tribes* was increased to 21; then some Authors could have had no Foundation for saying, that there were 21 *Tribes* in *Servius Tullius's* Time. There were then but 19 in all; 4 in the City, called *Suburrana*, *Palatina*, *Esquilina*, and *Collina*, and 15 in the Country. So that we had reason to say, there were but 15 rural *Tribes* in his Time. We shall in another Place give the Reader the Names and Situations of these *Tribes*, as well as of those which were added to them, in proportion as the Republick enlarged its Frontiers.

<sup>13</sup> The *Arunci*, or *Aurunci*, possessed that Part of *Italy*, which reaches from *Terra di Lavoro*, beyond the *Carigliano*, or the *Liris*. The Capital of this Nation was situated almost in the Neighbourhood of the Cities of *Fundi*, and *Cajeta*.

<sup>14</sup> *Campania* is that Province of the *Terra di Lavoro*, which makes a Part of the Kingdom of *Naples*. In After-times, the Name of *Campania* comprehended all the Countries in *Latium*, along the River *Liris*.



Demands the Envoys added Threatnings, assuring the Senators, that their Troops were ready to enter the *Roman* Territory, if they refused to give them Satisfaction. But to this the Senate gave the *Aurunci* one of those haughty Answers, which daily brought so many new Enemies upon the *Romans*. *It is surprizing*, said they, *that the Nation of the Aurunci should pretend to give Law to the Republick of Rome, and to hinder her from disposing of a conquered Country as she pleases. We are not terrified at your Threatnings. Rome has extricated her self out of greater Dangers than these, and been able to deal with much more dreadful Enemies than you. Go, and tell your Masters, it is a dangerous thing to attack those, whose very Neighbourhood is formidable to them.*

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CCLVIII.  
Appius Claudius, and Publius Servilius, Consuls.

THE *Aurunci* were brave, and had not yet tried their Strength with the *Romans*. Besides, they were sensible that the ambitious Republick did not come so near their Country, but with a View to invade it some time or other. Their Policy therefore was to prevent their Slavery, by attacking their Enemies, while they were yet divided. So that they entered *Latium*, and advanced, by long Marches, as far as the City of *Aricia*. There the *Roman* Army came up to them. The *Romans* were at first surprized at the gigantick Stature of these new Enemies, the Fierceness of their Looks, and the martial Air which distinguished them from all the other People of *Italy*. But they depended upon the Ability of their Generals. *Servilius* was at the Head of them; and the brave *Posthumius* especially, who commanded the Cavalry, made them hope for Success equal to that of *Regillum*. However, in the first Place, both Parties gave each other time to encamp. Then the *Aurunci* and *Romans* both marched out of their Entrenchments at the same time, and drew up in Battalia in a vast Plain, sixteen Miles from *Rome*. The Battle began early in the Morning, and did not end till Noon. The first Onset of the *Aurunci* was terrible, and the *Roman* Infantry found it difficult to withstand it. Being furiously pressed upon by these Barbarians, who excelled the *Romans* in Strength of Body, and Height of Stature, it already gave way, and the *Romans* lost Ground insensibly. The Plain was covered with their Dead. And what terrified them most was, that they thought *Posthumius* and his Cavalry could not be of any Use in the Action. The Field of Battle was rough and uneven, and so full of Rocks, that it was not possible to draw up the Squadrons. But the brave *Posthumius* acted a Part on this Occasion which recovered the Affairs of the *Romans*: He made his Cavalry dismount, as he had done at the Battle of *Regillum*, and posted them in the Place where the *Roman Legions* were most vigorously pressed. This Reinforcement gave the Infantry Courage, and the Example of the *Roman Knights* filled them with Confidence. They all together repulsed the *Aurunci*, and uniting to form a square Battalion, they broke into the Enemy's right Wing, and drove it back to the Hill which bounded the Plain. And there the Barbarians dispersed themselves. Their Valour was little else but mere Impetuosity, neither conducted by Art, or any regular Discipline. When they were once put to Flight, they climbed up the steep Places with incredible Swiftnefs. The *Romans*, who pursued them, contented themselves with hamstringing those they overtook, with the Backs of their Swords. But such as made any Resistance were killed upon the Spot. At last the *Romans* arrived at the Enemy's Entrenchments; where the few Soldiers who were left to defend them, were easily defeated. So that the *Romans* made themselves Masters of the Camp of the *Aurunci*; where all the Spoil they found was only Arms, and some Instruments of War.

§. VII. AND now the having gained so many Victories in the Space of one Year, chiefly by the Assistance and Valour of those who were most in Debt at *Rome*, puffed up the Minds of the People. They thought they might demand of the Senate the Performance of the Promises the Senators had made them by *Servilius*. They insisted, that those Debts should be remitted which had ruined them, by the Interest they had contracted to give the *Patricians*. But the Clamours of the Conquerors were as little heard now as formerly. The inflexible *Appius Claudius* even doubled the Severity of the Judgments he gave against such Debtors as were brought before his Tribunal. And he had more Views than one, in being thus rigorous. First, he by that means kept the People in Subjection. And, in the second Place, he brought Discredit on his Collegue, who had not Interest enough left with *The Fathers*, to get them to perform what he had promised in their Name. *Appius* therefore commanded that all those who had got out of their Creditors Prisons



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CCLVIII.

APPIUS CLAU-  
DIUS, and PUB-  
LIUS SERVI-  
LIUS, Consuls.

Val. Max. B. 9.  
c. 3.  
Liv. B. 2. c. 27.

sons, should be brought back to them by Force. But when, by the *Consul's* Sentence, one of *Servilius's* Soldiers was going to be carried back to Slavery, he appealed to the Declaration and Promises of his General. *Servilius's* House was never empty of these unhappy Men, who, to move him, shewed the Wounds they had received, put him in mind of his Word, and conjured him to prevail on the Senate to perform what he had promised. *Servilius* was now sensible of his own Weakness, and pretended Reasons for Delays, which were very unlikely to satisfy the Multitude. In short, *Appius* had got the Ascendant in the Senate, and his Faction in it prevailed. And at length the *Roman* People found out the Insufficiency of their Protector, and repented of the Confidence they had placed in him. It was said at *Rome*, that *Servilius*, tho' a Man of superior Merit, gained nothing by his *Consulate*, but the Hatred of the Senators, and the Contempt of the *Plebeians*. The former thought him ambitious, the latter false. How low he was sunk in the Esteem of the People, most remarkably appeared, in an Affair of Honour and Preference, disputed between the two *Consuls*.

A Temple <sup>15</sup> had been erected to the Honour of *Mercury*: The Question was, who should consecrate it. Considerable Privileges had been granted to him who should do it. He was to be the Founder and Head <sup>16</sup> of a Society of Merchants in *Rome*. He was to have the Care of furnishing the City with Provisions, and of inspecting them. And lastly, he was to perform all the Functions of a *Pontifex Maximus*, within the Verge of this Temple, and to have all the Honours of one. It seemed, that one or t'other of the *Consuls*, whose Office was expiring, had a Sort of Right to be the Man who was to consecrate this Temple of *Mercury*. *Appius* thought to have carried this honourable Office from his Colleague, by the Nomination of the Senate; but the Choice of the Consecrator was referred to the <sup>17</sup> People. The *Curiae* therefore were assembled; and they frustrated the Expectations of both Competitors. The better to shew how dissatisfied they were with both of them, they chose one *M.* <sup>18</sup> *Lætorius*, out of the Army, tho' but a <sup>19</sup> *Centurion*, and conferr'd on him the Honours of consecrating the Temple, and the Privileges which were annexed to it. This was indeed to affront the *Consuls*; but the *Curiae* chose to keep no longer any Measures either with them or the *Patricians*.

UPON this, *Appius* and *Servilius*, who were equally enraged at the People, joined with the Senate in putting all the Laws against the Debtors in Execution, with the utmost Rigour. This Inconsistency of Behaviour in *Servilius*, reflected Dishonour upon him; and the People had no regard at all to the severe Sentences of the two *Consuls*.

<sup>15</sup> *Livy* says, this Temple of *Mercury* was consecrated on the *Ides*, that is the 15th Day, of *May*, which was thought by the Pagans to have been made holy by the Birth of this God. *Festus* tells us it was customary to perform this Ceremony of Consecration on the Birth-day of the God, to whose Honour the Temple was dedicated. *Ovid* mentions both the Temple and Fountain of *Mercury*, which was near the *Porta Capena*, and whither the Merchants came to purify themselves:

*Templa tibi posuere Patres spectantia Circum  
Idibus. Ex illo est hæc tibi festa dies.*

*Est aqua Mercurii portæ vicina Capenæ,  
Si juvat expertis credere, numen habet.*

*Ut venit incinctus mercator, &c.*

Fast. B. 5.  
This Temple stood between the *Circus* and the Hill *Aventinus*.

<sup>16</sup> Whether *Numa* had first created this Society of Merchants, as *Plutarch* pretends; or *Servius Tullius*, as *Florus* and *Orosius* observe; it is certain this Company subsisted in *Rome*, under the Government and Direction of a Magistrate, whose Office was very like that of the *Prévôt des Marchands*, among the *French*. *Mercury*, who was thought by the Pagans the God of Commerce, was as it were the Patron of this Society. And therefore *Tully* calls Merchants *Mercuriales*.

<sup>17</sup> Afterwards, this Right belonged to the People, assembled by *Tribes*. *Tully*, *Attic.* 4. 2. speaks thus. *Si neque populi jussu, neque scitu, qui se dedicasse diceret, nominatum ei rei præfectus esset: neque populi jussu, neque scitu, id facere jussus esset, videri posse sine religione, eam partem ære domino restitui.* According to the same Author, *Pro domo sua*, by an antient Law, made by the *Tribunes of the People*, it was forbidden to consecrate

any Temple, Field, or Altar, without the Consent of the *Comitia*. So that *Lucius Cassius* the *Censor* having purposed to consecrate a Statue of *Concord*, *Æmilius* the *Pontifex Maximus* answered, in the Name of the College of the *Pontifices*, that he must get the Consent of the People, to whom alone it belonged, to choose the Person who was to do that Office. But it was nevertheless necessary, that the Person who had been chosen by them, should be authorized by the Senate. This we learn from *Livy*, B. 9. *Ex auctoritate Senatus, latum ad populum est, ne quis templum aramve injussu Senatus, aut tribunorum plebis partis majoris dedicaret.* In the early Times of the Republick, the *Consuls* assumed this Power to themselves, and drew Lots for it, to avoid Disputes. But when the Right of Election came into the Hands of the People, *Dumviri* were sometimes created, and the Office of dedicating committed to them.

<sup>18</sup> *Livy* and *Val. Maximus* don't agree in the Name of the Person the People chose on this Occasion. *Livy* calls him *Lætorius*, and *Val. Maximus* gives him the Name of *Plætorius*.

<sup>19</sup> It is true, *Lætorius*, or *Plætorius*, was only a *Centurion*, but he was a *Centurion* of Distinction. *Populus*, says *Livy*, *dedicationem ædis dat Marco Lætorio primi pili Centurioni.* I believe it ought to be read, *primi-pilo Centurioni.* The *Centurion*, who was called *primi-pilus Centurio*, was the first Captain in the *Legion*. This *Livy* declares, B. 7. *Primus Centurio erat quem nunc primi-pilum appellant.* This first *Centurion*, says *Vegetius*, B. 2. not only had the Eagle of the *Legion* in his Company, but had likewise the Command of four *Centuries*, i. e. 400 Men. The other *Centurions* in the *Legion*, were his Subalterns.



Whenever any *Plebeian* was prosecuted for Debt, the Populace came in Crowds into the Court, and made so great a Noise, that no one could hear the Sentence pronounc'd. They no longer endeavour'd to appease the Creditors, and mollify the Senate by Intreaties; they insulted both, and instead of the *Plebeians*, the Danger of Imprisonment and Slavery now fell on the *Patricians*. Nothing now prevail'd in *Rome*, but Force and Violence. The People got together without being summoned, and the most mutinous held private Assemblies among themselves. This was the State of *Rome* at the Conclusion of the *Consulship* of *Appius Claudius*, and *Publius Servilius*. The one did not shew Favour enough to the People; the other had not Sense and Resolution enough to protect the Indigent from the Severities of the Rich, and at the same time make his Party good against his Collegue, who had gained an Ascendant over him in the Senate.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLVIII.  
AULUS CLAU-  
DIUS, and PUB-  
LIUS SERVILI-  
US, Consuls.

§. VIII. WHEN the time came for electing new *Consuls*, the People were assembled by *Centuries*; and their Choice fell upon two *Patricians* of little Note; namely, *A. Virginus*<sup>20</sup>, and *T. Veturius*. It is not probable, that in a time of such general Commotion, the People would put two steddly Men at the Head of the Republick. They were more apprehensive than ever of the Rigour of Men of that Character. Nevertheless, in order to guard against the Steps of their new *Consuls*, (for they did not yet know whether they would declare for the Senate or them) the most considerable of the *Plebeians* assembled by Night, sometimes on the Hill *Esquilinus*, and sometimes on the *Aventinus*, and took proper Measures to prevent their being suddenly surprized into any thing, in the Assemblies of the People, when they should be called together. The *Consuls* had Notice of these secret Meetings, and acquainted the Senate with them. All judged it would be dangerous to the Republick to tolerate them; but they did not think themselves obliged to the *Consuls*, for loading the Senate with the Hatred it would incur, by inflicting Punishment on the Offenders. It was indeed, the Policy of the *Consuls*, not to order any thing of their own Heads, in such a nice Conjunction, but to leave all to the Senate. Of this the *Conscript Fathers* were sensible, and filled the Senate-house with Clamours against *Virginus* and *Veturius*. They no longer observed any Order in voting: All cried out at once, that the *Romans* had chosen Heads to govern them, who neglected the Business of their Office, to throw the Odium of it upon others. They added, that if the Government had fallen into the Hands of Men as intrepid as *Appius Claudius*, these private Meetings would have been quelled, before any Complaint had been made of them to the Senate. In short, the whole Assembly reprimanded the *Consuls*, and commanded them immediately to raise Forces, in the legal Way, for the War which threatned the Republick.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLIX.  
AULUS VIR-  
GINIUS, and  
TITUS VETU-  
RIUS, Consuls.

INDEED, the intestine Broils of the *Romans* invited their Neighbours to shake off the Yoke, which this haughty Republick had laid upon them. The *Sabines*<sup>21</sup> especially raised a formidable Army, and the ancient *Roman* Colony of *Medulia* revolted from their Masters. They united themselves to the *Sabines* by a League confirmed by reciprocal Oaths. It is not to be imagined, how much the Senators were affrighted at these Preparations and Revolts; but nevertheless, as they were hated by the People, the only Means they had left to raise an Army, was to have recourse to the Authority of the *Consuls*. They therefore commanded them to assemble the *Tribes*, in order to raise Troops out of them, according to Law. And then the Obstinacy of the People shewed it self, in refusing to give their Country their Assistance, till such time as they were discharged from their Debts. Of all those who were summoned, scarce one appeared in the Place appointed for making the Levies. The *Consuls* ascended their Tribunal, and called over the Names of some of the young *Plebeians*: but no body

Dion. Hal.  
B. 6. p. 367.

<sup>20</sup> *Livy* does not mention the Surnames of these *Consuls*. But we learn from several Authors, that each of them had two: *Aulus Virginus* was surnamed *Tricostus* and *Caelimontanus*. *Titus Veturius* had the two Surnames of *Geminus* and *Cicurius*. Nothing will for the future be more common, than to find the same *Roman* have more Surnames, that is, more Nicknames than one. *D. Hal.* gives *Virginus* no Surname, but that of *Caelimontanus*; which doubtless he had from his being born within the District of the Hill *Caelius*. But *Asconius*, in his *Commentary* on *Tully's Defence* of *Cornelius*, gives *Virginus* the Surname of *Tricostus*, and *Veturius* that of *Cicurius*, and not *Coturnius*, as it is in some bad Copies. The same *Veturius*, or, as others pronounce it, *Vetu-*

*sius*, had also the Surname of *Geminus*, according to *D. Hal.* The *Greek Tables* of the *Consuls* mention them only by one of their Surnames. They only say, that *Caelimontanus* and *Geminus* were *Consuls*.

<sup>21</sup> I here prefer *D. Hal.*'s Account to *Livy*'s. Tho' it would be difficult to give a very satisfactory Reason for it. The two Authors actually disagree: *Livy* makes this War to have been begun, or at least declared, in the preceding *Consulate*. *D. Hal.* places it under this. And who knows which is right? Yet it is necessary to choose one, that this Event may be put into the History. And in such Cases, we have been rather determined by Partiality, than any substantial Reason. However, it was necessary to inform the Reader of this Difference between the two Historians.

answered.



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R O M E  
CCLIX.

AULUS VIR-  
GINIUS, and  
TITUS VETU-  
RIUS, Consuls.  
Liv. B. 2. c. 28.

answered. The Mutiny was general. Nothing was heard in the *Forum*, but seditious Discourses. *The People of Rome*, said the Commons, *are no longer inclined to be always imposed on by the Senate. There shall never be any more Soldiers raised among the Plebeians, till the Promises which have been made them are performed.* In this Extremity, the *Consuls* found no Remedy against the Misfortunes of the Republick, but to complain to the Senate, against the Senate it self. They spoke thus. *What we foretold, Conscript Fathers, is come to pass. There is now a Sedition in good earnest. We have obeyed your Orders, notwithstanding the dangerous Effect we suspected they would produce: And now those who were boldest among you, in making severe Decrees in the House, dare not shew your Heads without Doors, and look the furious People in the Face. Let those who shewed most Intrepidity in speaking, and accusing us of Weakness, follow us into the Forum, and assist us with their Advice. We will punctually execute it, be it what it will. And then the Senate will be able to judge, whether the present Misfortunes are to be imputed to the Faintheartedness of the Consuls, the Intractableness of the People, or the false Measures of the Senate.*

At these Words, the young Senators were so enraged, that they left their Places. They all came, and surrounded the *Curule Chairs* in which the *Consuls* sat, in a tumultuous manner. *Let these cowardly Magistrates, cried they, come down from the Throne, on which they are seated, and let them lay down the Burden which is too heavy for their weak Shoulders.* Nevertheless, the *Consuls* returned to the *Forum*, guarded by some *Patricians*, to give the more weight to what they should say. They ascended *The Tribune*, and there called upon one of the most factious of the People, by Name, to come and be enrolled. The Man held his Peace, and his Silence was taken for Disobedience. Instantly therefore the *Lictors* laid their Hands on the rebellious Citizen. But the Populace surrounded him, and forced him away from the Officers of Justice. This rash Attempt put all the Citizens in a Flame; and they were already turning their Fury against the *Patricians*, who attended the *Consuls*. But the latter abated the Storm a little, and guarded the Senators, who were both hated and despised by the People, from Blows.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 6. p. 368.

§.IX. THUS were all the Parts of the Republick divided against one another. The People rose up against the Senate, and the Senate against the *Consuls*. Whilst the *Consuls* themselves were not regarded, either by Senate or People. Nor was this all; Envoys were arrived at *Rome* from all those Nations, which had continued faithful to the Republick. The *Latins* complained of the Hostilities the *Æqui* had begun to commit in their Territories: and reported, they had already plundered some of their Villages. The Inhabitants of *Crustumium* gave Information, that the *Sabines*, who were already on their March towards their City, were preparing to besiege it. The like News came from an hundred other Places, and filled the *Romans* either with Consternation or Joy, according to the Party they embraced. And to encrease the Terror yet more, an Embassy was come to *Rome*, from the *Volsci*, which demanded the Restitution of the Lands which had been taken from them in the last War. It was necessary to give all these Deputies determinate and proper Answers. The Senators therefore assembled to deliberate about it: And *Rome* perhaps never had more knotty Affairs upon the Carpet. So that no Method or Order was observed, in asking their Opinions. *Titus Lartius*, a Senator, venerable for his Services and his Moderation, was first consulted. He rose up from his Place, and came in the middle of the Hall, and spake thus. *The Apprehensions we are under from our Enemies abroad, is the proper Business of this Assembly. But that ought not to be thought the most important Subject of our Deliberations. Let but the City be at Peace, and the Æqui, the Volsci, and the Sabines, will carry back no Answers but threatening ones. Rome is her own most formidable Enemy. The Revolt of the Plebeians on the one hand, and the Severity of the Senate which causes it, on the other, are the only true Sources of our Misfortunes. Our Factions, by dividing us in Interest, make us two Republicks, which are more formidable to one another, than the common Enemy. Hostilities are already begun between the two Factions; and, which is scarce credible, both Parties like better to bear a foreign Yoke, than to*

22 The *Æqui* were a People of *Latium*, situated between the *Sabines*, the *Marfi*, the *Hernici*, and the *Latins*. *Virgil* calls them *Æquicole*; *Ptolomy*, *Æquiculi*; and *Pliny*, *Æquiculani*. These People inhabited a Part of the *Campagna di Roma*, round about *Sublaco* and the *Teverone*. *Livy*, speaking of them, says,

they were as expert at robbing, as the *Romans* were at fighting: *Et quantum pugnandi arte isti, tantum hi incursionibus valebant.* *Virgil* describes them in the same manner:

Semperque recentes  
Convectare juvat prædas, & vivere rapto.  
relinquiss



relinquish any thing of their private Interests, in favour of their Fellow-Citizens. There is an Emulation between them, like that between two Nations which are mutually jealous of each other's Glory. To abate our Jealousies then, and appease our Disorders, ought to be the main Subject of our Consultations. For which Reason, I move, that the House may sit again to-morrow, to deliberate about our domestick Broils. As for the present, since the Affair of the foreign Ambassadors is the Business of the Day; let the Volsci be answered, that it is neither just in them, to take from us the Fruits of our Conquests, nor for the Honour of the Republick, to give up a District, which it ought to transmit to Posterity, in the same Condition in which it conquered it. As for our Allies, let them be assured, that the Republick will never leave them exposed to the Insults of her Enemies, without sending them Succours.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLIX.

A. VINCIGIUS,  
and T. VERU-  
RIUS, Consuls.

LARTIUS's Opinion was universally approved. The Senate made a Decree accordingly, and the Ambassadors were dismissed. The next Day was spent in consulting about the proper Means of appeasing the Tumult in the City. Then *Virginus* declared his Opinion first. He was a popular Man, and good-natured. He took the middle Way, between the Severity of *Appius*, and that universal Discharge of Debts, which the *Plebeians* demanded. He spoke thus.

THE People of Rome did us too important Services the last Year, not to deserve to have some regard shewn to their Supplications. They signalized their Valour against the Volsci and the Aurunci. And shall we be so ungrateful, as to envy them the Fruit of their Labours? I am of opinion, that we ought to put the Soldiers of this victorious Army, under the Protection of the Senate, against their Creditors; to free them from their Debts; and to grant their Families, from the Grandfathers to the Grandchildren, the same Indulgence. As for the other Debtors, let them suffer the Severity of the Law.

Diser. Hal.  
B. 6. p. 370.

Diser. Hal.  
ibid.

THE wise *Lartius*, who stood up next, spoke in favour of all the poor Debtors in general, without Distinction. Your Favours, Conscript Fathers, says he, ought not to be confined to those Soldiers only, whose Lot it was to be in the Battels of the last Year. If you don't extend them to all the People, it will be in vain for you to attempt to put an end to our Divisions. In that case, you only cut off the Branches, and leave the Roots to shoot out afresh. The same Murmurs will then soon be revived, and the Sedition never end, but with the Destruction of the Republick.

APPIUS, who was obliged to speak third, enumerated in a long Harangue, the Motives which had engaged him to put himself at the Head of the *Patrician* Party. And his Discourse seemed to shew, that his Obstinacy was now confirmed by a new Motive of Vanity. What will the World think of me, said he, if I lay aside those Opinions with my Consulate, which I maintained with Danger, all the time of my Office? What will then become of that Constancy, upon which I valued myself in such difficult Times? Let it be called hard-heartedness as much as you please: this at least I will take care of, that it shall never be said, *Claudius* ever countenanced Novelties which were dangerous to the Republick. The Contracts made between Creditors and their Debtors, have ever been in all Places, the main Support of civil Society. To violate them, is to introduce an inexhaustible Source of Divisions, into the best established Cities. I am not for confining others to be of my Opinion. Let them abate the Rigour of the Laws, if they please. It will indeed be a Grief to me; but *Claudius* will never give his Vote in favour of an Innovation, which is contrary to Equity, and prejudicial to the publick Tranquillity. All Commerce depends upon Credit. And what Roman then would lend his Money to a Man, who had it in his power to take up Arms, to prevent his Repayment of it? But it is said, the present Business is that of appeasing the Seditious, and prevailing on a mutinous Populace, to assist their Country in Extremity. And is there then no Way of bringing them to their Duty, but by violating the Laws? The nominating a Dictator, is both an usual, and an effectual Remedy. Will the most mutinous hold it out against the Authority of a Man, who is surrounded with the *Lictors*, and has Power to punish the least Act of Disobedience with Death, without Appeal?

THE Method *Appius* proposed, was thought dangerous by the oldest Senators: but he had got a Majority of his Side. The *Patricians* being the richest Persons in Rome, were almost all Creditors to the Commons. Private Interest therefore prevailed over the most reasonable Fears. *Appius* himself had very like to have been created Dictator. And there had been an end of the Republick, if the *Patrician* Faction had added this Piece of Imprudence to so many other Errors in Conduct. The Consuls, and the wisest of the Senators, diverted the Blow. They pitched upon a Man, who was venerable for his Age, and was of a Family, which had always been devoted to the People,



Year of  
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CCLIX.  
MANIUS VA-  
LERIUS, Dic-  
tator.

ple, and was remarkable for his Moderation. It was *Manius*<sup>23</sup> *Valerius*, Brother to the great *Poplicola*, and to one *Marcus Valerius*, who was killed in the Battel of *Regillum*. It is true, that to raise *Manius* to the *Dictatorship*, was to break thro' a Law which had been made ever since the first Creation of *Dictators*. It enacted, that none but *Patricians*, who either actually were *Consuls*, or had been so, should be raised to that Office. But the urgent Necessity of the Case, made the Senators overlook Rules. They were persuaded, that the Dignity of his Office, the Memory of his Brothers, and his own Good-nature<sup>24</sup> and Courage together, would procure *Valerius* both the Esteem and Affections of the Mutineers. And they were not deceived. Tho' the Citizens saw, that the *Dictator* had been created only to keep them in Subjection; yet they were not at all uneasy at the Governor which was set over them. They had not forgotten, that his Brother *Poplicola*, by making them the last Resort in capital Cases, had delivered the *Plebeians* from the severe Persecutions of the Nobility. In short, they found another dear *Poplicola* in his third Brother.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 6. p. 371.

Dion. Hal.  
ibid.

§.X. As soon as *Valerius* was proclaimed *Dictator*, he made *Qu. Servilius* his General of Horse. He was Brother to *Servilius*, the *Consul* for the preceding Year, and his Family had never given any Umbrage to the People. All Persons were well inclined to the new Government. The *Dictator* therefore ascended *The Tribune* with Confidence, and made this Harangue to the People. Romans, *I am very sensible what a Pleasure it has always been to you, to see any of the Valerian Family raised to the first Dignities in the Republick. The strict Adherence they have always shewn to the People, and the Benefits you have received from them, have always made you, either out of Affection or Gratitude, ready to obey any of them, which have been placed in the Magistracy. All the Return then that I desire, for the Services my Brothers have done you, is, that you would not deny me your Confidence. No; you shall never find me to be one of those who have so little Sincerity, or so much Weakness, as to make you Promises, which it is impossible to keep. Are not my Age, my Honour, my Character, and my past Conduct, sufficient Securities for the Integrity of my Proceedings, and my Designs? Consider me no longer as a Man set up by the Senate, to deceive your Party. I am ready to give up my Life to your just Resentments, if ever you find Reason to suspect me of playing the Impostor with you. And when you have placed your Confidence in me; then, Romans, lend your Country that Assistance which it expects from you. Turn, turn that Terror upon the common Enemy, which you have spread throughout the City. Convince the Nations who are jealous of your Glory, by fresh Acts of Valour, that Rome is invincible, even when she is full of Dissentions. After all, we shall have no body to fight with, but some Sabines and Volsci, who have often been subdued by your Arms. And they have no more Strength or Skill now, than they had formerly. You will certainly conquer them, Romans: And this I promise you as the Reward of your Victory, that I will procure of the Senate, all those reasonable Indulgences, which you can expect. In the mean time, I command, that no mention be made of Confiscations, or Imprisonments for Debt, during my Administration. Being then free from any Apprehensions, follow the Example, Romans, of an old Man, who is ready to endure all the Fatigues of War with you, and to run all the Hazards of it.*

THIS Discourse of *Valerius* was taken in good part by the People. They depended upon the Promises of the *Dictator*, and obeyed him, not so much out of fear of that

<sup>23</sup> I designedly write the *Dictator Valerius's Prænomen* at length, and call him *Manius*. His *Prænomen* is expressed in *Livy* and *D. Hal.* only with a single *M*: which has much embarrassed many learned Men. The Letter *M* without any Addition, is always understood to signify *Marcus*; and yet *Marcus Valerius*, *Poplicola's* Brother, was killed in the Battel of *Regillum*. How then could he be chosen *Dictator* above a Year after he was dead? Besides, *Livy* declares, that this *Dictator* had never been *Consul*. Whereas, it is certain, that *Marcus Valerius*, *Poplicola's* Brother, had been raised to the *Consulate*. The *Fasli Capitolini* remove the Difficulty. This *Dictator's* Name is written in them thus: *M. VALERIUS*. The Reader may observe, that there is an Apostrophe at the Letter *M*, which stands for this Roman's *Prænomen*. Whereas, that of *Marcus* is always written with an *M* without an Apostrophe. Wherever we find an *M* with an Apostrophe, *M'*, we are to read it *Manius*, and not *Marcus*. This Man was a third Brother of *Poplicola*, and was called *Manius*, because he was born in the

Morning, *mane*. The Editors of *Livy* and *D. Hal.* have much confounded learned Men, for want of observing this. *Plutarch* likewise, or his Copyists, are mistaken, when they give *Valerius* the *Prænomen* of *Marcus*.

<sup>24</sup> *Tully*, in his *Brutus*, gives great Commendations to *Manius Valerius*, who, he says, deserved the Surname of *Maximus*, for having reconciled the People to the *Patricians*, by his obliging Behaviour, and his Prudence. But besides, that the Roman Orator falsely gives him the *Prænomen* of *Marcus*, he is doubly mistaken: 1. In that he supposes, contrary to the Testimonies of *D. Hal.* and *Livy*, that *Manius Valerius* was still *Dictator*, when he harangued the People after their Retreat to the *Mont Sacer*. 2. In that he gives him the Honour of having reconciled the People to the *Patricians*. It's true, *Valerius* was sent to the *Plebeians*, with nine *Consular* Persons, and he spoke with a great deal of Eloquence; but the Success was owing to *Menenius Agrippa's* Management, who had recourse to the famous Fable of the Stomach and Members.

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sovereign Power with which he was invested, as out of Affection for his Person. Then the Levies were easily completed, and *Rome* furnished the Dictator with ten Legions, of 4000 Men each. The *Romans* had never had a more numerous Army. But *Valerius* did not himself administer the Oaths to the new Troops; he ordered it to be done by the *Consuls* for the present Year, and in their Names. As for him, he was satisfied with dividing the Troops between them and himself: and accordingly made three Bodies of them. The first consisted of four Legions, whom the Dictator himself led against the *Sabines*. The second Body consisted of three Legions, the Command of which he gave to *T. Veturius*, to go against the *Æqui*. And the third, which also contained three Legions, was ordered to march against the *Volsci*, under the Command of *Aulus Virginus*. *T. Lartius* was left to guard the City with some Troops of old, and some Companies of young, Soldiers. *Veturius* first took the Field. The *Æqui*<sup>25</sup> were already entered into the Country of the *Latins*; and the Devastations they had committed on the Lands of these faithful Allies, had forced them to have taken up Arms in their own Defence, if the Senate had not politickly prevented them. The Senators chose rather to fly immediately to their Assistance, than to give them a Pretence for arming themselves. The brave *Veturius* therefore used the utmost Diligence to come up with, and fight, the *Æqui*. But these were affrighted at the very Sight of their Enemies; and posted themselves in inaccessible Places. They were so distrustful of their own Forces, that they durst not appear in the Field. They retreated to Forests and Mountains. They thought to escape the Fury of the brave *Romans*, by acting only on the defensive: But they only retarded their Defeat. *Veturius* attacked them in their Entrenchments with so much Vigour, that their Camp was taken and plundered. They saved themselves by a precipitate Flight thro' inaccessible Places: but the *Latin* Cities they had possessed themselves of, were either retaken by the *Consul*, by Force, or else voluntarily surrendered to the *Romans*.

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Livy B. 2. ch.  
30.

As for *Virginus*, he made War with the *Volsci* with equal Success. The *Volsci* had more Courage, or rather Presumption, than Wisdom. Emboldened by the Number of their Soldiers, which was a little superior to that of the *Romans*, they were in haste to give Battel. Being offered it by *Virginus*, they began the Attack; whilst their Infantry were dispersed over the Plain, and scarce observed any Order; so much did they despise their Enemies. The *Romans* had experienced, how terrible the first Shock of the *Volsci* was. The *Consul* therefore, the better to guard against it, did not march his Men one Step towards the Enemy: and forbad them to return their Shouts. The *Roman* Army continued without any Motion, with their Spears fixed in the Ground. But when the *Volsci* were come within reach of them, the *Romans* then closed their Ranks, and had Orders to use no Weapon but their Swords. After this, they moved forward, and fell upon the Enemy, who were out of Breath with their shouting, and the haste with which they advanced. The *Volsci* had ascribed the *Romans* continuing without Motion, to their Fear of their Numbers and Valour. But they were much of another Mind, when they saw the Swords of the *Romans* glittering in their Hands. They were as much surprized and terrified, as if they had fallen into an Ambuscade. They were put to flight, and soon overtaken by Men who were fresh, and had not spent their Strength by running themselves out of Breath, to no purpose. They were pursued to their very Camp, which was taken and plundered. Nor was this all; the *Romans* followed them close, even to the City of *Velitra*. Nay, they entered it with the Fugitives; and in this confused Engagement, they spared but a few of the Inhabitants, who threw down their Arms. The rest were put to the Sword. In short, more of the Enemy's Blood was spilt in *Velitra*, than in the Plain.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 6. p. 373.

Livy. B. 2.  
ibid.

WHILST the two *Consuls* were, each in his Station, driving two troublesome Enemies from the Frontiers, the Dictator made War with the *Sabines*, and subdued the fiercest Nation in *Italy*. One Battle, which he won, made him Master of the Country. It must be granted, it was more honourable to overcome the *Sabines*, than to rout the *Æqui*, and the *Volsci*. The former had been long trying their Strength with the *Romans*, and were scarce inferior to them, either in Valour, or Experience in the Art of War. Yet it may be observed, that they were guilty of a considerable Fault, in the drawing up of their Troops, when they were forced to fight *Valerius*. In order to

<sup>25</sup> Livy and D. Hal. don't agree in placing the Battles which were fought, in *Manius Valerius's* Dictatorship, in the same Order. The latter pretends, that of the *Volsci* was first; and Livy, that of the *Æ-*

*qui*. I here prefer Livy's Order, who, contrary to his usual Method, gives us a fuller Account of these Battles, than the Greek Historian. He seems to have followed more circumstantial Memoirs than D. Hal.



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Dion. Hal.  
B. 6. *ibid.*

make their Front the larger, they did not close their Battalions enough, but left too great a Space empty in the Center of their Lines. This the *Dictator* saw, and made his Advantage of it. He commanded his Cavalry to begin the Attack, where the Enemy's Men stood thinnest, in order to force their Way thro' them. At the same time, the *Roman* Infantry broke into the *Sabine* Battalions, and put their Army into Confusion. *Valerius* drove them quite to their Camp, and made himself Master of it. Then *Sabinia* was left a Prey to the *Roman* Army; the Villages of the *Sabines* were plundered, and their Country laid waste. In short, the Soldiers returned to *Rome* loaded with Spoil, and brought with them a prodigious Number of Prisoners, whom they made Slaves. It was agreed, that no Action, since that of *Regillum*, had brought more Honour to the Republick. After these glorious Expeditions, *Valerius* disbanded his Army. The *Dictator* had evidently merited a Triumph: The Senate and People therefore decreed him <sup>26</sup> that Honour. And to this they added another Mark of Distinction, which became hereditary in his Family. They allotted him an honourable Place in the *Circus*, at the Celebration of the publick Games, and appointed that a *Curule Chair* should always be placed there <sup>27</sup> for him.

§. XI. BUT *Valerius*, when in the Height of his Glory, did not suffer his Mind to be so much elated with it, as to forget the Promises he had made his Soldiers. The first Day he appeared in the Senate, he declared what Obligations *Rome* lay under to the People, whose Valour had gained them these late Victories. And he demanded of the Senate the Performance of those Promises which they had made the People by him. But how strangely perverse are Avarice and Obstinacy! The *Patrician* Usurers had laid their Plot so well, during his Absence, and had managed so artfully, that they refused to answer either the Promises of the *Dictator*, or the Demands of the People. Nay, the youngest Senators, and most violent *Patricians*, who were very numerous in the House, were wanting in respect to the *Dictator* himself. They reproached him, That his Family, which had been blindly devoted to the *Plebeian* Faction, had betray'd the Interests of the Senate; and, That his Brother *Poplicola* had unjustly deprived the Senate of the Power of judging in criminal Affairs. To this, said they, it is owing that the Citizens thus escape with Impunity, after having been guilty of the most inexcusable Mutinies.

BUT these new Proceedings of the Senate threatned *Rome* with the greatest Misfortunes. The wise *Dictator* foresaw them, and thought to have prevented them, in part at least, by clearing the City of many of those unfortunate Debtors, which were going to be reduced to Despair. *Velitrae* was just taken from the *Volsci*. He therefore thought it proper to send thither a Colony of these poor Wretches, who would at least find Bread in their new Habitations. But there yet remained too many *Plebeians* in *Rome*, who were over-run with Debt, thro' the Usury of the Rich. *Valerius* therefore spoke again to the Senate, in their Favour. But his Motion was rejected. Upon this, he replied to the Senators, in great Anger, *You now dislike the Proposal I have made to you. In a little time you will perhaps wish you had such an Intercessor with the People, as my self. I will never more deceive my Fellow-Citizens, by flattering them with your Promises, and desiring them to depend again on a mere Shadow of a Dictator. You placed me in this Office, only to appease our domestick Seditions. It was then necessary that the People should be satisfied, in order to induce them to make War abroad. Now, our foreign Enemies are subdued, and our Divisions at home revive. I therefore will rather choose to be a Spectator of them in private Life, than to fall a Victim to them in the Magistracy.* Thus spake *Valerius*, and went hastily out of the Senate. The People were assembled by his Orders, and the *Dictator* spoke thus to

Dion. Hal.  
B. 6. p. 375.

<sup>26</sup> D. Hal. and Livy mention this Triumph of *Manius Valerius*; nor is it omitted in the *Fasti Capitolini*. Some of the Antients assure us, that from that time, he had the Surname of *Maximus* given him, which continued in his Branch of the Family; and that *Valerius Maximus*, whose Works we have, and who probably wrote in the time of *Tiberius*, was one of his Descendents. *Pædianus*, upon the Oration against *Pisto*, and *Antias*, affirm, that an House was built for the *Dictator Valerius*, at the Expence of the Publick; and that this House opened outwards. But they seem to give *Manius Valerius* the Honours which were formerly done his Brother *Poplicola*. Moreover, it is not at all surprizing, that the two *Consuls* should not share the Honours of the Triumph, with the Dic-

tator *Manius*. They were only Subalterns to him. The *Roman* Laws granted the Honours of a Triumph only to that Magistrate, whom the Republick had made Commander in chief of the Army, and under whose Conduct the Victory had been gained.

<sup>27</sup> Livy is the Man who gives us this Piece of History, in these Words: *Super solitos honores, locus in Circo ipsi, posterisque, ad spectaculum datus. Sella in eo loco Curulis posita.* As for myself, I am of opinion, that this Honour was granted only to the eldest Branch of *Manius Valerius's* Descendants. The *Curule Chair* was placed there, in the times of the Sports, for the eldest Descendant, whether he was promoted to the greatest Offices, or not. This is the most natural Interpretation that can be given this Passage.



them from *The Tribune*: Romans, I am indebted to you, on a double Account. You did not refuse to follow me to the War, and you conquered under <sup>25</sup>my Auspicia. For the one I am indebted to your Affection; for the other, to your Courage. And as to my self, what have I not done in Return for your Services! I have charged the Senators with the Promise they gave me, of making me the Arbitrator between you and them. But what have I gained by my Remonstrances and Prayers? The young Patricians, who are proud and turbulent, prevail, in the Senate, over the oldest, and the most wise. Is a Man of seventy then capable of withstanding a Multitude, whose Rank and Wealth make them untractable? Unfortunate Man that I am! to how low a State am I reduced by their refusing to remove your Miseries! As I am grown odious to the Senate, am I not so to the People also? No, Romans, no; you see that both you and I have been deceived; and that I have been more ignominiously treated than you. Nor are they content with this: The Senators turn all I have done in your Favour, to my Disadvantage. They reproach me with having given my Troops too much Liberty; with having enriched them at the Expence of the Publick; and with having so much increased the Wealth of some of the Plebeians, that above 400 of them have got Knights Estates. To which they add, that I have enriched my self with the Spoils of the Enemy. Alas! why am I disabled, by a miserable old Age, from defending my self from their Calumnies! Nothing now remains for me to do, but either to bury my Uneasiness in the Solitudes of a private Life, or else to surrender up my self to your Resentments, if you yet retain any the least Suspicions of my having betrayed your Interest.

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tator.

THIS said, *Valerius* instantly abdicated the Dictatorship, and stripped off the Badges of his Office. The People, who were moved with Compassion towards this great Man, and were full of Indignation against the Senate, conducted him home with Acclamations. Then the *Patricians* foresaw what must be the Consequence of the Abdication of an injured Dictator. To prevent therefore those Disorders in the City, which they were apprehensive of, they made a Decree, that the *Consuls* should lead the Army into the Field. It was easy to find a Pretence for so doing, from some little Motions which the *Æqui* and the *Sabines* made. It has been already observed, that the military Oaths had not been administered in the Name of the Dictator, but in that of the *Consuls*. And therefore the Army seemed to have regard to the Engagements they had entered into with them, for the whole Time they should continue in their Offices; that is, till the End of the Year. So that the *Legions* marched out of *Rome*; but their March, which the Senate thought would be of Advantage to the City, proved fatal to it, and brought on a Revolt the sooner.

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§. XII. WHEN the two *Consular* Armies were come into the Plain, they encamped pretty near each other. And the Communication the Men of both Armies were by this means able easily to keep up with one another, contributed not a little to sowre the Minds of both, by their seditious Discourses. They first proposed to assassinate the *Consuls*; not out of any personal Hatred, but merely to free themselves from the Oaths they had taken to them. They thought the Obligations they lay under to them, would die with them. But afterwards, the most active in the Sedition considered, that it would be monstrous, to put an End to the religious Engagements they had entered into with the *Consuls*, by criminal Means. So that upon the whole, they contented themselves with carrying away the military Ensigns <sup>30</sup> and Standards, and

Dion. Hal.  
B. 6. p. 375.

<sup>28</sup> The General only had the Right of the *Auspicia* in the Roman Armies. They were taken in his Name, as if the Success of the Enterprize had been annexed to the Fortune of him who had the chief Command of the Troops. It is in this Sense that *Horace* pays the following Compliment to *Augustus Caesar*.

*Te copias, te consilium & tuos*  
*Præbente Divos.* Carm. B. 4. Ode 14.  
Dion says the same thing, in different Words,  
*Per quem bella geris, cujus nunc corpore pugnas,*  
*auspiciis cui das grande, Deosq; tuos.* Trist. 2.  
In consequence of this Prejudice, even the second Officer in the Army was not allowed to have any Claim to the Honours of a Triumph, tho' he had gained a considerable Victory in the General's Absence; because, according to the Superstition and Language of that Time, he had fought *alienis auspiciis*. The prevailing Opinion then was, that the Victory was to be ascribed to the *Auspicia*, or Fortune of the General, or to the Protection of those Gods, who declared themselves in his Favour. This is what *Sue-*

*tonius* means, when he says of *Augustus*, *Domuit partim ductu, partim auspiciis suis*. We shall hereafter have occasion to speak of the different Sorts of *Auspicia*, the Ceremonies used in taking them, and the Persons employed in that Office.

<sup>29</sup> The military Oath was so essential in inlisting Men, that no Roman could serve in the Army, even as a Volunteer, or kill an Enemy, till he had bound himself by a solemn Promise to obey his General. In consequence of this Custom, which was authorized by the Laws, *Tully* tells us, in his first Book of Offices, that *Cato* wrote to *Pompilius*, to inform him, that his Son could not continue in the Army, without taking the military Oath again; because the Time of his former Engagement was expired. *Cato ad Pompilium scribit, ut si filium pateretur in exercitu remanere, secundo eum obligaret Sacramento; quia priore amisso jure, cum hostibus pugnare non poterat.*

<sup>30</sup> The Romans had no other military Ensign, or Colours, in the Times of their first Simplicity, but a Bundle of Hay, or Grass, tied to the Top of a Pole.

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Year of R O M E CCLIX. with causing all the Troops to follow them, without the Privy of their Officers. One *Sicinnius Bellutus* was the main Spring of the Revolt. He raised it by his Discourses, and conducted it by his Counsels. As soon as the Standards were taken away, all the 3<sup>d</sup> Legions followed them, without any Orders from their Generals, and quitted the two Camps. How strict the Roman Soldiers were in following their Ensigns, is well known. They thought them a sort of Divinities, and carried their Respect for them even to Adoration. Tho' they had neither *Tribunes* nor *Centurions* to lead them, they followed their Standards, wherever they were carried, and came and encamped beyond the *Anio*, three Miles from *Rome*, upon a Mountain<sup>32</sup>, which has since been called, *The Sacred Mountain*. This remarkable Retreat of two Armies, contrary to the Inclination of their Leaders, had something very surprizing in it; the Memory of which the Roman Historians had preserved, by calling it *The Secession*, or Separation.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 6. p. 375.

Livy, ibid.

THE first Business of the rebellious Armies, was to choose themselves a General, and make new Officers. *Sicinnius* was the Man they pitched on to command them: After which they fortified themselves, and secured themselves within good Entrenchments. Within these the Roman Legions continually kept themselves; they neither committed any Hostility, nor took any Plunder; but contented themselves with getting Provisions brought them for their Subsistence. The Roman Soldiers did not yet go to War at the Expence of the Publick. Then the Consuls and Officers, who were deserted by their Troops, quickly dispatched a Deputation to *Sicinnius*, to persuade him to return to the Camp himself, and bring back his Troops to their Duty. But

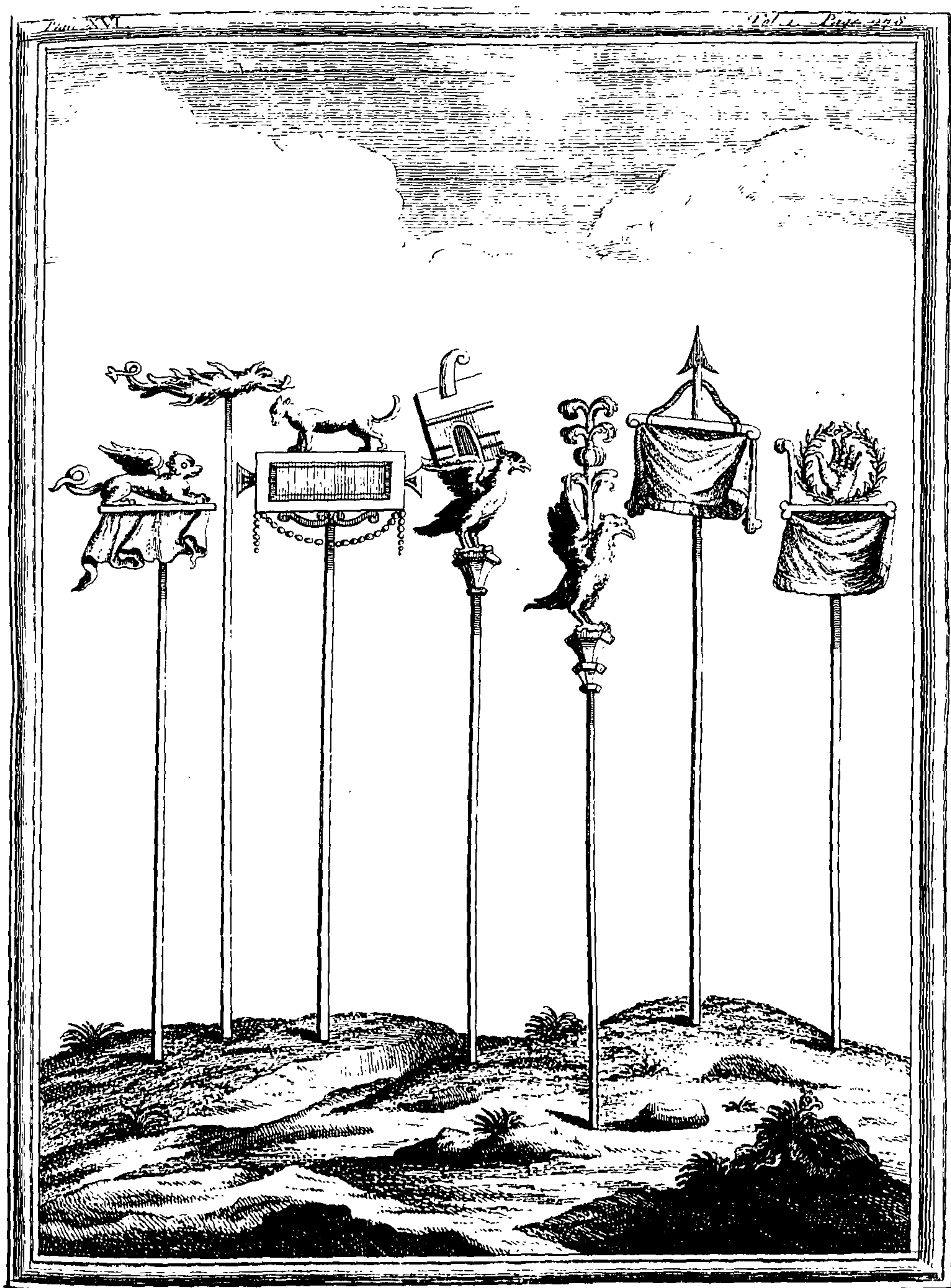
In succeeding Ages, they made use of the Figures of Monsters and Animals for that Purpose; such as the Eagle, Dragon, Boar and Wolf. The Rapaciousness of these Animals was a Symbol of War, and Battles. The Figure of the *Minotaur* was used as a Roman Ensign, to shew, according to *Vegetius*, B. 4. that the Designs of the General ought to be as intricate and difficult to discover, as the Avenues of the Labyrinth, in which the *Minotaur* lived. The Romans often changed the Form of their Ensigns, as there was Occasion; which is manifest from the *Antiques* both of Marble and Brass. Sometimes they used only a Pike with a Piece of Wood of a moderate Size tied cross it, so as almost to be in the Form of the Letter T. Sometimes a Hand was placed upon this cross Piece of Wood, perhaps in Allusion to the Word *Manipulus*, which signified a Sort of Battalion, consisting of two *Centuries*, i. e. 200 Men. Every *Manipulus* had indeed its own Ensign. Upon the Top of this Sort of Cross, were pretty commonly placed round and oval Bucklers, on which were represented the Images of the warlike Deities, as *Mars*, *Minerva*, and *Romulus*. To these were added, in the Times of Slavery, the Pictures of Emperors and Generals. This made *Tertullian* say, *Apol. c. 16. Omnes illi imaginum suggestus insignes, monilia crucium sunt. Suppara illa vexillorum & labororum, stola crucium sunt.* The Ensigns sometimes terminated in a Ball; probably, to shew the Extent of the Dominion of the Romans, in the three Quarters of the old World. The Horse made use of a Standard, for their Ensign, which was called *Vexillum*. This was made of a Piece of rich Stuff, of about a Foot square. It was fastened to a cross Piece of Wood, which was fixed to the Top of a Pike. We here intend only to give the Reader a general Idea of the Ensigns and Colours used in the Roman Armies. The Sequel of the History will give us more Occasions than one, of running into a more particular Account of each of these Ensigns, which varied in Form, according to the Time and Temper of the Romans. Besides, the Use of these Ensigns seems to be of a very modern Date, with respect to the Time we are now treating of, when the Republick was yet, if we may so speak, in its Infancy. Should we therefore say more of them here, it would be misplaced, and ill-timed. We shall only observe, that every Legion had a Roman Eagle in it: Whence the antient Writers reckon the Number of the Legions by that of the Eagles. But it does not appear, that the Romans placed the Figure of this Bird on the Top of their Standards, in the first Ages of Rome. At least,

the Historians say nothing at all of it. So that we can give no exact Account of the Form of the military Ensigns which were used in the Time of which we are now speaking.

31 *D. Hal.* gives us the Reason of it. The Roman, says he, respect nothing, when they are in the Field, more than their Ensigns and Standards. They are to them as so many Deities. They indeed swear by their military Ensigns, and pay them a sort of religious Worship. On certain Festivals, they crown them with Flowers, and perfume them. *Aquila certe, ac signa illa pulverulenta, & custodiis horrida, immutur etiam festis diebus. Utinamque dicere possimus quis primus instituisse!* *Plin. B. 13.* This Custom is also attested by an Inscription on an antient Marble; which runs thus, CORONÆ. INLATÆ. SIGNA QUE UNCTA. Animated by this superstitious Prejudice, the Soldiers braved the greatest Dangers, and despised Death it self, to secure these precious Pledges from being taken by the Enemy. It often was as much as a Man's Life was worth to suffer his Standard to be taken from him: History gives us several Instances of those who were condemned to be whipped, and to lose their Heads, for having lost the Colours which was committed to their Care.

32 Why was this Mountain called *Mons sacer*? Was it because it became execrable by the Revolt of the People? This seems to be a forced Interpretation, and not very agreeable to the Relations of the Historians. It was then, because the People, after they were reconciled to the Patricians, erected an Altar upon it to *Jupiter Faunus*, as a Monument of their Re-union, or in Memory of the Pannick with which the People were struck, when they deserted Rome, to fly from the Prosecutions of the Nobles. Or perhaps it was so called, because that sacred and inviolable Law was here made, which gave Rise to the *Tribunes of the People*. From that time their Authority became so formidable, that if any one dared offer any Violence to the Person of a *Tribune*, he became immediately the Curse of the People. The Aggressor was proscribed, and he was no longer looked on as any thing but a Victim devoted to *Jupiter*. *Piso*, an antient Writer, quoted by *Livy*, pretends, that this first Separation of the People was made on the Hill *Aventinus*. But *D. Hal.* and *Livy* agree, that it was on this Sacred Mountain, beyond the *Tiber*, three Miles from Rome, on the *Nomentane Way*, between *Sabinia* and *Latium*, in the Place where *Castellum* at *San Silvestro*, now stands.





*The Military Ensigns of the Romans.*



his Answer was that of a resolute Man, who was determined to keep no Measures with them. *It well becomes you, said he to the Envoys, to endeavour to bring those Men back into the Service, whom you have forced to leave it; and to call home those Citizens of Rome whom your own Oppressions obliged to leave the City! What Security can you give, sufficient for us reasonably to rely upon, who have so often deceived us with false Promises? Go, and dwell in the City by your selves, since you alone claim all Authority there. This vile Populace will no longer obstruct your Tyranny. It is of little Consequence to us in what Place we live, provided we have but our Liberty in it. Wherever we shall enjoy Liberty, there shall be our Country.*

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Dion. Hal.  
B. 6. p. 375.

It is incredible, what Distraction the News of this Separation of the Troops caused in Rome, when it was brought thither. Those of the *Plebeians* who had not yet left the City to march into the Field, prepared to join those who had deserted it. The Women and Children lamented the Loss of their Fathers and their Husbands. All was in Confusion within the Walls. The *Patricians* were forced to guard the Gates themselves, to hinder the People from going out. The Streets were full of Citizens, who were resolved to leave their native Country. Some were not to be kept without Entreaties, others were to be stopped only by Violence; and the latter were not dilatory in making their Way with their Swords. They broke thro' a small Number of *Patricians*, and came to *Sicinnius's* Camp. Whilst they who were not strong enough to force their Way, filled the City with Cries and Lamentations. One would have thought Rome a City taken by Assault. The reciprocal Jealousies the *Patricians* had of the *Plebeians*, and the *Plebeians* of the *Patricians*, would not suffer either to rest. The Houses were guarded Day and Night, and both Parties were continually upon the Alarm. The Senators assembled daily, and enquired after the Authors of this Misfortune. They mutually accused each other of Indulgence and Severity. And in the mean time another Fright seized them, from another Quarter; the *Æqui* and *Volsi*, who were no longer restrained by the Roman Troops, spread themselves all over the Territory of Rome, without Opposition, and led up some of their Parties to the very Walls of the City. The whole Country was exposed to the Plunder of the Enemy. *Sicinnius's* Camp only enjoyed Tranquillity, and no otherwise caused any Disorder, than by its Inaction. New Recruits came to it daily, as well from the City, as the Castles and Villages, which were scattered about the Country. The Rebel-Party was not only increased by the Debtors, but by all the Malefactors, all the Robbers, and all the Male-contents in the Republick; and, in a word, by all those who were displeased with the Nobility, and all those whom a Love of Novelty usually brings into a growing Faction. This Progress of the Revolt therefore terrified the Senate. They expected to see Rome, in a little time, besieged by an Army, consisting partly of rebellious Citizens, and partly of the ancient Enemies of the Republick. The *Conscrip*t Fathers, in a Case of so great Necessity, took every one his Post, which he was to maintain. The youngest went into the Country to seize the Castles. Others, attended with their Clients, took Possession of the narrow Passes thro' which the Enemy might enter the Plain. Others again encamped round about the City; and only the oldest were left to guard the Walls. However, the Terror of the Senate was a little abated, when they saw the Rebels did not join the Enemies of the Republick, but kept themselves shut up within their Intrenchments, without murdering any Body, or committing any Robberies. This made them think it possible to bring back the Male-contents, by a Treaty.

INDEED, the wisest of the Senators thought they might come to a Capitulation with these unhappy Citizens, whom an extravagant Severity had made desperate. After all, said they, *their present Conduct shews, that they have not lost all Love to their Country. Their present Moderation is a sufficient Proof, that if they could but obtain reasonable Terms of us, they would return to the City, and not abandon their Wives, their Children, and their Household Gods. Let us not therefore value our selves upon an ill-judg'd Constancy in opposing them. This would only double their Obstinacy. It is sometimes necessary to abate of that inconsiderate Haughtiness which is concealed under the Pretence of maintaining the Dignity of the Senate. It is never dishonourable to make up Differences with those whose Anger may prove fatal to us. We often treat with our Enemies; and why should we now disdain to capitulate with our fellow Citizens? The People of Rome have as much, if not more Authority in the Republick, than we. Where then is the Dishonour of coming to a Composition with them? And if there were any, what a Madness is it to prefer Decorum to Safety?* The Advice of these

Ibid. p. 377.

wise



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R O M E  
CCLIX.

A. VIRGINIUS,  
and T. VETU-  
RIUS, Consuls.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 6. f. 377.

Ibid. p. 378.

wise Senators prevailed against the Opinions of some very hot and morose Men, who were for no Accommodation with the Rebels, unless they laid down their Arms, and absolutely delivered themselves up to the Discretion of the Senate. Deputies were therefore nominated, to go to *Sicinnius's* Camp, and propose a Reconciliation. These, pursuant to the Instructions given them by the Senate, did not declare at once all they were inclined to grant the Rebels; but contented themselves with offering them Impunity for their Revolt; and then demanded to know what they wanted, and upon what Terms they would return to the City. This Demand shock'd the Mutineers. *These People*, say they, *would have us declare our Pretensions: What! can the Senators be ignorant of them? Don't they know to what Extremities we have been reduced, by the Avarice of the Patricians? They offer us Impunity; as if they had yet a Power of punishing as they pleased. We have nothing to do, but to give them up to the Swords of their foreign Enemies; and then, what will become of these Usurpers of the supreme Authority in Rome!* This was all the Answer the Deputies brought back to the City; which filled it with Consternation. The Tumults in it increased. The Senators could neither find out any Remedy for the Evils which threatened Rome, nor any Expedient to postpone them. They assembled daily; and their Deliberations ended in nothing but mutual Invectives, and useless Quarrels. They rose without making any Decree. Even those of the People, who continued at Rome, out of some Regard for the *Patricians*, fell off from them by little and little, and came and joined the Army on the *Sacred Mountain*. Every Morning discovered that a good Number of Citizens had gone off the preceding Night. The *Consuls* Year was not yet expired. But as they were both fallen into Contempt, it was thought impossible to reconcile the People to the Senate, while they continued in their Office; and every Body was so much afraid of it, in such difficult Times, that none stood for it. Nevertheless, the *Centuries* which were left at Rome, assembled in the *Campus Martius*, and there chose two Men, *Posthumius Cominius*<sup>33</sup>, and *Sp. Cassius*, who were equally acceptable, both to the People and the *Patricians*. They were chosen before the usual time, but this was not made any Objection to their Election. They had both born this Office before, with general Approbation: And a great deal was now expected from their wise Administration.

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CCLX.

POSTHUMIUS  
COMINIUS,  
and SP. CAS-  
SIUS, Consuls.

§. XIII. THE two new Governors of the Republick delayed not to assemble the Senate, whose Meetings could not but be less tumultuous than before, on account of the Esteem the *Consuls* were in, and the Respect which was paid to their Persons. The Senators first asked *Menenius Agrippa*<sup>34</sup> his Opinion. He was an old Senator, grown grey in the Service of the Republick, and yet more considerable for his steady Probity, than for the great Employments to which he had been promoted in Rome. He had all along kept neuter, in the Divisions of the People and the Senate, without fomenting the Pride of the one, or countenancing the Licentiousness of the other. Besides, he had been as inoffensive and blameless in his private Character as the famous *Poplicola* was, whom he took for his Pattern. He thus declared his Opinion, concerning the Necessity of a Reconciliation with the People, who had separated themselves from them. *It is surprizing*, said he, *that Passion should carry some Senators so far, as to make them believe, that Rome may subsist without the People, who have sequestered themselves from us, and may supply the Place of our own Troops with foreign Recruits. No, Conscript Fathers, without the same Soldiers who were born within our Walls, who have distinguished themselves in our Legions by their Valour, and whose Hearts are entirely Roman, you are not to hope you shall be able to guard against the Insults of our foreign Enemies, and maintain the Ascendant Rome has gained over them. And will the new Inhabitants we shall bring into the City, live more peaceably than our old Citizens? Consider how many different Nations are risen up against us all at once, upon a Report of our Divisions. The Sabines, the Aequi, the Volsci, and the*<sup>35</sup> *Hernici, have all taken hold of this Opportunity to de-*

<sup>33</sup> D. Hal. tells us, that the new *Consuls* entered upon their Office on the *Calends of September*, i. e. a Month before the *Consulate* of T. *Veturius* and A. *Virginus* expired, according to our former Remark on the *Consulship* of *Brutus*. Nevertheless, to speak the truth, nothing is more uncertain, than the Beginning of the *Consular Years*; as we have more than once observed.

<sup>34</sup> We find his Name written in D. Hal. B. 4. A. *grippa Menenius*. Which has made some falsely ima-

gine, contrary to the Testimony of most Authors, that this Senator's *Prænomen* was *Agrippa*. This Surname was given him, as we have elsewhere observed, either because his Mother brought him into the World with great Difficulty, as *Pliny* has observed, B. 7. *Quod egre partus sit*; or because, according to *Gellius*, he could hardly stand upon his Feet, *ab pedum aegritudine*.

<sup>35</sup> The *Hernici* formerly inhabited the Territories of *Anagni* and *Alatro*, in the *Campagna di Roma*.



stroy us. Campania and Hetruria are either in Motion towards us, or making Preparations, to take Advantage of our Misfortunes. The Latins themselves, those faithful Friends, begin to stagger already; and the Love of Novelty makes some Impression on their Minds. So that Rome, which was formerly the Terror of her Neighbours, is now sunk so low, as to fear them; and instead of attacking them, shuts her Gates, and keeps herself upon the defensive. And in the mean time, what Evils do we not suffer? Our Country is become a Prey to the Enemy, and the Provisions which should abound in this City, are carried to the Camp of our Citizens which are separated from us. O Rome! O my Country! A Famine is sensibly felt already. What then will become of thee, if thine Enemies lay siege to thee! Will dried Skeletons be able to guard thy Walls? Or whence should we have any Succours, when our Walls are invested by the Flower of the Roman Youth? It's said indeed, they yet continue quiet; but will they always continue so? If we call in Foreigners to supply their Places, will not those who are gone off from us, oppose their March? And if these New-comers enter Rome, will they be more moderate in their Pretensions, than our old Citizens? You have forced them to break off from you, and you compel them to be obstinate in their Separation. Is it always reasonable to have recourse to Amputation, as soon as a Member has received a slight Wound? Let us rather heal the Wound we have made, and not render it incurable. As often, Conscrip Fathers, as you have signalized your Clemency towards your Enemies, what Advantages has it not produced? And will you then be inflexibly severe only against Romans? This City owes its Rise, to its having offered an Asylum to the Guilty? And will you shut out those brave Soldiers from their old Habitations, whose only Crime is the Beggary to which your Usuries have brought them? Do you remember, that they have shared our Fatigues, and our Victories, with us; that they were brought up in your Sight; and that they are united to you in the same civil Society? They have been guilty of Sedition, I grant you; but are they incapable of being brought back to their Duty by gentle Methods? If they have hitherto despised our Embassies, it is because they thought they could have no dependance, either on our Deputies, or the Senate who deputed them. Our Breach of Promises gives them just Reason to think so; and our unworthy Artifices are just Grounds for their Suspicions. Let us therefore send to this People, who continue to act discreetly and moderately, even during this Revolt, such Plenipotentiaries as are agreeable to them, and such whose Determinations shall not be liable to be called in question by the Senate. Let their Power be absolute, and uncontrollable. You will then find that Part of the State return to you, which is most wanted, in such troublesome Times as these.

THIS Speech of Menenius Agrippa was thought wise by the Majority of the Senate: But Interest, and a Spirit of Faction, blinded the Eyes of those Senators, who depended on the Confiscation of the Estates of the Mutineers. To proceed: The Senior Consul desired Manius Valerius next to give his Opinion freely. This wise old Man was come to the Senate, tho' disgusted at the Conscrip Fathers; being doubtless induced thereto, by the Change of the Consuls. He began his Speech, with complaining of the little regard which had been shewn for the wholesome Advice, which he had given them. I forewarned you, said he, of all the Misfortunes which now beset us. Let then the Event, which has justified my former Predictions, at least give some weight to those I am now going to make. The longer the Senate shall delay to come to a Reconciliation with the People, the more advantageous will be the Terms, it will be forced to give them at last. If you had offered the revolted People, the Abolition of their Debts, at your first Deputation, you would by this time have seen Rome in Peace, and our Enemies repulsed. You are cheapening a Peace; and they will encrease their Demands in proportion to your Advances: and the more you offer, the more obstinate they will grow in refusing it. I shall be much mistaken, if they don't now require, besides their first Demands, such lasting Securities, as shall always keep them out of the reach of our Oppressions. And indeed, by how many Acts of Injustice have we provoked the Citizens of Rome? Ever since the Recovery of the publick Liberty, the Authority of the Curiae in Rome has been superior to ours. Our Decrees have been of no force, till they thought fit to confirm them. They were the supreme Judges in capital Cases, and determined them without Appeal. And yet what Artifices have not we made use of, to deprive them of their Privileges? At this very time, we would fain have our Decrees become absolute Determinations. The Dictatorship, the Child of our Policy, robs the People of their supreme Power in criminal Affairs. Nor is this all. This powerful Body are reduced to be Slaves to the Patricians, who by excessive Usury, and partial

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Sentences,

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SIUS, Consuls.



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R O M E  
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POSTRUMIUS  
COMINIUS,  
and SP. CAS-  
SIUS, Consuls.  
*Dien. Hal.*  
B. 6. p. 386.

*Sentences, which they pass in their own Cause, either destroy or sink the Dignity of the People. I am therefore of Menenius Agrippa's Opinion, adding this to it, that we ought not to delay giving the People Satisfaction one Moment. Let their Demands be granted, be they what they will. We shall not, after all, have made them sufficient Amends for the Injuries we have done them.*

ALL that *Valerius* had spoken against the *Patricians* in general, *Appius Claudius* applied to himself. He had no Reason indeed to reproach himself with any ill Use of his Wealth, or any personal Oppressions. Yet he made an unnecessary Apology for himself to the Senate on that account. The Fault which was found with his Conduct, was his being entirely devoted to the *Patrician* Party, and his being determined to endeavour to take away all Authority from the People, in order to bring the Republick under the Government of a supreme Council, consisting of a few chosen Men. With this View he voted against the Treaty which the Senate seemed disposed to enter into, with the revolted People. When the Question was put to him, he spoke thus. *I am extremely surprized, Conscript Fathers, to see you ready to grant a rebellious People, what you refused them, when they behaved themselves submissively. Shall we make Untractableness and Obstinacy a Title for obtaining by Force, what could not be procured by just Means? What Bounds will the Commonalty then set to their Desires? We shall soon see the Government of Rome reduced to a mere Democracy, and find Madmen giving Law to the most noble and most wise Members of the State. Did you throw off the Dominion of a single Prince, only to sink into Slavery under a vile, unthinking Populace? When they have once extorted from you what they want, by Violence and Necessity, to what excessive Heights will not their Pride then be carried? When they have gained one Victory over you, that will only be a Step towards aspiring at another; and then, whenever you refuse them any thing, Insults and Seditions will be the Consequence. But, say some, we are now streightened both by foreign Wars, and domestick Dissentions. Let us preserve our Country; I consent to it: but let us do it in a manner consistent with our Honour and Dignity. Let us not consider our Deserters as a formidable Army. Their Number is by no means equal to that of those who continue faithful to us. Cannot we set our Slaves at liberty, and arm them? Can't we lead out the People which are left, into the Field, after we have forgiven them their Debts, not indeed by a publick Edict, but in our private Capacities? Cannot we gather together the Garrisons which are scattered about in the Castles in the Country, and call back our Colonies to the Relief of Rome? Had we not, the last time the People were numbered, 130000 Men fit to bear Arms? And are our Revolters one seventh part of that Number? At worst, cannot we enter into an Association with the Latins, in pressing a War; and will not the Promises we shall make them, of giving them all the Privileges of Roman Citizens, keep them steady in their Affection to the Senatorian Party? But what am I saying? Will the Obstinacy of our Revolters hold out against the Hardships of the Winter? As they are without either Tents or Covering, exposed to the Injuries of the Air, will they not prefer their own Houses to Cold and Frost? Will they resolve to besiege us, at the hazard of seeing their own Wives and Children massacred by their Fellow-Citizens? Can they have any Dependence on their Commanders, whilst Rome abounds with experienced Generals, who have signalized themselves by so many Victories? I therefore still continue to be of opinion, that it is not consistent with the Dignity of the Senate, to forgive the Revolters their Debts, and to send a new Deputation to them. In short, all the Clemency that can well be shewn them, is to treat them with Tendernefs, after they have laid down their Arms; and considering them as a Set of Fools or Madmen, to shew them Mercy as such.*

THIS Speech of *Appius* divided the Senators into two different Opinions. The young Men were for *Appius*; but the old were of *Menenius Agrippa's* Opinion. The bare Name of a civil War was dreadful to them. Both Parties made a great Up-roar. But the young Senators prevailed both by Number and Force; and already threatened to come to Blows. The Wise had nothing left but their Tears and Entreaties. With these they abated the Tumult a little, and all were attentive to what the Consuls would say. After they had consulted, and whispered together a few Minutes, the eldest of the two declared both their Opinions in these Words. *It were to be wished, that Concord reigned among us, since Discord has already separated one Part of the Republick from us. At least the young Senators ought to pay a Deference to the old, in hopes that they also shall in their Turns find themselves respected in their old Age. But all this while, the Time is spent in useless Disputes. Let us put an end to*



the Session, that we may assemble again in a few Days. And let the young Men then bring better Dispositions of Mind along with them! Otherwise, we may perhaps be obliged to overlook them in our Deliberations, and to fix by Law, the Age <sup>36</sup> Men shall be obliged to be of, in order to entitle them to a Vote in our Assemblies. Besides, you are not ignorant, that it of antient Right belongs to the People, to determine Affairs of War by their Suffrages. Now the present Question relates to War. It will therefore be very necessary to have recourse to the People, if your being divided in Opinion, eternally obstructs our coming to some Determination, which is absolutely necessary. Thus spake the Consul, and dismissed the Senate.

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§. XIV. SOME Days after, the Consuls sent Orders to The Tribes which were dispersed about the Country, and to the Citizens who guarded the Castles, to come to the City, in great Numbers, on a Day appointed. This Multitude joined the Wives and Children of the Revolters, and waited for the Senators in the Forum, whilst they went to the Senate, which the Consuls assembled the same Day. Then the People endeavoured, by their Cries, their Prayers, and their Prostrations, to raise the Compassion of the Senators, some in favour of their Husbands, others of their Fathers, others of their Relations, and others of their Friends. The Consuls, as they passed by, commended the Country-people for being so punctual in returning to the City in great Numbers; exhorted them to continue peaceable; and gave them Hopes of having a Decree in their Favour, from the Assembly which was going to be held. And indeed, every thing was transacted in it with more Tranquillity than ever. Menenius was desired to repeat his Opinion; and he still continued to think it necessary to send Plenipotentiaries to the Sacred Mountain, with full Power to grant the revolted People, whatever they thought fit. After this, the Opinion of those Senators was asked, who had been Consuls, and they all voted with Menenius: till at length it came to Appius's Turn, who spoke thus. *I perceive, my giving my Opinion here, is to no manner of Purpose. You are determined, Conscript Fathers, to receive the Mutineers within these Walls upon their own Terms. Yet at least give me leave to say, this shall never be done with my Consent. The more rash you now think my Obstinacy to be, the more you will one Day, (tho' perhaps not till after my Death!) commend me for my Perseverance. O Great Jupiter! who art worshipped in the Capitol! Ye Tutelar Gods of the Empire! and ye Heroes and Genii who protect us! make, I beseech you, the Return of our Rebels an Happiness to us; and grant, that I may be deceived in my Apprehensions.*

It must be granted, that the Senate had great Reason to fear the Consequences of the Step they were going to take. Yet after all, the wisest Advice they could follow, was to divert the present Evil. The young Men themselves came over to the Opinion of the old. A young Senator, named Nautius, of an illustrious Family, since it was derived from one of Aeneas's Companions of that Name <sup>37</sup>, paved the Way for their coming over to the better Side of the Question. He first made an Apology for the youngest Senators, and protested that they had not acted either upon Motives of Vani-

<sup>36</sup> To judge by the Consul's Speech, the Laws had not then determined the Age which was necessary, in order to being admitted into the Senate. And yet it is certain, none could be incorporated into the Senate, but such as were of a mature Age. This appears from Tully, *pro Lege Manilia*. He speaks thus with respect to Pompey: *Quid tam præter consuetudinem, quam homini peradolescens, ejus a Senatorio gradu ætas longe abesse, imperium atque exercitum dari?* Tacitus, *Annal.* 15. says, that Vivianus Annius, Son-in-law to Corbulo, was not yet arrived at the Age necessary for being a Senator. Plutarch says the same thing of Pompey, when he first demanded the Honours of a Triumph. Most Authors represent the Senators as grave Persons, advanced in Years: *Quibus corpus annis infirmum, ingenium sapientia validum erat.* Salust. *Caecil.* *Et Romanus Senatus in hunc usque diem a Senio nomen gerit,* says Plutarch. And *2. Rom. Festus, Aurelius Victor, and Florus,* all agree in this Etymology. The only remaining Question then, is, what Age the Laws afterwards fixed. The Historians of antient Rome leave us in Uncertainty about it. It is true, *Panvinus*, in *Fest.* 1. pretends, that the Sons of Senators had a Right to sit in the Senate, down to the Time of young Papyrius. Then, says he, the Senate made a Decree, whereby they excluded all from their Assemblies who were under 25 Years of Age. *Panvinus* quotes

Plutarch, in *Pompeio*, in Proof of this; but it unluckily happens, that this Passage is not to be found in any Edition of that Historian. I rather incline to *Sigonius's* Opinion. He, *B. 2. de Antiq. Jure Civium Rom. c. 2.* builds upon a Passage of *Valerius Maximus*, and another of *Tully*, to fix the Senatorial Age, to the Time when the *Quæstorship* usually ended. Now it's certain Men might stand for this Office after they were 27. They might therefore aspire at the Senatorial Dignity, before, or about, 30. Which pretty well agrees with the Law Pompey established among the People of *Bithynia*. By this Law it was enacted, that none should be made a Member of their Senate, till he was 30 complete. It is probable, Pompey followed the Custom of the Roman Republick, in this Affair; and the more so, because *Pliny the Younger* tells us, in one of his Letters to the Emperor *Trajan*, that the *Bithynians* made the Romans their Pattern, especially in what related to their Magistracy and Senate.

<sup>37</sup> This Nautius is called Nautes by *Virgil*. If we may believe the Commentators on this Poet, *Diomedes* returned into Nautius's Hands, the *Palladium* he had from *Troy*. The same Poet says, *Minerva* instructed him in the Art of Divination.

*Tum senior Nautes unum Tritonia Pallas  
Quem docuit, multaque insignem reddidit Arte.*

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ty, or Views of Interest. And then, he consented, in the Name of them all, that the oldest Senators should make a Decree according to their own Inclinations and Designs. It was therefore ordered, that ten Deputies <sup>38</sup> should be sent to *Sicinnius's* Camp. History has not suffered their Names to be buried in Oblivion; and indeed no Deputation was ever more honourable. All ten, except young *Nautius*, had been *Consuls*: which was not so much designed to do Honour to the Revolted, as to take care that none but wise and prudent Men should be concerned in judging what Concessions the Republick might make them, so as least to prejudice its Interests.

§. XV. WHEN the *Consuls* came out of the Senate, they presented themselves before the People who were assembled; and when they had given them an Account of the Decree which had been passed, exhorted them to contribute all they could towards the Re-union of the Senate and the Army. Then the Deputies were immediately dispatched away, for the *Mons Sacer*. But the Report of their Deputation came thither before them. The People therefore came to meet them, and a great Body of the Rebels marched out of their Camp, to do them Honour. In the mean time, *Junius Brutus* acted a pretty extraordinary Part among the Revolters. He had a great deal of Wit, and vast Penetration, joined with a clownish and silly Carriage and Behaviour. As then he had the Name of *Lucius Junius*, as well as the Founder of the Republick; so his Habit, and his Rusticity, gained him likewise the Surname of *Brutus*. And because he had the same Names, he therefore thought himself destined to deliver the People from the Tyranny of the Senate, as the famous *Brutus* had delivered *Rome* from the Oppressions of the *Kings*. And indeed, the Advice he gave, did not a little contribute towards the People's gaining that Superiority over the *Patricians*, which they afterwards maintained, and which made them Masters of the Republick. *Lucius Junius* therefore addressed himself to the General of the Revolters, and gave him to understand, that it was not proper to fall in very readily with the Proposals of the Senate. *After all, said he, who will secure us, that the Promises they are coming to make us, will be faithfully performed; and that these fine Appearances shall not have a tragical End? Let me answer them, adds he, in the Name of the People; and you shall see how artfully I will preserve you from the Cheat, which they may perhaps have resolved, to put upon our Credulity.* Accordingly, *Sicinnius* knowing what an excellent Fund of Wit the mock *Brutus* had, gave him Authority to answer the Senate's Proposals, in the Name of all the Mutineers. Then the Deputies were admitted into the Camp, and the Revolters came in Crowds about them, to hear what they had to say. *M. Valerius*, the *Dictator* the last Year, and that faithful Friend to the People, was their Speaker; and he began thus: *To what Purpose is it, Romans, that you still keep away from your Relations and Families? The Senate has chosen such Men, as it thinks well affected to you, to treat with you, and to ratify any reasonable Proposals which you have to offer. It has not shewn so much regard for its own Dignity, as respect for you. It has done that for your sakes, which it would perhaps never have done for Foreigners. It forgets its Rank in the State, in order to come to a Reconciliation with you. Give therefore the Gods thanks for it, and be grateful for the Kindness of the Conscrip't Fathers. They indeed are truly Fathers, who don't think it unworthy of them, to make the first Advances, in order to bring back their Children to their Duty. Make a good use of their Condescension, and delay not to return to the City, which gave you Birth, and where you enjoyed many Advantages, of which you seem to be a little insensible.*

*SICINNIUS* answered, in few Words, that the Affair was of such Importance, that it deserved to be well discussed by the Persons concerned. And then he invited those of his Party, to answer to what *Valerius* had said. But they all looked upon one another, and continued silent: till the new *Brutus* took up the Discourse, as it had been agreed he should; and he first addressed himself to the Soldiers of his Party. *What strikes you dumb, my Friends?* said he to them: *Is it the Fear you are in of the Patricians? You wait for some one Person to take the whole Odium upon him, whilst you resolve to take Advantage of all the Benefits he may procure you, at his own Peril. But after all, what have you to fear? Don't you see, that this Senate, which was formerly so imperious, is forced to make the first Advances? We have now recovered that Liberty*

<sup>38</sup> Livy mentions only *Agrippa Menenius*, and not the other *Consular* Men, which were sent to the People. But *D. Hal.* who is more faithful in his Narrations, has transmitted to us the Names of these Deputies: viz. *Manius Valerius*, the Son of *Marcus*; *Titus Lartius Flavius*; *Agrippa Menenius*, the Son of *Ca-*

*us*; *Publius Servilius*, the Son of *Publius*; *Posthumius Tubertus*, the Son of *Quintus*; *Titus Albinus Flavius*, the Son of *Titus*; *Servius Sulpitius Camerinus*, the Son of *Publius*; *Aulus Posthumius Albus*, the Son of *Publius Aulus*; *Virginius Caelimontanus*, the Son of *Aulus*; and *Spurius Nautius*.



which the Faction of the Great had robbed us of: And I will first use it my self. I Year of  
will speak in the Name of you all, and will my self run all the risque of the Freedom I R O M E  
shall use. We are told, nothing hinders us from returning to Rome. But is this an Act CCLX.  
of Kindness shewn us by the Senate? Or does the Senate ask it as a Favour of us? And POSTHUMIUS  
what are the Conditions of our Return? What Securities will they give us of the faith- COMINIUS,  
ful Performance of a Promise, which their frequent Breaches of Faith cannot but make and SP. CAS-  
us suspect? Let us strictly examine where the Blame of our Separation ought in Equity sius, Consuls.  
to be laid? Were not we forced to it, by the Injustice of the Senate, and the Severity of  
their Sentences? Is it then we, or they, that ought to ask Pardon? Is it not perverting  
all the Laws of Equity, to make the Persons injured, apply for Mercy to those who in-  
jured them? Who then ought to be thought ungrateful, the People, or the Senate? What  
is there that we have not done, to preserve Rome, and extend her Glory and her Con-  
quests? And yet, the last of the Kings, even Tarquin the Proud himself, did not car-  
ry his Oppressions, and his Ingratitude to us, so far as the Senate has done. When  
Lucretia was taken, Tarquin permitted his Army to enrich themselves with the Spoils of  
the Enemy. Nevertheless, we resented his Abuse of his Power, which was more heavy  
upon the Patricians, than upon us: and we joined with the Senators to deliver it from  
an Oppressor. O Heavens! did we then imagine that we were going to fall under more  
tyrannical Oppressions! If we had dreamed of that, should we have gone thro' so many  
Wars, and spilt so much Blood, for sixteen Years together, only for an imaginary Li-  
berty? And yet we had scarce established that Liberty, by so many Exploits, at the  
Battle of Regillus, before it was taken away by Violence from those who defended it.  
The Senate was not content to expose our Lives in so many Wars, purely to serve their  
Ambition; but likewise treated the Conquerors themselves, as vanquish'd Enemies. They  
were loaded with Chains, they were reduced to Slavery, and those Debts were rigor-  
ously exacted of them, which either their Necessities, or the Good of the Publick, forced  
them to contract. They were to be humbled, and absolutely ruined, by excessive Usuries.  
And what unjust Treatment did not those few Patricians meet with from the rest of  
the Senate, who were so equitable as to be affected with our Misery? One was deprived  
of the Honours of a Triumph, which he had deserved; another was forced to end a glo-  
rious Consulate in the greatest Dissatisfaction. But what am I saying? Why am I  
recalling the Memory of what is past? Let us now, my Friends, think only of taking  
proper Precautions for the future. What Security will the Senate give us, that we  
shall be perfectly restored to our antient Liberties? What Improvement in our Fortunes  
are we to hope for? With what Demonstrations of Joy shall we be received in Rome?  
Speak, illustrious Deputies, explain your selves; for you are not to imagine, that when  
we have taken up Arms upon wise and prudent Motives, we will lay them down in-  
considerately. Think you, we will depend upon the Conditions of a Treaty, which an  
Appius and his Cabal will disannul by an Edict as soon as we are disarmed? Shall  
we deliver our selves up to the Envoys of a Senate, which has so often broken the Pro-  
mises it has sent them to make us? Or shall we entirely depend on Covenants confirm-  
ed only by Oaths? How many times have the Gods looked down with Detestation on  
these faithless Men, whilst they were perjuring themselves? How many Promises  
have they broken, which they called Heaven to witness? Necessity, say they, extorted  
them from us, and the publick Good disannulled them. But let us take Care, my Friends,  
let us take Care, how we fall into these Snares. Let us fly wherever Fortune or the  
Gods lead us. Wheresoever Liberty is, there is our Country. Valour will supply the  
Place of Riches; a brave Man can live any where. When Æneas fled from Troy with  
his Trojans, he got a Kingdom in this Country. Let us follow his Example, and found  
a Colony which shall rival Rome. And let the only Favour we ask at our Departure,  
as the Reward of our Moderation, be this, that we may have our Wives and Children.  
Which if not granted, let us call the Gods to witness the Injuries which will then be  
done us; and let us treat that People as Enemies, who shall have used us like Slaves.

BOTH the Deputies of the Senate, and the Revolters, were greatly moved with this  
Harangue of Brutus. They all burst out into Tears. They all agreed, that he had  
not exaggerated the Misfortunes the People had suffered. They acknowledged the  
Revolters could not be too cautious in guarding against the unjust Proceedings of a  
Senate, which had so often proved faithless. Nevertheless, T. Lartius undertook to  
justify the Conduct of the Patricians, and to shew, that the People had had no just  
Cause to complain of the ill Treatment of the Debtors. Your Luxury, says he, your  
Debauchery, and your Idleness, multiplied your Debts. And was it just to refuse your  
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*Creditors the Payment of those Loans, without which you could not have subsisted?* But how much respected soever *Lartius* was, his Words were so unreasonable at this time, that he was hissed by the Multitude. *Sicinnius*, the Leader and Chief of the Revolters, took Advantage of it, and made it serve his own Purposes. *Judge ye, my dear Friends*, says he to his Soldiers, *Judge ye, by the Discourse of one who is come to intercede with us, what Treatment we are to expect at Rome, when we have laid down our Arms. His Intreaties are Reproofs, and his Supplications Invectives. See, whether you think it proper to follow him to the City without your Arms, and with your Hands tied behind you; and there to undergo the most bitter Reproaches, and the most terrible Slavery.* These Words of *Sicinnius* were received with great Applauses. But in the midst of the Acclamations, *Menenius Agrippa* made a Signal, that he had something to offer. He was known to be a Man of Equity, and well affected to the People. They were therefore all silent, and thought that he, at least, would declare upon what Conditions the Revolters were to be receiv'd. But in truth, *Menenius* was no Orator, his Speech was much fuller of good Sense, than of Eloquence. He spoke with a great Air of Freedom and Goodness, and made as great Impressions on the Minds of his Auditors as could have been expected. *Romans*, says he, *we were not sent hither, either to justify our selves, or accuse you. We have nothing to do at present, but to agree upon a Method of healing our Divisions. The Senate has invested us with full Powers to complete this Work. Let us then enquire into the Causes of your Discontents, and remove them. You complain of the Prosecutions your Creditors have carried on against the poor Debtors. Very well; let such of you as are not able to pay their Debts be discharged from them. Let those also, who are legally confined by their Creditors, be set at Liberty. So much for what is past. And as for the future, the whole Republick, both Senate and People, will unanimously agree to make new Regulations about Contracts, and the Interest of Money. Will not this then be removing the chief Cause of your Complaints? You say likewise, you would have some Security of the Sincerity of our Promises. You shall have the most authentick ones. Set down your Demands in Writing, and the Senate shall comply with them. It shall confirm our Promises, and pass them into a Decree, which shall have the Force of a Law. Can any thing be more inviolable? To which we add, that all we who are sent Deputies to you, will be Guarantees for the Execution of the Promises we make you. We and our Families will for ever be responsible to you for the Performance of them. Nay, the rest of the Senators, and the People too, will enter into the same Engagements, and all give you proper Instruments for that Purpose, signed with their own Hands. In a word, the last Assurance we offer you, is such a one as is regarded both by Greeks and Barbarians. It is the Sanction of 40 Oaths. They are more sacred than Brutus has represented*



Silver

<sup>39</sup> It is not to be wondered at, that *Menenius Agrippa* should be so much inclined to favour the *Plebeians*. He was himself descended from a *Plebeian* Family, if we may believe *Livy*. *Menenium Agrippam facundum virum, & quod inde oriundus erat, plebi carum.* B. 2. Nevertheless, he had been *Consul*. Yet it is certain the *Plebeians* had then no rightful Claim to the Honours of the Magistracy. The *Patricians* would not yet so much as marry the Daughters of *Plebeians*. We must therefore suppose, either that *Livy* was mistaken, or that *Menenius Agrippa's* Family, which was originally *Plebeian*, was made *Patrician* by *Tarquin the Elder*, when he increased the Number of the Senators; or else that *Menenius* himself was one of those newly created Senators, which *Brutus* incorporated with the old Senators, in order to fill up the Places of those whom *Tarquin the Proud* had cut off.

<sup>40</sup> *Numa*, in order to make his *Romans* faithful to

their Engagements, made use of the Sanction of Oaths, as we learn from *Livy*, B. 1. *Ea pietate hominum mentes imbuerat, ut fides ac iussurandum, proximorum ac penarum metu, civitatem regerent.* From that time the *Romans*, as long as Candour and Simplicity prevailed among them, thought nothing more sacred than Oaths. They looked on them as inviolable Obligations, by which the Bands of Society were fastened, and Men most strictly tied to perform the Duties of Civil Life. The most ancient Ceremony used in swearing was to hold up the right Hand, because the right Hand is the Symbol of Fidelity. *I lift up mine Hand unto the Lord*, says *Abraham* \*. *Tully* says of *Falcidius*, *Orat. pro Placco*, that no Body would believe him, tho' he swore with his Hand upon the Altar. *Is si aram tenens juraret, crederet nemo.* *Juvenal* inveighs against those perjured Persons who were not afraid to lay their Hands upon any Altars.

— *Intrepidi quaecumque altaria tangunt.* Sat. 13.

\* Gen. xiv. 22.



them; and tho' some wicked Princes may sometimes have broken thro' those religious Ties, yet Rome was never known to carry her Impiety so far, as to despise Contracts made in the Name and Presence of the Gods. Let Concord then reunite us; and let mutual Embraces put an End to those Jealousies which divide us! Let us again become joint Members of the same Body-Politick, and let us collect the dis-united Parts of it. My Meaning will best be understood by the following Fable. There was a time when the several Parts of the human Body murmured against the Stomach. It is slothful, said they, and makes the Eyes, the Arms, and the Feet, subservient to its Pleasures. The Hands therefore, and Mouth, and Teeth, refused to serve it. And what was the Consequence? The whole Body languished, and the mutinous Members suffered, as well as the Stomach. This is exactly our Case, with respect to our intestine Divisions. The whole Republick is weakened, when any one of its Members refuses the rest the Assistance they expect from it.

SUCH a Fable as this was well adapted to the Capacities of the People. They were more staggered by it, than they would have been by any deep Reasonings. They all called out to their Leader to carry them immediately back to the City: And they had like to have quitted the *Sacred Mountain* immediately, without further Precaution. But *Brutus* put a Stop to the inconsiderate Motion of his Companions, and made them sensible, that too much Precipitation would infallibly throw them back into as great Misery as ever. *It is true*, said he to them, *the Offers which are made us are very reasonable. We ought to return the Senate Thanks for them. But who can be sure, that the Spirit of Dominion, which is very natural to the Heads of a Republick, will not prevent the Performance of them; and that the Patricians, when they have us in Subjection, will not make an ill Use of our Submission, in order to oppress us with the more Discretion and Policy for the future? The only Means to preserve us always from their Violences, is to deprive them of the Power of oppressing us. Let us bring the Senate to this; and then we shall be always safe. The Gods have inspired me with an Expedient, which is the only one that can make our Liberty durable, and the Republick invincible.* *Menenius* pressed the Orator to declare this important Scheme; and *Brutus* went on thus: *It is this; That they give us Leave to choose annually, a certain Number of Magistrates, out of the Body of the Plebeians, who shall have no other Authority in Rome, but that of being our Protectors, and having a Power to oppose and disannul any Edicts or Judgments which shall be burdensome to the People.* This Proposal of *Brutus*, was what the Envoys did not expect. So that they desired a few Moments to consider of it. They drew aside, consulted together, soon after returned to the Assembly, and when Silence was made, *Menenius* spoke thus: *Your Demand, Romans, has given us a great deal of Uneasiness. Shall not we, if we grant it, erect two Republicks in the same City of Rome? These are such well-grounded Apprehen-*

It is true, Oaths, tho' always in use, yet followed the Fate of the Roman Religion, and took as many different Shapes as their Divinities did. Thus the Romans swore by their Gods, and made them Sureties for what they promised. They swore by *Castor* and *Pollux*, by *Hercules*, &c. Nor did they swear only by their Gods, but also by every thing that had any Relation to their fabulous Divinities; by *Jupiter's* Thunder, *Apollo's* Arrows, *Neptune's* Trident. They swear, says *Juvenal*, speaking of the Romans in his time, by all the Weapons in the Arsenal of Heaven.

*Quicquid habent telorum armamentaria cæli.*  
*Calpurnia* insulted the Romans, and their Religion, by swearing by the Fortune, the Genius, and the Health of his Horse. The *Vestals* swore by *Vesta*; the Roman Ladies by *Juno*; Husbandmen by *Ceres*; Vine-dressers by *Bacchus*; Lovers by *Venus* and *Cupid*. One of the most solemn Oaths used in antient Rome, was this, *Per Jovem lapidem*, i. e. by *Jupiter the Stone*: Either alluding thereby to the Stone Statue, which in the earliest Ages of Rome, was erected to *Jupiter* in the Capitol; or in Reference to the Stone which *Saturn* ate, thinking it the new-born *Jupiter*; or lastly, which is the most general Opinion, in Allusion to the Ceremony then used by those who swore by *Jupiter*, which was, to take a Stone in their Hands, and then to throw it away with all their Strength, speaking these Words, according to *Festus*, *If I do not perform my Promise, may Jupiter throw me from Rome, as I throw this Stone from me.* Oaths were often attend-

ed with Sacrifices and Libations. *Livy*, B. 1. gives us an Account of another Way of swearing. The Person who swore held a Stone in his Hand, with which he struck the Victim on the Forehead, and at the same time repeated this Form of Words, *If I break my Word, may Jupiter strike me, as I strike this Victim.* We learn from *Aeschylus*, in his Tragedy called, *The Seven before Thebes*, that to terrify them the more, those who took an Oath dipped their Hands in the Blood of the Victim. The *Aquili*, and the *Vitellii*, who entered into a Conspiracy against Rome, in Favour of the *Tarquins*, took their Oaths almost in the same manner. The Romans had so sacred a Regard for Oaths, that they made *Faith*, or *Fidelity*, a Goddess, to whom they gave a considerable Rank among the Pagan Divinities. Her Province was, to take Care that Oaths were faithfully performed. The white Veil she had on was the Symbol of Frankness and Candour. Thus *Horace* represents her: *Te Spes, & albo rara Fides colit velata panno.* Her Priests wore a Habit of the same Colour on Days of Ceremony. No Sacrifices but Libations were offered up to her Honour. *Numa* was the first who erected a Temple to her. Her Statue was afterwards placed in the Capitol, according to *Tully*, B. 2. de Nat. Deor. We have this Goddess represented on several Medals. Among others, on one of the *Licinian* Family, and another published by *Struvius*, c. 1. De Divis Rom. she is drawn with her right Hand extended, and holding a *Cornucopia* in her left.

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sions, that we dare not, tho' invested with full Powers, determine so nice an Affair, without consulting the Senate. Permit, therefore, some of the Deputies to return to the City; and be assured, that they will not oppose you, even in this. For my Part, I will continue among you, with some of my Associates, whilst Valerius goes with the rest, to receive further Instructions from the Conscrip Fathers.

§. XVI. M. VALERIUS and his Companions immediately mounted their Horses, and came to Rome. The Senate was summoned by the Consuls, and Valerius gave his Opinion, in favour of the Revolters. Appius, who was always the same, cried out against the horrible Consequences, which would follow from Valerius's Condescension. But his Advice was neglected. All the Senators inclined to Peace. They made a Decree, whereby they granted the People all the Revolters asked, and among other things, the Power of chusing annual Magistrates, to defend them against the Attempts of the Patricians. A Concession, which destroyed the Hopes of the Great, placed almost all the Authority in the Plebeians, and made that Government almost entirely democratical, which before was a Mixture of Democracy and Aristocracy. This was making a real Change in the Republick, even while a Republick. Early the next Morning, Valerius and his Company returned to the Camp; where they read the Decree they had obtained of the Senate. It was then no difficult Matter for Menenius to persuade the Heads of the Army to send Deputies to the Senate, to confirm the Treaty, and to satisfy themselves of the Sincerity of the Senators. Junius Brutus, and two others of his Companions, took this Commission upon them, and were accompanied by half the Deputies of the Senate. Menenius continued on the Mons Sacer, and drew the Plan of the Law for the Creation of the new Magistrates. Brutus reported, that he had concluded the Treaty in the most solemn Manner, the <sup>41</sup> *Feciales* assisting at it. And then the People who had revolted assembled by *Curia*.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 6. p. 410.

THEY proceeded to elect in the Camp, the first *Tribunes of the People*. Sicinnius and <sup>42</sup> Brutus were first named; and then <sup>43</sup> three others were added to them; viz. the two *Licinii*, Publius and Caius, who were Brothers, and C. Icilius. These five Magistrates, created by the People, and taken out of the Body of the Commoners entered upon their Office the fourth of the *Ides of December* <sup>44</sup>, in the Year of Rome 260. A Law <sup>45</sup> was passed, whereby the Persons of the *Tribunes* were made *sacred*, i. e. in-

<sup>41</sup> The chief Office of the *Feciales*, regarded the Faith of Treaties: They were entrusted by the Republick with the Care of drawing up the Articles of them. They were sworn to act justly in all Cases, without any Partiality.

<sup>42</sup> Plutarch, Suidas, and the Latin Writers, acknowledge, that the Suffrages of the People fell on *Licinius* and *Brutus*. Livy alone, makes C. *Licinius*, and L. *Albinus*, to have been the two first *Tribunes*: adding, that they associated Sicinnius to themselves. The Names of the two others he omits; and he says it is uncertain who they were. But is it credible, that the People should exclude two such Men as Sicinnius *Bellutus*, and Junius Brutus, who had maintained their Interests, with so much Heat, against the *Patricians*? Tully places the Creation of the first *Tribunes*, in the *Consulship* of *Veturius* and *Virginus*. Which is a manifest Anachronism.

<sup>43</sup> Tully, *Orat. pro Cornel.* Livy, B. 2. Zonaras, Tom. 2. and D. Hal. B. 6. disagree, as to the Number of the first *Tribunes*. The three first Authors reckon but two. The last, who is always exact in the Circumstances of Facts, declares, the *Curia* chose five *Tribunes*. Livy says, the People chose two, who chose themselves three Collegues. But it's probable this last Choice was not made without the Consent and Permission of the Commons. In this Case they must have had, according to Livy's own Account, a Share in the Election of the five *Tribunes*. Nor does Piso's Account, quoted by Livy, B. 2. deserve to be admitted, any more than this. That old Annalist affirms, that the People created only two *Tribunes* at first; and that the *Plebeians*, when become more powerful, added three more, in the Year of Rome 282, in the *Consulship* of *Claudius* and *Quinctius*. And according to him, they brought up the Number to ten, in the Year 296, when *Horatius* and *Minutius* were *Consuls*. Varron observes, B. 4. de Ling. Lat. that these new-created Magistrates were called *TRIBUNES* of the Peo-

ple, because chosen out of the *Legionary Tribunes*.

<sup>44</sup> The 4th of the *Ides of December*, i. e. the tenth of that Month, which gave Birth to these new Magistrates, was consecrated by the People. D. Hal. says, it was the Day appointed for the Election of the *Tribunes*. Livy reports, B. 29. that *Nevius* was raised to the *Tribuneship* on the 4th of the *Ides of December*. But Tully seems to disagree with them, as to the Day. At least, he says of P. *Sulpitius*, that he was to enter upon his Office on the *Nones of December*, i. e. the 5th of that Month, the Day on which the People proceeded to elect *Tribunes*. Tully, *Orat. in Ver.* expresses himself thus: *Publius Sulpitius, judex tristis & integer, magistratum ineat necesse est Nonis Decembris, eo hodie Tribunus plebis futurus*. There is then only the Difference of four or five Days between them. So that, in order to reconcile Tully with D. Hal. we must say, that the *Tribunes* Year being near expired, the People assembled on the *Nones of December*, to appoint Successors, who did not begin to exercise their Office, till the 4th of the *Ides of December*. However, it is not necessary to understand D. Hal.'s Computation in Strictness.

<sup>45</sup> The Words of the Law were these: *Tribunum invictum nemo quicquam facere cogito, nec verberato, nec aliquem verberare jubeto. Si quis contra fecerit, sacer esto, & bona ejus Cereri dicata sunt. Qui eum occiderit, purns a cede esto*. The plural Words, *sacrata leges*, used by Tully, relate only to the different Articles of this Law, and not to any other Laws but this. Besides, the Name of *sacrata lex*, which was given to this Law, alluded not only to the Imprecations denounced against him who transgressed it, but also to the Oaths by which it was ratified, and the capital Punishment annexed to the Violation of it. In this Sense, Tully says, *Orat. pro Corn. Balbo*; *Sanctiones sacrae de sunt, aut genere ipso, ut obsecratione, & consecratione legis; aut poena, cum caput ejus qui contra facit, consecratur*.

violable.



violable. It ran thus: LET THE TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE BE EXEMPT FROM ALL THE SERVILE OFFICES IMPOSED ON THE CITIZENS. LET NONE OF THEM BE LAID UPON HIM, BUT BY HIS OWN CONSENT. LET NO ONE STRIKE HIM, OR CAUSE ANOTHER TO STRIKE HIM. IF ANY OFFEND IN THIS, LET HIM BE EXECRABLE, AND HIS GOODS APPROPRIATED TO THE WORSHIP OF CERES. IF ANY ONE KILLS HIM, ANY PERSON THAT WILL, MAY KILL THE MURDERER WITH IMPUNITY. In order to make this Law perpetual, the People were made to swear for themselves, and their Posterity, that they would always conform to it. To this Oath was also added a Prayer, in these Words: *May they who have confirmed this Law, and shall observe it for the future, find the Gods of Heaven and Hell propitious to them! And may the same Gods be always Enemies to those wicked Persons who transgress it!* The Ceremony concluded with erecting an Altar to *Jupiter*, on the Top of the Hill, where *Sicinnius's* Army was encamped; and this venerable Memorial was called the Altar of *Jupiter the Terrible*. After the Place on which it stood had been consecrated, Sacrifices were offered up on it: And then the People followed the Deputies of the Senate, and returned to the City.

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AFTER the People, upon their Return, had given thanks to the Gods of *Rome*, they made new Demands upon the Senate. The first was, that it would ratify the Election of the *Tribunes*, which had been made on the *Mons Sacer*: And it was accordingly done. The second was, that the People should be allowed to give the *Tribunes* two Assistants, for the easier Discharge of their Office; and that the *Plebeians* should have the Right of chusing them. It was to be the Business of these new Magistrates, to prepare Matters for the *Tribunes*, and to judge of them in the first Instance; to take care that the City should be well supplied with Provisions, and to regulate the Price of them: and lastly, to inspect all the Buildings, both publick and private, in *Rome*. From this last Part of their Office, they took the Name <sup>46</sup> of *Ædiles*. The Senate approved likewise of the Creation of those two Offices, on the Foot the People desired it. So that, the *Ædiles* were originally only inferior Magistrates to the *Tribunes of the People*, on whose Tribunal theirs was long dependent.

§. XVII. *ROME* now enjoyed a profound Peace. The *Patricians* kept up a good Intelligence with the *Curia*, and the *Consuls* were not thwarted in their Administration. So that Mens Thoughts were now wholly taken up with foreign Wars. Troops were raised in the City, with incredible Ease and Expedition. The *Consul Sp. Cassius*, to whose Lot it fell to stay in *Rome*, and take care of Affairs at home, kept but a small Part of the Levies with him. The Command of the main Body was given to his Collegue *Posthumius Cominius*. His Army consisted partly of *Roman* Citizens, and partly of *Latin* <sup>47</sup> Troops, which served under him as Auxiliaries: *Cominius* chose to turn these formidable Forces against the *Volsci*. These old Enemies of the *Romans* put a good Face upon it, and ventured to take the Field: But upon the first Attack, their Valour vanished. Being routed, they fled to their Cities. The first City the *Consul* besieged, was *Longula*. The *Volsci* defended it but faintly, and did not signalize their Valour by any considerable Exploits. *Longula* was taken and given up to be plundered by the *Roman* Army. From thence *Cominius* marched to *Polusca*, a City near *Longula*; and it was taken by Assault the same Day he sat down before it. It could not withstand the Assault, and its Gates were broken down. This Place formerly belonged to the *Romans*, but had revolted to the *Volsci*. The Authors of the Revolt were put to death, and Fines laid upon the rest of the Inhabitants. So that being now reduced, and severely treated, it continued subject to the *Romans*.

Livy, B. 2.  
ch. 33.

Dion. Hal.  
B. G. p. 411.

§. XVIII. THESE two first Conquests were only an Introduction to a more considerable Expedition. *Corioli* <sup>48</sup> was the Metropolis of the *Volsci*, whence all their Colonies were sent out, their Capital, and one of the strongest Places in old *Latium*. An Army was ready to defend its Walls, which were of an extraordinary Height and Thickness. In a word, it was so well stocked with Provisions and Ammunition of all sorts, that it seemed impregnable. Besides, the *Antiates* <sup>49</sup>, Allies and Neighbours of

<sup>46</sup> These two Magistrates were a sort of Associates, or rather Subalterns, to the *Tribunes*. They were called *Ædiles*, [from *Ædes*, an Edifice] because they had the Inspection of publick Edifices. Their Office was a little like that of the *Ἀρχαῖοι* among the *Greeks*, and the *Commissaires de Police* among the *French*.

<sup>47</sup> *Livy* adds, B. 2. that *Sp. Cassius* concluded, or renewed, an Alliance with the *Latins*, during his Abode at *Rome*.

<sup>48</sup> There are no Footsteps of old *Corioli* now remaining. We only know, that it was near the *Pontina Palus*, not far from *Longula* and *Polusca*, formerly two considerable Cities in the Country of the *Volsci*; whose Situation is not exactly known.

<sup>49</sup> We have already placed *Antium*, one of the most wealthy Cities in Confederacy with the *Volsci*, at a Mile's distance from the City now called *Nettuno*, near the Promontory which the Natives call *Capo d'Anzo*.



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\* Plutarch in  
his Life of Co-  
riolanus.

Livy, B. 2.  
ibid.  
Plut. ibid.  
Dion. Hal.  
B. 6. p. 412.

the *Volsci*, were, upon the first News of the Siege, to come and fall upon the *Roma* Camp, and attack it on a sudden, whilst the Besieged sallied out against the Besieger with all their Forces. However, *Cominius* was sanguine enough to promise himself the Conquest of this Place. The *Consul* did not then know that a young *Patrician* would carry away all the Honour of the Action, and by his Valour totally eclipse the Glory of his General. This Hero, then in the Flower of his Age, was *Caius* <sup>50</sup> *Marcus*, well known since by the Name of *Coriolanus*. He had already made some Campaigns; at the Battel of *Regillus* he signalized himself, and fought like a Lion, in his General's Sight. He one day saw one of his Fellow-Citizens \* like to be cut in pieces at his Side; he revenged the *Roman*, saved him from Death, killed his Enemy, and was honoured with a *Civick* <sup>51</sup> Crown for his Reward. *Marcus* was nobly extracted, and born with all those Dispositions, which were then natural to the Nobility of *Rome*. His Life was frugal, his Manners chaste. He denied himself every thing, yet was liberal to others even to Profusion. Besides, as he was an avowed Advocate for the *Patricians*; he could ill brook the Authority of the *Tribunes of the People*. Nevertheless, he then concealed his Sentiments, and waited to declare himself, till his Services and Glory should encrease his Credit. Tho' *Marcus* was already known among the Troops, he had no other Superiority in the Army, than that which Birth and Bravery procure private Soldiers who distinguish themselves.

THE *Consul Cominius* came and sat down before *Corioli*. He was sensible it would not be so easily reduced, as *Longula* and *Polusca* had been. He attempted to scale the Walls from Morning till Night; but was forced to call off his Troops at Sun-set, with considerable Loss. The next Morning he advanced with his Machines, and renewed the Attack. And then he received Information, that the *Antiates* were to attack him in the Rear, the same Day. He therefore divided his Army into two Bodies; one he appointed to scale the Walls, the other to oppose the Enemy, he expected. He committed the Care of carrying on the Siege to *T. Lartius*, and took upon himself the Command of the Army, which covered it. That Day was made memorable by two Battels the *Romans* had to sustain; one with the Troops of *Corioli*, the other with the *Antiates*. The *Roman Legions* never behaved themselves with more Bravery. Not a Man but signalized himself by some Exploit: And, which is scarce credible, *Marcus* appeared in both Armies, and carried away all the Glory of both Battels. His Exploits seemed more than human. At break of day, *Lartius* advanced with his Ram, and Towers <sup>52</sup>, to the Ramparts of the City, and battered them both at top and bottom



*d'Anzo*. Tho' *Antium* was near the Sea, it had no Port: and therefore *Strabo* calls it *Ἀλίμνος*. Some Greek Authors give it the Name of *Ἀντίον*, and *Ἀνθία*. He that abridged *Stephens*, is mistaken in making *Antium* and *Antia* two different Cities.

<sup>50</sup> *Lapus* and *Gelenius* give *Marcus* the *Prænomēn* of *Cneus*, upon the Credit of some antient MSS. they had in their Hands. *Plut.* *Livy*, and *D. Hal.* call him *Caius*. The Family of the *Marcii* was *Patrician*, and reckoned King *A. Marcus* among its Ancestors.

<sup>51</sup> The *Civick* Crown was the Reward allotted for him, who had saved the Life of a Citizen, by killing his Enemy who was ready to dispatch him, on the Field of Battel. It was presented to the Deliverer by the Person delivered, in Proof of his Gratitude. *Civica Corona*, says *Gellius*, B. 5. *appellatur, quam civis civi a quo servatus est in prælio, testem vitæ salutisque perceptæ, dat.* This Acknowledgment was often very unwillingly made, according to *Tully*, *Orat. pro Plancio*. *Id etiam gregarii milites faciunt invitæ, ut coronam dent civicam.* The *Civick* Crown was generally made of Leaves of Oaks, or Beach, or Holm-Oak. The *Romans* represented, by it, the Simplicity of the golden Age, when Men unanimously

laboured to preserve one another. *Plutarch* enquires why the Oak was preferred: and says, it was either because being a very common Tree, the Generals were never at a loss for a Reward for the Valiant; or because it was consecrated to *Jupiter*, the Protector of Cities; or lastly, because it is the most fruitful and strong of all wild Trees. He who received this Mark of Distinction, had a Right to wear it at all Times, and in all Places. Among other Privileges inseparably annexed to it, one was, that he, his Father, and Grandfather, were exempt from all servile Work for the Publick. He had a Right to chuse an honourable Place at the publick Games, at which he no sooner appeared, but the Senators and People rose up, to do him Honour. This we learn from *Pliny*, B. 16. who concludes this Account with an exceeding fine Reflexion. *O mores æternos, qui tanta opera honore solo donaverint, & cum reliquis coronas auro commendarent, salutem civis in pretio esse noluerint! clara professum servari quidem hominem nefas esse lucri causa.* We find the Figure of these *Civick* Crowns, on several Medals, with this Inscription, *ON CIVIS SERVATOS*. That above, is one of *Augustus Cæsar's*.

<sup>52</sup> Towns were formerly attacked with moveable Towers



with Fury. In that instant the Garrison of *Corioli* opened all their Gates, to make a general Sally. The Besieged were animated by the Presence of the *Antiates*, whom they saw advancing in the Plain. The first Onset of the *Volsci* was terrible: yet the *Romans* sustained it with Intrepidity. Afterwards, as the Enemy's Troops were superior in Number, *Lartius's* Men were thrown down headlong from the Top of the Hill, on which the City stood. They were already flying towards the *Roman* Camp, when *Marcus* got together a small Body of his Fellow-Soldiers, and checked the Fury of the Enemy. He at first fought retreating, and afterwards made a great Slaughter of the *Volsci*. Then he cried out incessantly to those who were flying, to rally, and stopped a sufficient Number, to check the Impetuosity of the Enemy, and recover Ground. After this, he, in his Turn, attacked the Troops of *Corioli*, made them turn their Backs, and pursued them. His Ardour carried him to the very Foot of the Walls, and he and his Company entered the City with the *Volsci*, by the Gate which had been opened for the Conquered. *Marcus*, with a Flambeau in his Hand, set fire to the Houses nearest the Ramparts. The Streets of *Corioli* were narrow; and those who fled, their Numbers being increased by the Fire, were much crowded. The *Romans* strewed the Ground with them, and still drove them before them fighting, tho' the Women threw down a Shower of Stones upon them, from the Tops of the Houses. *Marcus*, tho' tired with Slaughter, did not think he had yet gained sufficient Glory. As soon as he saw the City in the Power of the *Romans*, he left his Fellow-Soldiers to plunder it: Whilst he, attended by a few brave Men, returned to the Consul's Army with incredible Expedition. He carried thither the News of the taking of *Corioli*, and came to offer his Service in the Battel they were going to begin with the *Antiates*. *Cominius* would not easily have believed the City had surrendered so soon, if the Smoke which was seen to arise from the burning Houses, had not confirmed *Marcus's* Report. And all were surprized to see him asking no Reward for so great Services, but leave to expose himself to fresh Dangers. *Cominius* permitted him to go with his Troop against the most formidable Body of the *Antiates*, and fight in the first Rank of the *Roman* Army. And here it may be said, that he surpassed himself, and that his first Victory was but a feint Sketch of that which followed.

Year of  
R O M E  
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POSTHUMIUS  
COMINIUS,  
and SP. CAS-  
SIUS, Consuls.

As soon as the Trumpet sounded, *Marcus* began the Attack. The Troops which faced him, endeavoured in vain to repulse him. He broke thro' them. But when he had penetrated as far as the Center of the first Line, he was instantly surrounded with Enemies. The imminent Danger of so brave a Man, made the Consul send him Relief. Then the *Romans* pressed so warmly upon the *Antiates*, that they put them into Disorder; of which *Marcus* took Advantage, and continued to pursue the Battalions he had broken. The *Romans*, who saw that his Strength was exhausted, and that he had received a thousand Blows, advised him to quit the Field. But he replied, *Do you think a Man is ever tired with conquering?* And without saying any more, renewed his Pursuit of the Enemy, with Fury. Till at length, quite fatigued with running a great way, and out of Breath, he fainted. The *Romans*, whom he had outrun, found him upon the Ground, in the midst of the Dead and Wounded. But as soon as he had recovered his Strength, by a Moment's Rest, he started up, and put himself at the Head of the *Romans* about him. With them he flew to those Battalions of the Enemy, which yet preserved some Order, fell upon them with Fury, put them into Disorder, and slew all before him. Night alone put an end to the Battel: and then *Marcus* went to take a little rest in the Camp of the Conquerors.

*Plutarch, ibid.*

*Dion. Hal.  
B. 6. p. 414.*

*Plutarch, ibid.*

THE next Day brought yet more Glory to the brave *Marcus*. It is a question, whether the Honour he then gained by his Modesty, did not equal the Glory he had acquired the Day before, by his Valour. The Consul erected his Tribunal before his Tent, called his Soldiers together, and among the rest, *Marcus* by Name; and then made an Harangue to them, as was usual with Generals, after a Victory. The whole Speech was little else but a Panegyrick on the brave *Marcus*. Insomuch, that tho' his Valour had shined very eminently in the Action, yet the personal Distinction *Cominius* shewed him, raised jealousy in many Minds, against his rising Merit: And the Uneasiness of

Towers of Wood, built upon Wheels. By the help of these Towers, the Besiegers made their Approaches, and raised themselves as high as the Walls, to discover what passed within the besieged Place, to lay the City in Ruins, and beat off the Garrison from the Ramparts, with their Darts. The Use of these military Machines became afterwards very common. We

shall speak of them more at large at that time. *D. Hal.* declares, that *Cominius* made use of *Mantelets*, Hurdles, and Ladders, in the Siege of *Corioli*. We will give an Account of the several Machines used by the Antients, in battering and defending Towns, in another Place.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCLX  
POSTHUMIUS  
COMINIUS,  
and SP. CAS-  
SIUS, Consuls.  
Dion. Hal.  
B. 6. *ibid.*

Livy, *ibid.*

his Rivals was yet more increased, by the extraordinary Rewards with which the *Consul* honoured him. After he had put a Crown <sup>53</sup> of Gold upon his Head, he assigned him a tenth Part of all the Spoil taken in the Plunder of the City, and from the *Antiates* after the Battel. *Cominius* gave the young Hero a fine Horse with stately Furniture, in the Name of the Republick; with leave to chuse out any ten of the Prisoners, which he pleased, for himself. And lastly, he allotted him as much Money as he could carry away. But *Marcus's* Eyes were not dazzled with Presents, which could only make him rich. Of all those Offers, he accepted only the Horse; and demanded only one Captive of the ten, and that with a Design to give him his Liberty. This was one of the *Antiates*, an old Friend to his Family, and whose Ancestors had been attached to his, by the Ties of Hospitality. This generous and disinterested Refusal silenced even Jealousy itself. All respected an Hero, whose Sentiments were as noble, as his Valour signal: and the *Consul* determined to give him the Surname of *Coriolanus*. By which, he seemed to take all the Honour of the Victory from himself, to give it to an inferior Officer. The Probity of the *Romans* was then capable of exerting itself in such equitable Instances of Moderation. And, which is yet more, *Cominius* did not enjoy the Honours of a Triumph, as Conquerors usually did, after an important Expedition. Without doubt, he thought *Coriolanus* better deserved a Triumph than himself. In short, if his Collegue *Sp. Cassius* had not caused it to be inscribed on a Column, that *Cominius* had made War with the *Volsci*, in his *Consulship*; Posterity would never have known, that he commanded the Army at the Battel of *Corioli*. So much was the Glory of the General eclipsed, by that of a private Soldier!

§.XIX. THE Reduction of the *Volsci* made all the Enemies of *Rome* tremble. The Nations which were so fierce, and full of Threatnings, in the Time of the late Seditions at *Rome*, kept at home, and appeared no more in the Field. So that *Cominius* disbanded his Army. Then nothing was thought of at *Rome*, but Works of Religion, publick Games, and Treaties of Peace. *Posthumius* had made a Vow in his *Dictatorship*, when he was making War with the *Latins*, to build a Temple to *Bacchus*, *Ceres*, and the Goddess *Libera* <sup>54</sup>. This Building was not finished, till *Cassius* and *Cominius* were *Consuls*; and the former was pitched upon to dedicate it <sup>55</sup>. This Temple stood at the End of the great *Circus*. The *Latins* had deserved well of the Republick, during the Dissentions at *Rome*. Their Zeal had signalized it self against the Enemy abroad, whilst the *Romans* were labouring to appease the Tumults at home. Besides, they had augmented the *Roman* Army, with Auxiliaries, in the last Campaign. The Republick therefore was not ungrateful for these Services. It confirmed <sup>56</sup> the antient Alliance entered into with the *Latin* Nations, by new Oaths; and in order to establish it the more, a third Day was added to the *Feria Latina* <sup>57</sup>: and the new *Ediles* were ordered to provide Sacrifices, and make all other Preparations for the Festival.

<sup>53</sup> This Crown of Gold was, among the *Romans*, the Reward of military Valour. It was chiefly given to him, according to *Polybius*, who first began the Attack, or scaled the Walls, of a besieged City. Antient Writers mention several sorts of Rewards, which the *Roman* Republick assigned to brave Men, and of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

<sup>54</sup> *D. Hal.* calls this Divinity *Κόρη*. The Antients gave *Proserpine* the Name of *Libera*, or *Cora*, indifferently: Which Names have the same Signification as *Virgo*, *Puella*, *Filia*. Thus they called *Bacchus*, *Liber*, *Διόνυσος*, i. e. according to the Conjectures of the Mythologists, and among the rest *Vossius*, *Διός υιός*, *Jupiter's Son*. *Min. Felix*, in *Ottav.* speaking of the Rape of *Proserpine*, calls her *Libera*. *Arnob. B. 5.* does not distinguish one from t'other: *Quam ætas mortalium consequens, modo Liberam, modo Proserpinam nominavit.* The *Bacchus* we speak of, was one of the five of that Name, whom *Tully* mentions, *B. 2. de Nat. Deor.* and who, he says, was Son to *Ceres*, and Brother to *Libera* — *quod ex nobis natos Liberos appellamus, idcirco Cerere nati nominati sunt Liber & Libera.*

<sup>55</sup> *Tacitus* tells us, *Ann. 11.* that this Temple, being destroyed by Time, or consumed by Fire, was rebuilt by *Augustus*, and consecrated by *Tiberius*. *Desm. Hædes vetustate aut igni abolitas, captasque ab Augusto, Tiberius dedicavit Libero, Liberæque, & Cereri, juxta Circum Maximum, quas Posthumius Dictator vove-*

*rat.* He seems to have thought *Posthumius* vowed to build three Temples. *D. Hal.* acknowledges but one for these three Divinities, *Τὸν νῦν.*

<sup>56</sup> The new Treaty between the *Romans* and *Latins* was, according to *D. Hal.* drawn up in these Terms: Let the Alliance between the two Nations continue as long as the Heavens and Earth; let them never go to War with one another; let them never stir up foreign Enemies against each other; let not either permit those who have declared War against the other, to pass thro' their Country; let them mutually assist one another, and unite all their Forces against the common Enemy; let them divide the Spoils of the Enemy equally, whenever they shall have made War at a common Expence; let all Differences about private Contracts, be decided in ten Days, at the Tribunal of that Nation where the Contract was made; and lastly, let nothing be added to this Treaty, but by the Consent of all the *Romans* and all the *Latins*.

<sup>57</sup> Besides what we have already said of those Festivals, *Macrobius* observes, that these were some of those Festivals which the *Romans* called *Feria conceptivæ*; i. e. such as had no fixed Time for their Celebration, but were celebrated annually, on such Days as the Magistrates thought fit. It was the *Consul's* Business to appoint them. He was not suffered to set out on any military Expedition, before he had assisted at the Celebration of them. The Want of this



DURING these publick Rejoicings, the famous *Menenius Agrippa* died. Rome was indebted to him for the Reconciliation of the People with the Senate: But he had done more Honour to his Country, by his exemplary Austerity and Disinterestedness, than by his Victory over the *Sabines*, or his Zeal in quelling the Sedition. As he resembled the Great *Poplicola*, in the Virtues of a rational Philosophy, so he was like him in the Poverty in which he died. In a Meeting of his Relations, the Guardians he appointed over his destitute Family, agreed not to be at the Expence of a Funeral Pomp for him. They thought to bury him without any Ceremony. This the People understood, and upon the Motion of the new *Tribunes*, resolved that so great a Man should be as much distinguished after his Death, as he had been in his Life-time. They agreed to pay a *Sextans*<sup>58</sup> per Head, towards the Expence of magnificent Obsequies for him; and never was Contribution raised with a more universal Consent. The Sum was already collected, when the Senate entered into a Sort of Emulation with the People, and thought it not for their Honour, that the most illustrious *Patrician* in Rome; tho' the most indigent, should be carried to his Funeral-Pile at the Expence of the Commons. They therefore assigned a Fund for his Funeral, out of the publick Treasury. The *Quæstors*<sup>59</sup> were ordered to take Care that magnificent Obsequies were performed for *Menenius*. And accordingly, they were answerable both to the Liberality of the Senate, and the Dignity of the deceased. In the mean time the People, that they might be behind the Senate in no Act of Gratitude, refused to receive back the Money they had contributed for his Burial; and ordered it to be given to his Children. *This, they said, they did to comfort them in their Indigence, and excite them to the Pursuit of Virtue.* Thus the Death of *Agrippa* was equally regretted both by the Nobility and People, between whom he had been a Mediator, when alive.

Precaution, gave the People fatal Prejudices with regard to his Success. Whilst the *Consuls* were employed in this Solemnity, the Government of the City was committed to two Citizens of Distinction, who exercised the *Consular* Power, till the *Consuls* themselves returned thither. An antient Inscription, mentioned by *Gruter*, confirms the Truth of this Custom.

M. AUR. VICTORI  
C. V.

PRÆF. FERIARUM  
LATIN. SACERDOTI  
DEI SOLIS.

*Tarquin the Second* instituted this Festival, as we have elsewhere observed, on occasion of the Alliance concluded between the *Romans* and *Latins*. The general Rendezvous was upon the Hill of *Alba*. The two Nations met there, one Day in the Year, to join in offering Sacrifices in the Temple of *Jupiter Latialis*. Each City was obliged to contribute towards the Expence of the Ceremony; and all brought their Offerings, either in Lambs, or Cheeses, or a certain Quantity of Milk, or other Provisions. The *Romans* presided in these Sacrifices, which were offered up in the Name of all. A Bull was sacrificed, and divided between the two Nations. *Tarquin* appointed only one Day for the Celebration of these *Feræ*. A second was added, says *D. Hal.* after the Expulsion of the *Kings*. The third was added, according to him, partly to confirm the antient Union between the *Romans* and the *Latins*, and partly in Memory of the Return of the revolted *Plebeians*. It will hereafter appear, that the *Romans* were superstitiously exact in celebrating these Festivals.

<sup>58</sup> A *Sextans* was one sixth of the *Roman As*, or of a Pound of brass Money. So that it weighed two Ounces.

<sup>59</sup> The *Quæstors* of Rome, had the Care of the publick Treasury, for which they were accountable, after their Year was out; for their Office lasted no longer. It was their Business to furnish the necessary Sums for Expences made in the Name of the Republick. Thus we read in *Tully, Philp. 9.* that the Senate ordered the *Quæstors* to erect a Statue of *S. Sulpitius*, and pay the Statuary for it. It was generally their Business to receive Ambassadors, attend them, and furnish them with Lodgings, and other Necessaries. A General could not obtain the Honours of a Triumph, till he had first sworn before the *Quæstors*, that he had given the Senate a faithful Account of his Expeditions and

Victories. The Election of these Magistrates belonged at first to the *Comitia by Curia*. *Cicero, Ep. 30. ad Famil.* tells us, that they were chosen in his Time in the *Comitia by Tribes*. The Office of *Quæstor*, was the first Step to great Employments. It is difficult to know the exact Age the Laws required for the *Quæstorship*. Authors differ in Opinion about it. Some pretend, none could stand for this Office, till they were twenty seven. They quote *Polybius*, in favour of this Opinion, who declares, *B. 6.* that the *Quæstorship* was not to be obtained, till after ten Years Service in the Army. Whence they conclude, that it was necessary for those who would enjoy it, to be twenty seven Years old; because the *Romans* usually entered into the Army at seventeen; especially those who would come early into the Magistracy. The two *Gracchi's*, add they, were *Quæstors* at twenty seven Years of Age. Others are of Opinion, that no Age was fixed for the *Quæstorship*. But what Answer will they give *Quintilian*, who says, *B. 12.* that *Cæsar* and *Pollio* were *Quæstors* long before they were of the Age the Laws appointed? Some pretend, it was sufficient to be twenty five. They build upon the Authority of *Paterculus*, who say, that *Tiberius* was appointed *Quæstor* at nineteen; that is, according to *Tacitus, Ann. 3.* five Years before he was of a complete Age. The Difficulty is, how to reconcile this Opinion with *Polybius*, whose Judgment is of great weight in what relates to the Customs of antient Rome. Nevertheless, it is granted, that in Process of Time, the Severity of the antient Laws was taken off by mild ones, especially when Honours were obtained by Intrigue and Favour. *Tacitus's* Account of the first *Quæstors* raises another Difficulty. He says, 1<sup>st</sup>. That they were chosen first by the *Consuls*; 2<sup>dly</sup>. That the People, some Years after, took upon them to choose them; 3<sup>dly</sup>. That the first Year of their Election was the sixty third after the Expulsion of the *Tarquins*; 4<sup>thly</sup>. That it was their Business to attend the *Consuls* in the Armies, and take care of the military Chest; and, 5<sup>thly</sup>. That the *Quæstors* of Rome, called *Quæstores Urbani*, and *Quæstores Agrarii*, were instituted after the former. But we choose rather to give Credit to *Livy*, who says, that the Institution of the *Quæstors* called *Quæstores Urbani*, was prior to the Creation of those *Tacitus* mentions. And *Plutarch* is plainly of the same Opinion, when he says, *V. Poplicola* gave the People leave to choose two *Patricians*, to take care of the publick Treasury.

F f f f

THE

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLX.

POSTHUMIUS  
COMINIUS,  
and SP. CAS-  
SIUS, Consuls.  
*Dion. Hal.*  
*B. 6. p. 415.*  
*Livy, ibid.*



Year of  
R O M E  
CCLX.

POSTHUMIUS  
COMINIUS,  
and SP. CAS  
SIUS, Consuls.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXI.

TITUS GEGA  
NIUS, and  
PUBLIUS MI  
NUTIUS, Con  
suls.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 7. p. 417.

THE *Consulship* of *Sp. Cassius*, and *P. Cominius*, was now near expiring. But besides the signal Events which made it memorable, it ended with a *Census*, and a *Lex* *strum*, which was the seventh since their Institution. In this Enumeration of the People, there appeared to be but 110000 Men in *Rome*, fit to bear Arms. So that their Number must have been considerably diminished by Wars and Desertions, in the late *Consulships*.

§. XX. THE *Centuries* pitched upon <sup>60</sup> *Titus Geganius*, and *Publius Minutius*, to be their new *Consuls*. Their Administration was not disturbed with foreign Wars, but it was made uneasy by a cruel Famine, together with the Distempers and popular Tumults which are the usual Consequences of it. This Scarcity was chiefly occasioned by the old Divisions between the People and the Senate; and by the Separation of the rebellious Army, which marched out of the City, and encamped in the Plain. It was about the Time of the autumnal Equinox, when *Sicinnius* led the Mutineers to the *Mons Sacer*. The Apprehensions the People were under all over the Country, of the Devastations which undisciplin'd Troops might make on their Lands, caused the Husbandmen to desert them; so that they were neither tilled nor sown. Besides, both People and Senators had been so taken up with the Troubles of the preceding Year, that they had neglected to supply the City as usual. Add to this, that the Slaves employed in Agriculture, had taken hold of this Opportunity of running away from their Masters; and that the Horses which were fit for the Plough, had been seized by the Revolters. So that when the Reconciliation was made, it was too late to begin to cultivate and sow the Fields.

IN this Extremity, the only Expedient the Senate could find out, was to send Deputies into the neighbouring Provinces, to get Corn from thence. Some set out for *Hetruria*, others for that Port of *Latium* which was near the *Volsci*, others for *Cuma*. And lastly, *Manius* <sup>61</sup> *Valerius*, and *Lucius Geganius*, one of the *Consuls* Brothers, went as far as *Sicily*. Then *Rome* felt the ill Effects of her Ambition. Few of the Provinces applied to for Corn, would relieve her in her Necessities; and in the mean time the City was as much straitned by Hunger, as if it had been besieged. Nothing but the Authority of the Magistrates could hinder the People from killing the Slaves, to eat them. Yet there was still Hopes that the publick Purveyors would be able to relieve the City in this Extremity. But they succeeded very indifferently in their Negotiations. The *Hetrurians* were the only People who sent Provisions to *Rome*, which they conveyed down the *Tyber*. And this was, after all, only a slight Refreshment, which lasted not long. The Envoys sent to *Latium*, were interrupted in their Corn-Traffick by the *Volsci*. And at *Cuma* <sup>62</sup>, the *Roman* Deputies were yet less successful. The Tyrant *Aristodemus* <sup>63</sup> seized their Barques by way of Reprisal

<sup>60</sup> The *Fasti Consulares*, *D. Hal.* and *Livy*, give *Geganius* the Surname of *Macerinus*, and *P. Minutius* that of *Augurinus*. *Orosius*, whose Copyists have plainly altered the Names, places *T. Gessonius*, and *P. Numicius*, in the *Consulate*, in this Year 261. instead of *Geganius* and *Minutius*. We have already observed, that the *Geganian* Family came originally from the *Alba Longa*, and was transplanted to *Rome* in the Reign of *T. Hostilius*. *Valerius* thinks the *Prænomen* of *Titus* was peculiar to the *Sabines*. *Festus* derives it from *Titulus*, or *Tutulus*, which signifies a *Protector*. Thus, says he, the Soldiers were called *Tituli*, eo quod *Patriam tuerentur*. The *Prænomen* of *Publius* signifies, according to some Etymologists, the same as *Popularis*, i. e. agreeable to the People. But others derive it from *Pupillus*, to shew, that those who bore this Name, had been brought up at the Expence of the Publick. Some again, with less Probability, derive it from the Latin Word *Pubes*, or the Greek *πρόλιον*.

<sup>61</sup> If we believe *D. Hal.* *P. Valerius*, the Son of *Poplicola*, and not *Manius*, was sent to *Sicily* with *L. Geganius*. The Greek Author seems to have forgotten, what he says before of the Death of *Publius*, and his Brother *Marcus*, who were both killed at the Battel of *Regillus*. It is plain that he is mistaken, unless we say that *Poplicola* had two Sons, who both bore the *Prænomen* of *Publius*. But this Reason will not be thought sufficient, if we ever so little consider, that the *Romans* gave their Children different *Prænomena*, to distinguish them from one another. The same Writer had before fallen into the same Mistake, with respect to *Marcus*

*Valerius*, *Poplicola's* Brother. It is surprizing, that he should bring him to Life again, to make him *Dictator*, after he had told us, he was killed at the Battel of *Regillus*. We discovered the Solution of the manifest Contradiction, by the *Fasti Capitolini*. They mention the *Dictatorship* of *Manius Valerius*. The little Difference there was in writing these two *Prænomena*, might be the Reason of the Mistake of the Copyists. It is well known, that to distinguish *Marcus* from *Manius*, they were written thus; *M.* for *Marcus*, and *MP.* for *Manius*. This is the *Manius* we have joined with *L. Geganius*, in the room of *Publius*, who had been dead some Years.

<sup>62</sup> In the 64th Olympiad, according to *D. Hal.* *Cuma*, an antient Greek Colony, was famous for its Riches. It possessed the most fruitful Country in *Campania*, and had very convenient Ports for Trade, within its own Jurisdiction.

<sup>63</sup> *Aristodemus* had made himself famous for defending the City of *Cuma*, against an Inundation of different Nations of *Italy*, and the Attempts of *Arux*, the Son of *Porfenna*. After this, he gained so great an Ascendant over the People, by several Acts of Valour, that he became absolute Master in *Cuma*. But at last, his Tyranny and Cruelty made him so odious to the Citizens, that they besieged him in his own Palace. He was there seized by armed Men, who dispatched him, his Children and Relations, by miserable and different kinds of Deaths. His Actions and Death are related at large by *D. Hal.* B. 7. But *Plutarch*, in his *Panegyrics on virtuous Women*, gives a different Account



for the Effects of King *Tarquin*, which *Rome* had refused to deliver up to him, tho' he pretended to be that King's Heir. And lastly, the Messengers in *Sicily* had as many little Tyrants to treat with, as there were Heads of Villages; so that it was long before they could get a Cargo. It's true, the Tyrant <sup>64</sup>*Gelo*, shewed more Regard to the *Romans*; but his Presents of Corn did not arrive at *Rome*, till the next Year. So that *Rome* perished with Hunger, and the Misery was universal. The People murmured against the Rich, and envied them the little Sustenance they purchased at a great Price; whilst they themselves were forced to eat every thing, and Nature in this Extremity loathed nothing.

§. XXI. IN the mean time, the *Volsci* thought this a favourable Opportunity to revenge themselves on their Conquerors. They therefore sent to all their Cities, to solicit them to take up Arms against the *Roman* Republick, that eternal Enemy to all her Neighbours. They assured them, that as the *Romans* were now grown weak in Body, so they were sunk in Courage. But Providence seems to have been watchful in their Preservation. The *Volsci*, when just ready to begin the War, were visited with a more cruel Scourge than the Famine. As terrible a Plague spread it self thro' all their Country, as any Nation ever felt. This appears by the City of *Velitræ* alone; the Contagion made such Havock in it, that it scarce left one tenth Part of its Inhabitants alive. They who escaped Death, were forced to have Recourse to *Rome*, surrender themselves up to the Republick, and desire her to supply them with Inhabitants to repopulate their City. The Senate thought it would be of Advantage to grant this Request. *Rome* might by this means disburthen it self of many useless Mouths; which increased the present Want. The *Conscript Fathers* therefore ordered a Colony to be got ready for *Velitræ*. The City was great, and the Garrison to be settled in it, was to be a Bulwark against the more distant Nations. In short, this Place was to be a Barrier against the Incursions of the *Volsci*. The Senate made therefore an Addition to their first Decree, and commanded an Army to be raised, consisting partly of *Patricians*, and partly of *Plebeians*, that the Unanimity which generally reigns among Fellow-Soldiers in the same Camp, might a little divert the mutual Animositics of the two Bodies. This Scheme was not at all displeasing to the People at first; they thought they should at least find Bread in *Velitræ*, and the neighbouring Country. The real Design of the Senate was indeed to purge the City of the most seditious Citizens, under a Pretence of sending them to found a Colony. But *Sicinnius* and *Bru-tus* were yet *Tribunes of the People*, and they seditiously opposed the Departure of the *Romans*, either for *Velitræ*, or the War. They were heard to say in all Places, *Shall we tamely see so many miserable Citizens banished from their native City, under the specious Pretence of founding a Colony? The Country designed for them, is covered over with dead Bodies, which the Living are yet too weak to put into the Ground. How many Dangers must be run, in cultivating Lands which lay under the Curse of the Gods! Is not there less Danger in suffering Hunger here, than in going to another Place to breathe infected Air? But to what Purpose is it to make War, in a Time of such publick Want? Have not we Calamities enough to undergo at home, without going abroad to seek for Death from the Plague, or the Sword?*

THIS Discourse of the *Tribunes* took off the Edge of the People's Desire to leave *Rome*. None enrolled themselves, either for the Army, or the Colony. In the mean time, the Famine encreased; and the Commons threw the Odium of it upon the Senators. *They alone*, said they, *are the Authors of the present Scarcity. We don't suffer so*

count of the Death of *Aristodemus*; which is this. The Tyrant fell passionately in Love with *Xenocrita*. She could not forgive him his having banished her Father, and refused to marry him. She was furious in her Resentment; and in the Height of her Passion brought the Conspirators into his Palace, where they killed him without any Resistance. The People of *Cume* offered rich Presents to *Xenocrita*, in Gratitude for it; which she refused. She asked no Reward but Leave to bury the Corpse of her Lover. This she obtained without Difficulty; after which she was consecrated a Priestess of *Ceres*.

<sup>64</sup> According to *D. Hal.* *Gelo* was the Son of *Dinomenes*, and had just succeeded his Brother *Hippocrates*. But the Greek Historian seems to be mistaken, in giving *Gelo* a Brother of that Name. *Gelo* was originally of the Island of *Telos*. One of his Ancestors went into *Sicily*, and settled in *Gela*. *Dinomenes*,

who descended from this Stranger, left four Sons, at his Death, viz. *Gelo*, *Hiero*, *Polizeles*, and *Tbrasybulus*; as we learn from the *Scholiast* of *Pindar*, who makes no mention of *Hippocrates*. It is very true, according to *Herodotus*, that *Gelo* succeeded *Hippocrates*, who reigned in *Gela*: But the latter was Brother to *Cleander*, and reigned till he was killed before the City of *Hybla*. After this, *Gelo*, under Pretence of maintaining *Euclides* and another *Cleander*, both Sons of *Hippocrates*, upon the Throne, declared War with the Inhabitants of *Gela*, who refused to obey them. And having conquer'd them in a pitch'd Battle, *Gelo* seized the Crown, to the Prejudice of the two lawful Successors. *Gelo* was Tyrant of *Gela*, when the *Roman* Ambassadors arrived in *Sicily*. About eight Years after, he seized *Syracuse*, where he reigned seven Years, after having given up the Government of *Gela* to his Brother *Hiero*.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXI.

TITUS GE-  
GANIUS, and  
PUBLIUS MI-  
NUTIUS, Con-  
suls.

*Dion. Hal.*  
*B. 7. p. 427.*  
*Liv. B. 2. c. 34.*

*Plut. Life of*  
*Coriolanus.*



Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXI.

TITUS GE-  
GANIUS, and  
PUBLIUS MI-  
NUTIUS, Con-  
suls.

Plut. Life of  
Coriolanus.  
Dion. Hal.  
B. 7. p. 433.

*much by the Necessity of the Times, as by the Malice of the Patricians. It is a Design of theirs, to revenge themselves on us for our Separation; and to destroy those by Want, whom they durst not oppose Sword in Hand:* And these Murmurs of the People were encouraged by the Declamations of the *Tribunes*. Then *Coriolanus* could contain himself no longer. He thought it his Duty to oppose these seditious Magistrates to their Faces. He had all the Nobility on his Side; and in short, became the Idol of the *Patricians*. He got a Decree passed in his Favour, and caused it to be enacted, that an Army of *Romans* should march into the Country, under his own Command. No body indeed was forced to take Arms, in the Way of legal Levies, the young General was followed only by a few Volunteers, and a considerable Body of the Clients of his Family. With this Army he advanced into the Enemy's Country; and ravaged it to the very Gates of *Antium*. The Name of *Coriolanus* was formidable to the *Antiates*. No body appeared to dispute his Progress: He took away the Corn, Cattel, and Slaves; and at length led back his Troops to *Rome*, well furnished with Provisions, for the necessary Wants of Life. Upon this, his Friends triumphed, and those of the People, who had been diverted from following him, by the *Tribunes*, were angry with them.

Ibid. p. 427.

§. XXII. THE happy Expedition of *Coriolanus* encouraged the Senate to send a Colony to *Velitrae*, in spite of the Opposition of the *Tribunes*. This was indeed wounding their Authority even in the beginning of their Institution: But the Senators succeeded. They ordered that the People should, under pain of suffering severe Punishment, assemble by *Curiae*, and draw Lots; and that they, to whose Lot it fell, should set out for *Velitrae*: And Necessity and Fear made the People obedient. The Senate ventured likewise to send out a second Colony, a few Days after, to *Norba*<sup>65</sup>, a considerable City of *Latium*<sup>66</sup>. This the *Tribunes* found was an Attack both upon their Credit and Power. To take a Part of the indigent Populace away from them, was to lessen the Support of their Authority. Nevertheless, they thought themselves strong enough to counter-balance the Power of the Senate. *Icilius*<sup>67</sup> was then the Head of the *Tribunes*; and *Sicinnius*, and his Colleague *Brutus*, were only *Ædiles*. However, *Icilius* made use of their Eloquence to move the People. They made artful Harangues in the *Comitia*, in order to keep up the Jealousies the Populace had entertained of the Nobility. According to them, the People had been designedly and maliciously reduced to Want, by the Contrivances of the Senate. *As for the Nobles*, said the *Ædiles*, *they have taken care to furnish their own Families with Provisions, which they enjoy in secret. Their Ill-will to the People is evident, from the Detachments they have sent out to found a Colony. When will the Patricians put an end to their Tyranny? If you will commit your Interest to our Care and Management, you shall be very soon delivered from Oppression.* The People were in the same Sentiments as their *Ædiles* and *Tribunes*: And the Senators were alarmed at it. They assembled the next Morning; the *Consuls* represented to them the Storm which threatened *Rome*; and every one voted according to his private Views, and Inclination. The wisest were for appeasing the People with Hopes; and keeping the *Tribunes*, and their *Ædiles*, in Temper with Promises. The youngest thought it very improper to acquiesce under the Calumnies of an ungovernable Populace; and contended, that it was necessary to give the *Tribunes* a publick Reprimand, and threaten them with all the Authority of the Senate. This latter Opinion the untractable *Appius* supported with all his Faction; and at last gained his Point, after many Clamours against it, which the People heard in the *Forum*. The *Consuls* went out of the Assembly, to declare the Decree which had just been passed, to the *Curiae*, which were assembled. The *Consuls* had hitherto monopolized the Right of haranguing the People in the *Comitia*: but the *Tribunes* now took upon them to do two things, which both derogated from the Authority of the Senate, and the Dignity of the *Consuls*. First, they protested against the Decree: And in the next place they disputed the *Consuls* Right of speaking publickly to the People. Then the

<sup>65</sup> *Norba* in *Latium*, stood upon an Hill where the *Nymphæus* rises. The Ruins of it still retain a Name very like its first. The Natives call it *Norma* to this Day.

<sup>66</sup> *D. Hal.* adds, that the Senate hastened to name *Triumviri*, to choose those of whom the new Colonies were to consist, and to conduct them to their respective Cities. It was indeed the Custom of the *Romans*, to give this Commission to Magistrates, called *Duumviri*, or *Triumviri*, or *Decemviri*, according to their Number. Their Business was to settle the Co-

lony, and to distribute the Lands, by assigning every one a sufficient Portion for him to subsist upon. After which they marked out the Limits of all the Ground divided among them, with a Plough.

<sup>67</sup> Instead of *Sp. Icilius*, the Greek of *D. Hal.* has *Sicinnius*. *Portus* and *Sylburgius* have rectified this reading, by putting *Icilius* instead of *Sicinnius*. This Correction is confirmed by the *Fasti Capitolini*. Besides, that *Sicinnius* and *Brutus* were then *Ædiles*, is as well evident from the following Part of the History, as from those *Fasti*.



*Tribunes*, for the first time, entered into a Competition with the *Consuls*. The latter magnified the Superiority of their Office: The former contended, That it belonged to them only to speak to the People in their *Comitia*, by *Curia*; and That the Province of the *Consuls* was confined to the Senate. The Dispute grew warm, and Reproaches were not spared on either Side. The *Patricians* attending the *Consuls*, undertook to defend them. The People, on the other hand, applauded their *Tribunes*, and seemed ready to fight for them. The Determination was indeed a Matter of great Importance; the *Consulate* would have been brought very low, if the Office of the *Consuls* had been confined to the Senate-House: The sovereign Authority in *Rome* would then have been lodged in the Hands of the People, and their *Tribunes*. This made both Parties obstinate, and the Contest seemed such, as nothing could end but a Battel. Night drew on, when *Brutus* asked the *Consuls* leave to speak to the People, and promised to quiet the Dispute. The *Consuls* were delighted, that the Orator of the People should pay them so much Deference, as to ask leave of them to speak, rather than of the *Tribunes*: and they granted his Request. But they were much surprized to hear him address himself to them, and to find themselves obliged to answer his captious Questions. *Do you remember*, says he to them, *that one of the Articles of the late Peace is this. that no Patrician shall appear at the Assemblies of the People, when convened by the Tribunes? We do*, replied the *Consuls*. *Why then do you now come hither, to disturb the Conference between the People and their Tribunes? Because*, says *Geganius*, *this Assembly was summoned by our Direction, and not yours*. At these Words, *Brutus* cried out aloud, *That's enough. You grant all we would have. Let us retire now, and to-morrow I will tell you how far our Power does extend, and how far yours*. This said, the Assembly broke up, and every one went to his own House. The People were charmed with *Brutus's* wise Management, and took it for granted, that so solid a Man would not leave his Work imperfect. The young Senators, on the other hand, treated him as a Trifler, and fancied that he had rashly uttered Threatnings which would vanish into Air. But the old *Patricians* thought otherwise of the Affair, and considered it as a very critical Conjunction, with respect to the Government of *Rome*. Every one spent the Night in great Expectation of what the next Day would produce. The *Tribunes* and *Ædiles* neglected their Rest, to consult what Means would be most proper to humble the Senate, and secure the People such an Independence, as would free them from the Yoke of the *Patricians*. The Method they took, was this. Before it was day, they went to the Temple of *Vulcan*, which stood in the Place where the *Comitia* were held. Upon their Arrival, the People were summoned to assemble, whose Curiosity, and the Importance of the Affair, brought them together in greater Numbers than ordinary. Then  *Icilius* ascended *The Tribune of Harangues*; and in a bitter Satyr on the Pride of the *Patricians*, put together all the old and new Complaints of their Tyranny: And at length he came to the Attempt made by the *Consuls* upon the Right of the *Tribunes*. *Yesterday*, says he, *an Attempt was made to impose Silence upon us, in the Assembly of the Curia, which have appointed us to be their Defenders: But how can we speak without Authority? or how can we defend you, if we are obliged to hold our Peace? What Affair can be concluded to your Advantage, if we don't first consult you about it? Either therefore, Romans, take back to yourselves the Tribuneship, which you have invested us with, or give us a Power by Law to assemble the People without hindrance, and confer with them about the Preservation of their Interests*. It is very well known, that as to Laws, the old Custom<sup>68</sup> among the *Romans* was, to let the People make them. The Senate only confirmed them. And these Laws were called *PLEBISCITA*<sup>69</sup>, as the Decrees of the Senate were called

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<sup>68</sup> The Authority of the Senate formerly underwent many Variations. Under the *Kings*, to *Tarquin the Proud's* Time, and in the first Ages of the Republick, the *Plebiscita*, or Decrees made in the *Comitia*, had not the Force of Laws, till confirmed by the Senate. Afterwards, this Authority suffered many Changes, from the time that *The Tribunes of the People*, who were always upon their guard against the *Patricians*, had shaken off the Yoke of Dependence. From that time, the People, encouraged by their Magistrates, assumed a Right of deciding absolutely, and without Appeal. So that the Consent of the Senate became no longer necessary for the Validity of the Determinations made in the *Comitia*. The Reader will, in the Progress of this History, often observe such Changes in the Government of the Republick.

<sup>69</sup> Strictly speaking, the *Romans* called those Regulations, or Laws, *Plebiscita*, which were made by the *Plebeians*, assembled at the Request of the *Tribunes*. This is *Justinian's* Definition of them: and *Festus* says, *Scita Plebis appellantur ea, quæ Plebs suo Suffragio, sine Patribus jussit, Plebeio Magistratu rogante*. There was this Difference between the *Plebiscita*, and the other Laws, that the former were enacted, *Rogante Tribuno*, i. e. at the Desire of the Tribune who assembled the People: whereas the latter were published in the Name of the *Curia*, or *Tribes*, or *Centuries*, assembled by the *Consul*, or one of the chief Magistrates, in his Absence. The *Plebiscita* were at first obligatory only on the *Plebeians*; but what was enacted in *Comitia* assembled by the *Consul*, or his Representative, had the Force of a Law over all Citizens, with-



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SENATUS-CONSULTA 70.  *Icilius* therefore desired the People to make a Law, where by the *Tribunes* should be empowered to assemble and harangue the *Curia*. They all cried out, that they commissioned him to prepare one. This the *Tribune* was already provided for; he and his Collegues together had drawn one up in the Night, which he read, in these Terms: LET NONE CONTRADICT OR INTERRUPT A TRIBUNE WHEN HE IS HARANGUING THE PEOPLE. IF ANY ONE DOES, LET HIM IMMEDIATELY GIVE SECURITY, THAT HE WILL PAY THE FINE WHICH SHALL BE SET UPON HIM AT HIS TRYAL; AND IF HE REFUSE TO GIVE THIS SECURITY, LET HIM BE PUT TO DEATH, AND HIS GOODS BE CONFISCATED. THE DIFFICULTY WHICH SHALL ARISE ABOUT THESE SECURITIES, SHALL BE REFERRED TO, AND DETERMINED BY, THE PEOPLE.

THIS Law was no sooner read, but the *Curia* were brought into the Voting-place, with great Expedition. There it passed unanimously, before the *Consuls* knew any thing of it, or were able to make any Opposition to it. Thus *Brutus* performed his Promise. His Address raised the Power of the *Tribunes*, and took away from the *Consuls* the best Part of their Authority. The Senate indeed would not confirm this new Law; but then the People, in their Turn, refused to accept the Decrees of the Senate. So that these two Tribunals were eternally opposing one another; but the People always gained their Point, by their Numbers, and the Unanimity of their Heads. What is surprizing, is, that neither Party carried their Resentments to Excess, in the midst of so many Contests. The People never offered Violence to the *Patricians*; nor did the *Patricians* ever arm their Clients, to drive away an intractable Populace by Force. The Proceedings on both Sides were always carried on with an Air of Law, and covered with the Appearances of Justice. During so great a Famine, the Houses of the Rich were never plundered; the People contented themselves with Roots and wild Herbs, as long as Corn and Money were wanting. Indeed many of the *Roman* Citizens accepted the Invitations of the neighbouring Cities, and preferred a peaceable Life in a foreign Country to the Trouble of being perpetually harassed with the sudden and violent Concussions of a Republick, continually agitated by Factions.

Plut. Life of  
Coriolanus.

§. XXIII. THE Animosity of the People against the *Patricians* remarkably shewed it self, when the Time came for electing new *Consuls*. *Coriolanus* was one of the chief Candidates 71. It is a question, whether those who aspired at this most honourable Employment, did then distinguish themselves by the extraordinary Whiteness of their Robes; but they certainly at least appeared in publick without their Vests, and shewed the People the honourable Wounds they had received in their Breasts. *Coriolanus* appeared in this manner in the publick Places, especially on Market-days. His Wounds and his known Services pleaded for him. It seemed impossible for the People to neglect a Man of his Birth and Merit, without Injustice. He had made seventeen 72 Campaigns, and distinguished himself in them all. Yet his Glory was obscured

out Exception. In After-times, the *Patricians* themselves were subject to the *Plebiscita*. As to the *Comitia* by *Centuries*, *D. Hal. B. 9.* and *Livy, B. 1.* and *B. 8.* shew that nothing was concluded there, but by the Consent and Authority of the Senate.

70 The *Senatus-Consultum* had not the Force of a Law, 1. If the *Tribunes*, or any chief Magistrate opposed it. This *Cicero* observes in his third Book *de Legibus* . . . *Ni Potestas par majorve prohibessit, Senatus-consulta perscripta sunt.* 2. If the chief Magistrates desired the Promulgation of it might be deferred. 3. If the Decree had been drawn up after Sun-set. 4. If the Senate had been assembled, after ill *Auguries*, or contrary to the Advice of the *Augurs*. 5. If the Senate was held in an irregular Place; i. e. a Place not consecrated by the *Augurs*. 6. If the Senate had been convened without the necessary Forms, or without the Participation of the *Dictator*, *Consuls*, or for want of them, of the other Magistrates, whose Right it was to assemble it. 7. If the Senate was held on any Days, but those appointed for its assembling.

71 It is certain, that Candidates shewed themselves to the People in the *Forum*, especially on Market-Days. There, by an affable and obliging Behaviour, and by reciting their Exploits, they used all Means to secure the Suffrages of the Commons. They were generally attended by their Friends and Clients. This Crowd of People, who did their utmost to serve the Candidate, prejudiced the Commons in his Favour; they being generally taken with Appearances. *Mag-*

*nam affert Opinionem, magnam Dignitatem, quotidiana in deducendo frequentia,* says *Tully*, in his Book, *De Petitione Consulatus*. According to *Plut.* it was an established Custom, even in the Time of *Coriolanus*, for those who aspired at great Employments, to appear constantly in the *Forum*, and become a sort of Suppliants there. They were not ashamed to beg Votes, to make their Court to the meanest Citizens, and to appear in an humble Habit, and without a Tunic, that the Scars of their Wounds might the better appear as so many Marks of their Valour. Then, adds *Plutarch*, they canvassed for great Employments, by Sollicitations, Caresses, and Prayers. It was lawful at *Rome* to carry Matters to this Length. The People were even offended, to see a Candidate affect Airs of Presumption and Disdain. Such an haughty Carriage, if ill construed, would have ruined their Pretensions. The *Romans* were jealous even of Merit, when it grew too proud. This was the only manner of canvassing for Honours, then in use at *Rome*; and it was afterwards confined within due Bounds by several Laws. Moreover, if any one was convicted of having bought Votes with Money or Presents, he was declared infamous, and incapable of holding the Office he stood for. *Polybius* assures us, that such Offenders were, in his Time, condemned to be banished. *Pliny, B. 35.* says, that it was imputed as a Crime to *Quintus Coponius*, that he made a Present of a Measure of Wine to a *Roman* Citizen, who was going to give his Vote.

72 If it be true, as *Plut.* himself observes, in the Life of



in the Eyes of the People, by the great regard the *Patricians* shewed him. They were afraid of seeing a Man invested with the *Consular* Power, whose Steadiness gave Umbrage to the *Tribunes*; and who had Intrepidity enough to be capable of restoring the Senate to its former Lustre. However, *Coriolanus* depended so much on his Merit, that he still continued to hope, he should be preferred before his Competitors, to the very Day of the Election. But his Expectations were frustrated by that very thing which at another time would naturally have raised them. The great Number of *Patricians*, who conducted him to the *Campus Martius*, and presented him to the People, alienated all their Affections from him. They therefore pitched upon *M. Min. Augurinus*, and *A. Semp. Atratinus*, two Men of an advanced Age, who had already been *Consuls*. This unexpected Choice put *Coriolanus* out of all Patience. Being used to conquer in Battel, he depended as much on the Suffrages of the People on this Occasion, as he used to do on his own Valour, when his Sword was drawn. Besides, the same Vivacity<sup>73</sup> which made him terrible in War, made him passionate, and the less able to brook Disappointments which affected his Honour. As he was better qualified for being a brave Soldier, or great General, than an artful Statesman, he knew not either how to dissemble his Uneasiness, or submit to ill Success, or comply with the Times. He openly declared his violent Resentments against the People and their *Tribunes*. Besides, his Rage was heightened by the Complaints of the young *Patricians*, who adored him. He excited them to an Emulation for Glory, by his Example and Discourses; and as he was above Jealousy, he neither lessened the Commendations due to the Valour of the young *Romans* by his Silence, nor refused them the Praises they deserved. Being therefore supported by the Faction of the Nobility, he only waited for an Opportunity to revenge himself on the *Plebeians*, and their Leaders: And it was not long before one offered it self.

§. XXIV. THE new *Consuls* were Men of Experience in Business, and zealous for the Publick Good. Their first Care was to banish Want from *Rome*, in order thereby to put an end to all Seditions. They filled the publick Granaries; but Plenty only made the People the more insolent. Indeed, Barks and Carriages loaded with Corn, came to *Rome* in such Plenty, that the publick Purveyors seemed to have exhausted all the rest of *Italy*. And to complete the Happiness<sup>74</sup>, the Vessels, which set out the last Year from *Sicily*, were entered the *Tyber*, loaded with Corn, which was partly bought at a low Price, and partly sent as a Present to the Republick, by King *Gelo*. It was always customary in *Rome*, for the Senate to inspect the buying, regulate the Price, and direct the Distribution, of Corn: The Senators therefore consulted, what Use they should make of the Provisions, which they daily expected; and the *Tribunes of the People* were called to the Assembly. Those of the *Conscript Fathers* who favoured the Citizens, were of opinion, that all the Corn which should come for the present, should be given *gratis* to the People. This, they said, was a small Relief, which was due to them, after so long a Series of Misery: and an Obligation, which would calm the Minds of those who were sowed with so many Calamities. But the opposite Faction was for holding up the Price of Bread, and thereby keeping the People in Dependance and Subjection. *Coriolanus* put himself at the Head of the severer Party: and as he was both intrepid and provoked, he spoke without any Reserve, and with so loud a Voice, that he was heard by a great Number of *Plebeians*, who were

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TITUS GEGANIUS, and  
PUBLIUS MINUTIUS, Con-  
suls.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXII.

M. MINUTIUS  
AUGURINUS,  
and AULUS  
SEMPRONIUS  
ATRATINUS,  
Consuls.

Plut. *ibid.*

Dion. Hal.  
B. 7. p. 433.

Plut. *ibid.*  
Livy, B. 2.  
ch. 34.  
Dion. Hal.  
B. 7. p. 434.

of *Coriolanus*, that this *Roman* was yet very young, at the Time of the Battel of *Regillus*, in the Year of *Rome* 257, there must be a Mistake in that Historian's Calculation, and we must read but 6 Years, instead of 17. But then, whilst we avoid one Mistake, we fall into another. *Coriolanus* was exceeding young, according to *Plutarch*, when he gave the first Proofs of his Valour at the Battel of *Regillus*. In the Year 260, in which *Corioli* was taken, he was in the Flower of his Age, according to *Livy*: *C. Marcius Adolefcens*. How then could he offer himself for the *Consulship* so soon as two Years after, when he was yet so very young? He certainly could not then be of the Age the Laws required; for none could legally stand for the *Consulate*, who were not 43. as we learn from *Tully's* fifth *Philippick*; unless we say, that in these first Ages, the Republick had not so much regard to the Age, as the Merit and Virtue of the Candidates. Upon this Supposition, *Coriolanus's* Victories gave him reason to hope for the *Consulate*, before he was of a legal Age

for it. Thus *Corvinus* was afterwards made *Consul* at 23, notwithstanding the *Villian Law*, which required the Candidates to be 43. Whatever is said to clear up the Text of *Plutarch*, it is absolutely impossible to make out the 17 Years, which this Author supposes passed, between *Coriolanus's* first Campaign, and the Time when he stood for the *Consulship*. Nor can we form any good Conjecture about it, by reason of the Silence of other Writers.

<sup>73</sup> *Plutarch* says of *Coriolanus*, that he was such an one as *Cato the Elder* required a Soldier to be; viz. his Blows were heavy, he had a frightful Aspect, and a surprizing Tone of Voice, which struck all who heard it with Terror.

<sup>74</sup> *D. Hal.* says, that *Geganius* and *Valerius* arrived from *Sicily* with several large Vessels, which brought 50000 Measures of Corn, *πέντε μυριάδες μέτρων*. The *Medimnos* of the *Greeks* was a dry Measure, which contained 108 Pounds, or 6 Bushels, of 18 Pounds each.

crowding



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crowding at the Door of the Senate-House, in Expectation of the Decision. *Make Presents to the People*, said he, *and furnish Food to their Fury! Heavens! how mad a Project! Will this People thank us for our Profusion, or rather will they not insult us for our Weakness? Thus you see, will they say, how a fearful Senate gives way to the Dread we strike into them. Our Tribunes make them tremble, and the Remembrance of our Separation puts them into a Pannick. Thy Tribunes, ungrateful People! say rather our Tyrants! Shall we have shaken off the Dominion of one Man, only to make ourselves many Masters? Thy Tribunes! Would to God, these Monsters had been still at their Birth, and Appius's Opinion had prevailed! Let these Tribunes be gone, let them be sent out of Rome, with all their Train! The Sacred Mountain may serve them for a Retreat a second time. Let us disannul and abolish the Treaty which establishes them. There never was a more favourable Opportunity. Let us no longer be governed by vain Scruples. Force and Violence extorted our Oaths from us; let then Reason and Equity free us from the Observance of them! Unjust Tribunes! have not you yourselves broken these Oaths? To what Excess have you not carried an Authority weakly founded? Have you not made it absolute? What unjust Laws have you caused to be made by a mad Multitude! So that you are the Masters, the Tyrants of the Republick! Conscrip Fathers, shall we suffer this? No; let this People, who are now so imperious, be made sensible of their Indigence, and the Need they stand in of us! Let them go starving with Hunger, and languishing for Want of Strength, and carry that Famine and Desolation elsewhere, which they have brought upon this State! The Time is come for executing Vengeance upon them for all their past Excesses.*

Dion. Hal.  
B. 7. p. 437.

Plut. ibid.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 7. p. 438.

WHILST Coriolanus was speaking thus, the Tribunes trembled with Rage. They demanded Justice of the Senate, for the bitter Invectives thrown upon so venerable a Part of the Republick, as the People. They required, that Coriolanus should be condemned to Death upon the Spot; and threatened, that if their Complaints, were neglected, they would cause the assembled Curiae to pronounce Sentence on the Criminal. On the other hand, the young Patricians applauded the Discourse of Coriolanus, and called him the only Defender of Liberty. As for the Fathers, they were divided in Opinion; but the greatest Part inclined to destroy the Tribuneship, and the Treaty which established it. These Proceedings enraged the Tribunes, and they left the Assembly in great Fury. They called out aloud on the Gods, the Avengers of the Breach of Oaths, to witness what had passed; and the People, who crowded round them, were ready to enter the Senate-house by Force, but the Tribunes stopped them. That the Proceedings might be regular, the Curiae were assembled, and Coriolanus summoned to appear before them. But he despised a Summons brought him from a Tribunal, whose Jurisdiction he did not acknowledge. The next Day therefore the Tribunes and Aediles, attended by a Company of Officers, came to seize him. But he had a stronger Guard than they; the young Patricians about him, drove away the Tribunes, used the Aediles ill, and dispersed the Officers. Upon this, the Uproar was increased, on the one hand, by the Crowds of People who ran together from all the Shops; and on the other, by the great Number of the Nobility, and rich Citizens, who came to assist Coriolanus. But the Consuls put a Stop to the Fury of both Parties, for that Day. The next, the Tribunes prevented the Consuls, and took Possession of the Tribune of Harangues, from whence they both spoke to the People, one after another. The Subject of their Harangues was Coriolanus's Offence. They repeated the very Words he had used in his bitter Invective against the People and Tribunes; and appealed to the oldest and most venerable Senators, as Witnesses of his extravagant Words in the Senate. Then they exaggerated his Rebellion, as being open and barefaced, and the ill Usage the Aediles had received from him and his Company. They concluded with saying that it was necessary to give the Patricians an Hearing; and desired the People to continue their Assembly till the Senate was broke up.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 7. p. 439.

§. XXV. THE Conscrip Fathers were deliberating among themselves at the same time that the People were assembled in Comitia. It was but a Step from the Senate-house to The Tribune. So that as soon as the Senators were broke up, the Consuls appeared upon it, and Minutius, as eldest, spake first, in this manner: Romans, *nothing is more groundless than your Suspicions of, nothing more unjust than your Complaints against, the Senate. The Patricians are not the Authors of the late Scarcity in Rome. Your Separation was the Cause of it. Ground untilld, Farms deserted, Cattle lost, and Slaves dispersed, were the Consequences of the unhappy Discords, which divided us. In order to ease the City, which was burthened with too many Inhabitants, we sent out*



out Colonies from it. By them our Frontiers are defended, our Territory enlarged, our Provisions furnished with more Ease, and the Success has shewn, you had Reason to consent to their Departure. And why then are the People thus eternally murmuring against the Senate? Why must we be accused of having banished your Fellow-Citizens, and of desiring to keep up a Scarcity of Provisions in Rome, in the midst of Plenty? Are the Opinions of some Senators, who are not so well affected to the Plebeians, the Rules of our Determinations? Ought you, upon bare Suppositions, rashly to indulge your Hatred, and raise violent Tempests in the State? Have we made any Decree, whereby we abolish your Tribunes? And yet you believed it upon their Report; which Report was founded upon groundless Apprehensions. No; their Office shall not be extinguished; but let their Authority be confined within its original Bounds. We have indeed given them leave to protect you; but did we ever give them Power to destroy the Consulship, to introduce Confusion among all Orders of Men in the State, and to hinder the Senators from declaring their Opinions? Marcius spoke indeed with Warmth against the Encroachments of the Tribunes, and the Licentiousness of the People. And this you think a capital Crime. Judge then of the Injustice of your Complaints, by your selves. When any one of you, which sometimes happens in your Assemblies, inveighs against the Severity of the Senate, do we condemn him to Death only for this? Romans, let us not deprive each other of the Liberty of giving our Opinions freely, in our Assemblies. Don't exercise your Severity on account of Discourses which were privately made in the Senate; since we pass over the passionate Harangues you make in the Comitia? If you are for taking all Liberties your selves, and allowing others none, is not this confirming the Suspicions some have conceived, that your Tribunes aim at Tyranny? If Marcius was too severe in his Reproaches, remember his Virtues, and his Valour. How great a Support would you deprive your Country of, by his Banishment or Death? How many Citizens owe their Lives to his Courage? Shall unguarded Expressions be put in the Balance with signal Exploits, and great Services? But whether he be innocent or guilty, yet at least spare him at the Desire of the Senate, since they request it. We will not indeed put you in Mind of the Obligations we have laid upon you, to reproach you. But nevertheless, since our Condescension went so far as to give you Tribunes; let your Gratitude be great enough to restore to us the Defender of Rome, the Conqueror of the Volsci, and the only Pledge of a perfect Reconciliation between you and us.

THIS Discourse of Minutius had softened the People, and his Promises of reviving Plenty very soon, had calmed them. But the Artifices of Sicinnius, effaced all the Impressions it had made on their Minds, in favour of Coriolanus. Sicinnius was of mean Extraction, had no military Virtues, nor any thing to recommend him but his seditious Intrigues; and yet he was now Tribune of the People the second time. He thought Coriolanus would be an eternal Obstacle to his rise. If he gained his Point in extirpating the Tribuneship, Sicinnius must sink back again into his primitive Mean-ness. He had Reason to be continually afraid of the Interest of a Man, who was adored by the Patricians, and an implacable Enemy to the Power of the People. He therefore resolved to destroy him. After he had consulted with his Collegues, he gave this Answer to Minutius's Discourse. *What Thanks ought we not to return the Consuls, and the whole Patrician Body in general, for their Compassion for an afflicted People! These Illustrious Chiefs of the Republick, have at length vouchsafed to cast an Eye of Pity on our Miseries, and comfort us in our Wants. Only then perform what you have promised, and we have all we desire! As for you, Marcius, adds he, looking on Coriolanus, who can hinder you from applying your self to the Clemency of the People, and persuading them to moderate the Rigour of their Sentence, by your Apologies.* Sicinnius fully expected, that if Coriolanus spoke to the People, he would not at all abate his Pride, and would exasperate the Multitude, who were already prejudiced against him. And his Stratagem succeeded to his Expectation. Coriolanus had too lofty a Spirit to stoop to humble Supplications. He may be said to have carried Magnanimity to an Excess. He did not appear as a Criminal before his Judges; he gave himself the Air of a Master, and pretended to give Law, and to reprimand. He owned every thing he had been reproached with saying in the Senate, and gloried in it. He refused to submit to the Judgment of the People; and would acknowledge none to be his Judges, but the Consuls. He protested, with an exalted Tone of Voice, and a threatening Air, that he would not have vouchsafed to have appeared in a tumultuous Assembly of seditious Men, had it not been to reproach them with their Crimes, and to put some Check to their boundless Desires. And lastly, he openly de-

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clared his Hatred to the *Tribunes*, and charged their Creation with being prejudicial to the Publick.

It is easy to imagine, that such an audacious Speech must greatly offend the *People*. The tumultuous and confused Clamours of the Multitude shewed their Rage. Some even prepared to massacre *Marcus* with their own Hands, as an open Enemy, whom any one might kill in Battle. Nevertheless, the *Tribunes* thought it necessary to observe some Form of Justice in cutting him off. They consulted together; and after they had collected the Votes, ordered him to be seized, and thrown down headlong from the Top of a steep Rock, which overlooked the *Forum Romanum*. This was then a Punishment frequently inflicted on Malefactors. The *Ædiles* therefore instantly advanced with their Officers, to put the Sentence in Execution: And then no Measures were kept any longer. The *Patricians* interposed between the Criminal and the Officers, and exposed their own Bodies to Danger, to defend his. The People, on the other hand, endeavoured to break thro' them, and carry off their Victim. Many Blows were given on both Sides, and Reflections spared by neither. The Presence of the *Consuls* was the only thing that could put an End to the Commotion. The People of *Rome*, as ungovernable as the *Tribunes* had made them, yet retained a Respect for these chief Governors in the Republick. They, with the Assistance of their *Lictors*, broke thro' the Crowd, and dispersed it. *Sicinnius* only continued to make some Resistance, being very anxious about the Sentence he had pronounced, and very unwilling to leave the Work of his Hatred unfinished. Nevertheless, he recollected himself a little, and took the Advice of *Brutus*, who was so ready at finding out Expedients in difficult Cases. *Brutus* then advised the *Tribune* not to push on the Affair to Extremity: *The Patricians are enraged, says he, and it is ill-judged to make use of Violence now. After all, it has the Appearance at least, of Injustice, for you to make your self both Party and Judge in Marcus's Affair; and by a Form of Justice, hitherto unknown, rashly to pronounce Sentence of Death against a Patrician of renowned Birth and Valour. Stop your Hands for a few Days; and after you have summoned the Criminal to appear, give your self time to draw up his Process, and enter a formal Accusation against him, according to Law. These Appearances of Moderation will do you Honour, and at the same time not save the Enemy of the Tribuneship from our common Vengeance.*

*SICINNIUS* followed the Advice which was given him. He returned to the Assembly, and said, *You yourselves have been Witnesses of the seditious Resistance the Patricians have made to the Authority of your Ordinances. Their Plea for this is a Law as antient as the Monarchy, which is, that IT IS NOT LAWFUL TO PUT ANY CITIZEN OF ROME TO DEATH, TILL HE HAS BEEN CONDEMNED ACCORDING TO LAW. Let us therefore shew those who break thro' all Laws, that we have all the Deference they desire for the Law on which they lay so much Stress. Retire, Romans, and exceed them in Moderation, who accuse you of Violence. And be assured, that if they neglect to give you Satisfaction, as to the Sale of the Corn, we will take effectual Care our selves that it shall be distributed among you.* When *Sicinnius* had said this, he dismissed the Assembly.

§. XXVI. THE *Consuls* were in the mean time deliberating in the Senate, how they might appease the Populace. They proposed to pacify them, by selling them Corn at a low Price, and gaining over their Magistrates to favour *Marcus* and the *Patricians*. They all feared, the *Tribunes* would make this first Instance a Precedent for their giving Law to the Senate, and depriving them of the Liberty of declaring their Opinions freely. They had indeed already found Means, I know not how, to be always present at the Deliberations of the Senate, without having any other Power in it, but that of opposing any Decrees which they thought contrary to the Interests of the People. The Senate then resolved to defer *Marcus's* Tryal as long as they could, and to give the Hatred of the Commons Time to cool. After this, they made a Decree, that the Corn should be sold at as low a Price, as it used to be in the best Markets, before the Troubles. And they laboured to prevail upon the *Tribunes* to desist from all the Prosecutions they had begun against *Coriolanus*. But it was not possible to soften them. However, they were persuaded to grant the accused as much time as was desired, for his Defence. Then the Senate made use of an Artifice, to postpone a Trial a great while, the Consequences of which they dreaded. They made a Decree, that a War should be entered into with the *Antiates*, and that no Affairs in Dispute should be determined during the Campaign. An Occasion offered it self for marching against these old Enemies, which was this.

Plut. Life of  
Coriolanus.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 7. p. 446.



As the *Sicilians* were returning home with their empty Barques, in which they had brought Corn to *Rome*, the *Antiates* infested the Seas with their Pyracies, surprized the *Sicilians*, seized their Ships and Money, and carried the Men with them into Captivity: And *Rome* was concerned to revenge the Insult offered to the *Sicilians*, her Benefactors. However, she first attempted to accommodate the Difference amicably: But the *Antiates* insisted upon keeping their Prize. Upon this therefore the *Romans* declared War with them, and marched their Troops into their Country. But the Expedition was soon ended: The *Antiates* returned to Reason, released the Ships, and made their Peace with *Rome*.

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§. XXVII. THE Army returned sooner than the Senate had hoped: And then the *Tribunes* cited *Marcus* to appear on a Day appointed. This made a great stir among the *Patricians*; for it was a Blow they were very nearly concerned to ward off; and the *Consul Minutius* tried all possible Ways to divert the Storm. He called the *Tribunes* together, and endeavoured to dissuade them from an Enterprize which would be so prejudicial to the Republick. He first commended them for their Vigilance in keeping the Multitude within Bounds, for their Moderation in preventing Blows, and their Wisdom in proceeding regularly, according to Law. After this, he said, *You cannot be ignorant of an immemorial Custom, which was established even in the time of the Kings. All Proceedings in capital Cases, begin with the Senate's declaring, whether it be proper to bring them before the People. Will you then break through a Custom, which has been religiously observed for above 200 Years? Sicinnius* was of Opinion that the Affair had been already determined by the People, without any preceding Trial. He pretended, that it naturally devolved upon them, as the supreme Court of Judicature. But the other *Tribunes*, whose Authority was equal to his, had more Equity and Complaisance than the turbulent *Sicinnius*. They signified, by one of their Body, named *Decius*, their Consent that the Senate should first judge whether *Marcus's* Cause ought to be brought before the People; but upon two Conditions. The first, That the *Tribunes* should be allowed to report it to the Senate. The second, That the Senators should vote regularly; and That after they had all been sworn, every one should then give his Opinion, and the *Consuls* pronounce Sentence according to the Majority of Voices. These Conditions being accepted, *Decius* undertook to shew, that it belonged to the People to hear this Cause; and appointed a Day to determine it. The Senate was therefore assembled, and *Decius*<sup>75</sup> addressed himself to them thus.

*We are not ignorant, Conscrip Fathers, into what Danger we have run our selves by the blind Deference we have paid you. To suffer the Senators to determine, whether the Commons are the proper Judges of Marcus's Affair, is to expose our selves to their Resentments. May not they reproach us with having betrayed their Cause, and punish us as Ministers who have not been true to their Interests? A Law was made from the first Establishment of the Republick, at Val. Poplicola's Request, by which the Plebeians, who were ill used by the Patricians, had Leave given them to bring their Complaints before the People. Marcus has been guilty of a notorious Insult upon the Authority of the Roman People, and the Dignity of their Tribunes. Who his Judges are, is sufficiently declared by the Law. It is true, in doubtful Cases, where the Law is silent, it belongs to the Senate to determine, whether it be proper to bring them to a Hearing before the People; but in Cases wherein the very Letter of the Law is clear, there is no room for Deliberation. Shall the meanest Plebeian, if injured, have Recourse to the Curia, and shall not the injured Tribunes implore their Help, without the Consent of the Senate? What then becomes of the Ballance of Power between the People and you? It was equitably settled with the Republick it self: And can it be otherwise destroyed than by one Side's encroaching upon the other? The Patricians and the Rich have their Prerogatives, which we don't dispute with them. The chief Magistrates are chosen out of their Body. They possess the Places of most Distinction. Their Centuries are first named in the great Comitia: Whilst the poor People have no Privilege, but that of being protected from Oppression. The Law which gave them this, was, without doubt, a very wise one; and we will maintain it with Constancy. To endeavour to rob us of it, is to plunge the State again into all the Miseries of civil Dissentions. The first Sparks of a civil War have alarmed you: What then will be the Consequence, if it break out into a Flame, and set the whole Republick on Fire?*

Dion. Hal.  
B. 7. P. 447.

<sup>75</sup> This *Decius* was one of the Deputies sent to the Senate, to receive its Ratification of the Treaty, made in Favour of the *Plebeians*, who retired to the *Mons Sacer*.



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*Whom will you then blame, but the Ambition of your Youth, and your inconsiderate Hatred to the People? Some would fain deprive them of their Protectors, by destroying the Tribuneship. But pray, did you grant them Tribunes out of Equity, or out of Necessity? If you did it upon the Motives of Reason, let them continue, as long as there is any Justice in Rome! If it was out of Necessity, how are you sure, that such another Separation as then made you tremble, will never happen? And if you did not think it a formidable one, what forced you to put on such an Appearance of Fear? And yet it is this very Office of Tribunes, established by so many Oaths, consecrated by the most holy Ceremonies, and the only Pledge of our Reconciliation, which Marcius endeavoured to destroy. Nay, you know he did not stop there. He charged that Equality of Power, which the People pretend to maintain themselves in, with Tyranny. He raised your Passions, to make you revenge our Separations. He would have had us reduced to Want again, and thereby forced to an involuntary Exile. These are his Crimes. And are not they of the Nature of those, the Cognizance of which is by the Law confined to the People? If his Scheme had succeeded, what would have become of Rome? Either the People would in their Fury have shed all the Blood of the Patricians, or the Patricians would have filled the City with the Slaughter of their Fellow-Citizens. Extreme Misery would have known no Law. What horrible Massacres would the seditious Marcius have caused within these Walls! Nor is it enough to say he would have done it; his Desires were very near being put in Execution. What Mutinies were there actually raised on his Account! The Tribunes were repulsed, the Aediles ill-treated, and the Officers of the People beaten and dispersed. Might not so many scandalous Revolts have been a just Pretence for us to have made an Insurrection? We have indeed prevented it; but is the Author of these things the less guilty? Speak, Marcius, speak; make your Defence here at least. Abate that Pride, which makes you suspected of a Tyrannical Disposition. The Consuls have not disdained to intercede with the People for you. They condescended so far, as to entreat them to favour you. You are the only Man, who persists in acting like a Man independent. Have you at all changed <sup>76</sup> your Habit, to raise Compassion? Has the Sentence of Death pronounced against you, made you criminal as you are, appear any otherwise than the most unblemished Citizen? You depend upon your Valour: And yet, how many Patricians, whose Triumphs have given them a Fame superior to yours, have stooped down so low, as to implore the Clemency of the People for you? What! cannot even the Example of their Modesty subdue your Pride? Cannot even Afflictions bring you down from the Clouds, to which your Vanity has raised you, and put you upon a level with the rest of Mankind? No, Conscrip Fathers, no; such intolerable Vanity is unworthy of your Protection. Will you, for his sake, undertake the War, which the People will be forced to make with you? Ought he not to be afraid of it, at least for your sakes, and acknowledge your Obligations, by diverting the Miseries you are threatened with, by his Submission? His Haughtiness of Temper is heightened by his Ingratitude. Such is the Hero, to whom the Peace of the State is to be made a Sacrifice. Give him up, Conscrip Fathers, to the Justice of his proper Judges; and let the factious Youth who protect him, be made to know by his Example, that to offer Violence to the Authority of the Roman People, is to be guilty of a criminal Attempt against the Republick it self.*

THE Tribunes, who were present in the Senate, added many things to what Decius had said, and at length the Votes were taken. The most antient and venerable Senators gave their Opinions first. It was not then customary for the young Senators to make Speeches when they voted. They generally followed the Opinion of some old Senator whom they liked, and placed themselves round him whose Opinion they embraced. Ap. Claudius, that old Consul, and obstinate Enemy of the People, spoke one of the first, and appeared to be still the same Man.

WOULD to God, said he, *Regard had been had to the Protestations I always made against the Return of the separated People, against the Treaty whereby the Tribunes were introduced, and against the boundless Pretensions of the Plebeians! I thought you more prudent than my self, and therefore gave way to the Stream, and acquiesced in your Determinations. But, tho' what I apprehended beforehand has since proved true, I shall not, Conscrip Fathers, take Advantage of the present Opportunity to reproach*

<sup>76</sup> Criminals at Rome used to appear before their Judges in such a Dress as to raise their Compassion. They changed their white Robe into one more slovenly and negligent, and let their Beards and Hair grow.

But Sigonius is mistaken, in thinking they wore a black Robe. Not only the Persons accused, appeared in this humble Dress, but their Friends and Relations; and from hence they had the Name of *Sordidati*.



you, tho' I might do it with Justice. We cannot amend what is past; let us remedy present Evils. But what am I saying? Can I speak of Liberty, without running the hazard of my Life? Shall I escape the Danger which threatens Coriolanus? But nevertheless, I will speak, and the publick Good shall prevail with me over well grounded Fears. I have long devoted my Life to the Service of the Republick. In the first place then, you seem to me to have thrown away the Favours by which you have endeavoured to sooth an untractable Populace. They impute your Condescensions to your Weakness; and if we may believe them, it is your Fear, which has extorted them from you. How gradually have they gone on till they are now come even to give Law to you? Formerly, they artfully aggravated their Indigence, and only demanded the Abolition of their Debts. After their seditious Separation, they seemed content with obtaining Impunity, and Leave to return to their own Country. After this, they thought fit to demand a College of Tribunes, who were to protect them against our Decrees. The Authority of these Officers they would have to be sacred, and their Persons inviolable. Then, by the help of these new Magistrates, they have made Laws without our Privy, despised the Authority of the Senate and Consuls, and disannulled our Decrees. And now, by an unheard-of Piece of Usurpation, they summon the most illustrious Patrician to appear at their Tribunal, and make it a Crime in him, to have delivered his Opinion freely. As for myself, I opposed every one of these Encroachments, and thought they should have been disputed with them Inch by Inch. But your Indulgence, Conscript Fathers, prevailed over my Steadiness; and you have already repented of it. It's true, the People, at present, abate a little of their Desires. They will determine no Affairs, but such as the Senate permits them by Decree to take Cognizance of. Let us then seize so favourable an Opportunity. Nay, the Law it self which they object to us, does not permit the People to judge the Nobility. Has one single Patrician ever submitted to be tried by them, in all these eighteen Years, which this Law has been made? This is then decisive, in favour of Coriolanus. Besides, if the Law was express, as they pretend it is, would the People, who are so jealous of their Rights, apply to you in this manner for leave to bring Coriolanus before their Tribunal? And indeed, if the People's judicial Power extended to us, where would be that Equality of Power between us and them, which is so much boasted of? The Senate would, in that Case, have no Power of trying either Plebeians or Patricians; and the entire Cognizance of all capital Cases would devolve on the People. What! Shall the Senate be more suspected of Injustice in favour of their own Members, than the Curia in favour of their Plebeians? Are not all the Orders in the Republick equally desirous of promoting the publick Good? But you say, a civil War must be the Consequence of our Refusal. Will you then, Conscript Fathers, sink under such insignificant Threatnings? Has not long Experience taught you to despise the Storm, of whose Approach you have early Notice? Gods and Men will unite in our Defence. Our Colonies won't see their native Country ruined; nor will the Latins look on tamely, and see that City plundered, wherein they themselves have the Privileges of Citizens. In short, we will arm both our Slaves and Allies against the Rebels. O ye Gods, who protect this Empire, divert such terrible Misfortunes from us; and grant, that Designs so contrary to the publick Good, may vanish in mere Words!

Thus spake Appius, and concluded against suffering the People to try Coriolanus. But the popular Valerius was of a contrary Opinion. He exaggerated the horrible Consequences of a civil War. He shewed, that Coriolanus's Pride was ready to raise one. He endeavoured to demonstrate to the Senate, that their paying some Deference to the People, was the only Means of quieting their Fury, both against their threatened Country, and the Offender. It is not possible, said he, but that, when the Curia shall see so great a Man, in a negligent Dress, humbling himself before them, and submitting to their Decisions, the Sense of his Virtues, and the Respect due to his Birth, must make Impressions on all their Hearts. Besides, the whole Body of the Patricians will assist him with their Interest. We will attend him to his Tryal. We will solicit our Clients, our Friends, and in a word, all those who are any way obliged to us, in his Favour; and in short, will get their Votes. Add to this, that our Tears shall speak for us; and we will join our Sighs to the humble Defence which Coriolanus shall make. At these Words, the good old Man burst out into a Flood of Tears, and sighed deeply. The Senators were staggered at this: and then Valerius pursued his Discourse. I perceive, the only thing which suspends your Determination, is the Fear of granting too much Authority to the People, who may abuse it. But how dangerous is it, to carry your Suspensions too far! since we have thought fit to make the Government of Rome partly Aristocratical,

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXII.  
M. M. UTIUS  
AUGURINUS,  
and AULUS  
SEMPRONIUS  
ATRATINUS,  
Consuls.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 7. p. 459.



Year of  
R O M E  
CELXII.  
M. MINUTIUS  
AUGURINUS,  
and AULUS  
SEMPRONIUS  
ATRATINUS,  
Consuls.

*cratical, and partly Democratical, there will never be any Peace in the Republick, till there is a perfect Æquilibrium established between these two Powers. Whenever the Balance inclines to either Side, Jealousies, Discontents, and civil Wars, will always be the Consequence. This we found by Experience in the Time of the Kings. Let us no therefore run headlong into the same Confusions. The Senate then pretended to assume all Power to themselves: The People, in their Turn, have done the same. Let us therefore set such just Bounds to the Pretensions of both Senate and Plebeians, that keeping within them, we may preserve Concord among us. The Senators have their Consuls: Let the People have their Tribunes: and let both join in punishing the wicked Attempts, which are made upon the Authority of either Body. Let us mutually consent to deliver up Offenders to each other. Have not we reason to fear, that without this Precaution the Republick will again degenerate into a tyrannical Government? Besides, if the People, proud of their Authority, should madly carry things to an Excess, have not we a Remedy, which has been already tried more than once? We of the Patricians have a Right to chuse a Dictator<sup>77</sup>, whose Power in the Republick is absolute. This Power alone is a Barrier which we can at any time set against the Licentiousness of the People. Why then should we magnify our Fears of them without measure? Why should we make the Liberty we shall give them of trying State-Criminals, a Bugbear? The more People there are upon the Watch to prevent all tyrannical Attempts, and the more Tribunes those who engage in them have to fear, the more seldom will factious Men appear among us, and the more readily will their Cabals be defeated.*

*Plut. Life of  
Coriolan.*

*Dion. Hal.  
B. 7. p. 463.*

THIS Discourse of *Valerius* had its desired Effect. It passed by a Majority of Voices, that *Coriolanus* should be tried by the People. The Decree for it was just ready to be drawn up, when he desired leave to speak. His Design was to know exactly, what Crime he should be accused of, before the People. So that, he prayed to be informed of the Facts which would be laid to his Charge, before the Decree was passed. *Tour Accusation*, replied the Tribunes, *will chiefly relate to the Crime of designing to usurp tyrannical Power. Upon that foot*, replies *Coriolanus*, *I have nothing to object to the Decree of the Senate. Let it be put in Writing. I will appear before the People, and answer this frivolous Accusation.* Thus this famous Warrior fell into the Snare the cunning Tribunes laid for him. He was not aware, that when the People should have him in their Power, it would be wholly in the Tribunes, to draw up what Accusations against him they pleased.

§. XXVIII. As soon as the Decree was passed, the Tribunes renewed all their Proceedings. They sent a fresh Summons to the Criminal; and gave him a Month, or thereabouts, to prepare<sup>78</sup> for his Defence: That is, they summoned him to appear on the third Market-Day; and Markets were then held at *Rome* every nine Days. The Reason why the Tribunes chose a Market-Day for *Coriolanus's* Tryal, was this; that the Country-People then came in Crowds to the City, and brought their Provisions, which they trafficked with, by Barter. As they all had a Right to vote with the Citizens, it was hoped they would be less at the Devotion of the Nobility, than the Inhabitants of the City. And now the Day appointed drew near: It was very visible, by the

<sup>77</sup> The Choice and Nomination of a Dictator belonged originally to that Consul who presided for the Time being. The People had no Part in this Election, says *Plut.* in his *Life of Marcellus*. On default of Consuls, this Right was in the Milit. Tribunes. Thus the Augurs determined in favour of *M. Æmilius*, who was created Dictator by *Cor. Cossus*, then Tribune. But it appears, that this Election was made with the Approbation of the Senate, and sometimes of the People.

<sup>78</sup> We have already spoken of the Forms observed by the Romans, in the Causes tried at the Tribunal of the People, and in all criminal Affairs. First, the Magistrate caused the People to be summoned by a proper Officer; then he ascended *The Tribune*, and fixed a Day for the Offender to appear before the Comitia, and hear the Heads of his Accusation. These Formalities were repeated three different Times: and at the End of every such Accusation, the Tribune demanded, that the Accused might have a Fine laid upon him, or be condemned to some other Punishment, according to the Nature of the Complaint. After which, the Accused had twenty-seven Days given him, to prepare his Answer. During this time, the People had leisure enough to inform themselves fully of the Case; and

the Accused, and his Relations, Friends, and Clients, did their utmost to get the Suffrages of the Tribes for him. When the Day appointed was come, the Tribune brought his Accusation before the assembled People, the 4th time. An Officer cited the Offender, who appeared in a mournful Habit. He had the Liberty either of undertaking his Defence himself, or of committing the Care of it to any who were willing to undertake it for him. Sometimes the Comitia were spent in Debates and Replications: so that Judgment was put off to another Day. Then the Proceedings began again as before, unless the Magistrate limited the Time, to be spent, in the Accusation and Defence. Sentence was passed by a Majority of Voices; and the Determinations of the Tribune were confirmed or rejected, according as the People declared themselves, either for the Affirmative, in the Words *Uti rogas*; or for the Negative, in the Word *Antiquo*. We have these Particulars from *Tully*, in his *Orat. pro Domo sua*. Almost the same Forms were observed, with respect to *Coriolanus*. In like manner, the Magistrates took care to give notice of the Elections of Magistrates, and the passing of any Laws, on three Market-Days.



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Consuls.

Steps both the *Plebeians* and *Patricians* took, how much they had the different Interests they engaged in, at heart. The People triumphed at being able to revenge the contemptuous Treatment shewn them by the most haughty Enemy they had ever had. The Senate dreaded this fatal Minute, as most destructive of the publick Liberty. At length, the Accused appeared on the Day appointed. New Wranglings arose about the Form 79 of the *Comitia* by which he was to be tried. The *Patricians* pretended, it ought to be by the People assembled *by Centuries* 80. The voting *by Classes* would indeed have been much more for the Advantage of the Offender. The most noble, and the richest would have voted first, and would have passed Sentence, before the Populace, who were most attached to the *Tribunes*, would have been called upon for their Suffrages. But the *Tribunes of the People* prevailed, that they should vote *by Tribes* 81. There were then in all, both in City and Country, twenty-one 82. The *Tribunes* took care to have the *Country-Tribes* come to *Rome*, very early in the Morning, under Pre-

79 Hitherto the *Romans* had known no *Comitia*, but such as were assembled *by Curia*, or *by Centuries*. Before *S. Tullius's* Time, the *Curia* had the Right and Power of electing Kings, Magistrates, and the *Tribunus Celerum*; of judging in criminal Cases; and of making new Laws. And lastly, every thing relating to Peace and War, was determined in these *Comitia*, but with the Consent of the Senate; as we learn from *D. Hal. B. 2.* Before the Establishment of the *Comitia by Tribes and Centuries*, the *Curia* chose the *Tribunes of the People*, and the *Plebeian Aediles*. But after their Establishment, the Right of the *Curia* was confined, 1. To the confirming the Election of some Magistrates; but this Custom did not continue long. 2. To the ratifying Adoptions and Wills: and, 3. To the choosing the *Flamines*, and the chief of the *Curiones*. But indeed, they scarce assembled at all, in After-times, but merely for Form's sake. All Affairs were determined by the *Centuries*, and the *Tribes*.

80 From *S. Tullius's* Time to this, the *Comitia by Centuries* had almost the whole Authority in *Rome*. If an Affair of Importance was to be determined, the Cognizance of which the Senate had referred to the People; if a new Law was to be made, or one of the great Magistrates chosen; the *Consuls* assembled the People *by Centuries*. After the previous Ceremonies of the *Auguries* and Sacrifices, the *Romans* assembled in the *Campus Martius*. All the *Centuries*, each of which joined themselves under their common Standard, and their own Head, looked like an Army drawn up in Battalia. And as the Suffrages were given in this Assembly, especially in the first Ages of *Rome*, according to the Order of the *Classes*, almost every thing was determined, according to the Inclination of the first *Class*; that alone being more numerous in *Centuries* than all the rest put together. Add to this, that it contained all the richest and most eminent Citizens. So that it would have been for *Coriolanus's* Advantage, to have had the *Comitia* held *by Centuries*. The Party of the Rich and Great, who all had declared for him, would not have failed turning the Balance to his Side; and the *Tribunes* would have lost their Point.

81 This 262<sup>d</sup> Year of *Rome* was the Epocha of the Establishment of the *Comitia by Tribes*. These *Comitia*, in Process of Time, assumed an Authority which made them formidable to the Senate and *Patricians*. Being supported by their *Tribunes*, they overcame all the Opposition the Nobility made to their audacious Proceedings. They soon assumed a Power of creating the Magistrates of the second Order, of making Laws, of passing Decrees, and of citing the *Consuls* and Generals of the Army, to appear before their Tribunal. The *Tribes* had before usurped a Right of inflicting Death on *Roman* Citizens, till this Abuse was reformed by a Law of the *XII. Tables*, which transferred this Power to the assembled *Centuries*. The *Tribunes* also found their Account in the *Comitia by Tribes*. The Populace, who were the Majority in these *Comitia*, were entirely devoted to these Magistrates, whom they looked on as their Protectors against the Attempts of the *Patricians*. The unjust Proceedings of the *Tribunes* were confirmed by the Suffrages of

the Mob. So that, it is not surprizing, that they should now so obstinately insist on the People's assembling *by Tribes*. They could no otherwise succeed in their Design of destroying *Coriolanus*.

82 Antient and modern Authors differ about the Number of *Tribes* in the Republick, when the *Tribunes* proceeded against *Coriolanus*. They agree that there were but thirty five, even under the *Emperors*, the four *City-Tribes* established by *S. Tullius* included. It is true, antient Inscriptions seem to speak of supernumerary *Tribes*, not included in the thirty five; a List of which Historians have given us. But we are persuaded, that these antient Monuments have only given us double Names of some of the thirty five *Tribes*, which took their Denominations from the Places where they were situated, and sometimes from some illustrious Families in them. This is the Opinion of *Fabricius*, *Sigonius*, *Paravinus*, and *P. Manutius*, as to those which are called, *Sapinia*, *Papia*, *Cluvia*, *Cluentia*, *Ocriculana*, *Camilla*, *Dumia*, *Minucia*, *Julia*, *Flavia*, and *Ulpia*. It's certain, the three latter were three antient *Tribes*, which changed their first Names, and took new ones, from the Families of *Augustus*, *Vespasian* and *Trajan*. Which being supposed, the present Question is, what was the exact Number of the *Tribes*, before *Coriolanus* was condemned? If we may believe *P. Manutius*, there were at that time thirty one, namely, four in the City, and twenty seven in the Country. He builds upon the Authorities of *Fab. Pictor*, *Cato*, and *Vennonius*, as quoted by *D. Hal. B. 4.* But at this Rate, the *Tribes* must have been many more than thirty five in Number. Indeed, besides the four which were afterwards added, when the *Romans* had made themselves Masters of a Part of *Tuscany*, History mentions several others of later Date; as the *Tribus Pomptina*, *Publilia*, *Mæcia*, *Scaptia*, *Falerina*, *Ufentina*, &c. There must then have been more than thirty five *Tribes* in all. This Consequence has not escaped our most able Criticks; but has given occasion to their correcting several Copies of *Livy*, *B. 2.* and *B. 6.* where instead of twenty one and twenty five, we did read thirty one and thirty five. They have the Authority of some of the most antient MSS. to confirm this Correction; which was necessary to bring the Number to be exactly thirty-five, as all Authors are forced to acknowledge they were. So that we cannot admit of the Testimony of *F. Picior*, *Cato*, and *Vennonius*, in this Matter, without running the hazard of falling into a manifest Contradiction. Besides, 'tis certain even from *D. Hal.* himself, that there were but twenty one *Tribes* in all the *Roman* Territories, when *Coriolanus* was tried. *Twenty one Tribes*, says he, *then gave their Votes*. Nevertheless, *Manucius* pretends, that we ought not to conclude from this Passage, that there were then but twenty one *Tribes* in *Rome*. He is of opinion, that the *Tribunes* thought they could not be sure of succeeding in their Cabals against the Accused, without excluding ten other *Tribes*, which they suspected. By the help of this Conjecture, he thinks himself well supported, in contending, that there were thirty one *Tribes* in *Rome*, from the Year 262. But is it credible, that these ten *Tribes*, who were as jealous of their Privileges as the rest, should thus tamely submit to be excluded



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tence of coming to Market. The *Forum* was full of them. It was, for Order's sake, divided into as many square Parts, as there were *Tribes*, by Cords tied a-crofs; and every *Tribe* went into its own Square. Then the *Consul Minutius* ascended *The Tribune* first, and harangued the People in these Words.

ROMANS, you cannot but remember the Obligations the Senate has often laid upon you. Your Impunity for your Revolts, and the granting you Tribunes for your Protection, are Favours which call aloud for your Acknowledgments. The only grateful Return we expect for them is, that you would be content with the Submission of the Great *Coriolanus*, and not pursue a Trial which we consented to with great Regret, at the pressing Instances of your Tribunes. Your Right is confirmed, and your Victory complete: Where then is the Necessity of carrying your Hatred any farther, against the Defender of your Country, the most formidable Hero in our Armies, and the most intrepid Conqueror of our Enemies? All his Crime consists in his Liberty of Speech. And is not sinking his Pride to this humble State Revenge enough for that? But if you will carry on the Trial so far as to come to voting, remember that the whole Senate is come hither to sue for his Pardon. Will you refuse it to 300 the most venerable Men<sup>83</sup> in the Republic? No; the most bitter Enemy can never hold out against such powerful Intercessors.

WHEN the *Consul* had done speaking, *Sicinnius* the *Tribune* said, with a very haughty Air, That he was not so cowardly as to betray the Interests of the People; and, That he would take great Care the Assembly should not be broken up, till the Affair was determined by Vote. He likewise protested, he would not at all concern himself, either for or against *Marcus*; but would content himself with barely stating the Crimes of which he was accused. *Minutius* put him in mind, before he began, of confining his Accusation entirely to the pretended Tyranny of *Coriolanus*, that being the only Condition, upon which he obtained the Decree of the Senate; and *Sicinnius* promising all that was asked of him, began a studied Harangue. He run over the whole Life of *Marcus*, and in strong Terms represented every Part of it as discovering Marks of an ambitious Spirit, aspiring at regal Power. The *Tribunes* his Collegues spoke afterwards in their Order, and endeavoured to turn all the Hatred the *Romans* had conceived against such as would destroy the Republican Government, upon the Accused. At length, *Coriolanus* began to speak, and was heard with a profound Attention. He first enumerated the many Campaigns he had made in the Service of the Republic. Then he came to reckon up the Crowns he had been rewarded with by the *Roman* Generals. Every time he shewed the People any of these Proofs of his Valour, he called upon those Great Commanders who had honoured him with them, to testify the Truth of what he said. He likewise called over the Names of those Citizens, whose Lives he had saved in Battle. These cried out aloud in the midst of the Assembly, and intreated the People not to destroy him to whom they owed their Preservation. Others offered to take the Place of the Accused, and secure his Life at the Expence of their own. All who did this were *Plebeians*; and their Sighs made such Impressions on the People, as to draw Tears from them. They flowed from all Eyes, especially when *Marcus* open'd his Bosom, and shew'd the Wounds he had receiv'd in so many Battles. Then, with an Air of Confidence mixed with Modesty, he said, Judge ye, Romans, whether this same *Coriolanus*, who has saved the Lives of so great a Number of your Citizens, in War, could have designed to destroy them in Time of Peace. Judge ye, likewise, whether it be probable, that a Man who has done nothing to gain the Favour of the People, but hazard his Life for them, could design to usurp the Throne. Your Hatred is my Justification, and the Haughtiness laid to my Charge, is my Apology. If the Distinction which Bravery procures, be an infallible Sign of a criminal Ambition, I have deserved to die. But if it be rather the Mark of

cluded by the *Tribunes*? If they indeed favoured *Coriolanus*, would they not have joined with him, and the *Patricians* of his Party, in declaring all the Proceedings of the *Tribunes* without them null? They would doubtless have complained of the Injury which was done them by their Exclusion. *Manucius* himself was aware of this Difficulty, and is angry with *D. Hal. Plutarch*, and the other Writers, because they are silent on this Article. Indeed Historians have no where told us, that ever any *Tribes* were injuriously preferred before others, who had an equal Right with them, either in the Election of Magistrates, or in judicial Proceedings. Only when a *Pontifex* was created, the Number of the *Tribes* who voted were reduced to seventeen. But they were drawn by Lot, to remove all

just Cause of Complaint, and that Chance alone might decide it. Besides, it is credible that all the *Tribes* were united in the same Interest against *Coriolanus*; being all at the Devotion of the *Tribunes*. These therefore were so far from having any Reason to exclude them, that they found their Account in admitting them. They thereby secured a greater Number of Voices.

<sup>83</sup> The Senate then consisted of but 300 Senators. Their Number was 200, in the Reign of *Romulus* and *Tatius*. *Tarquin the First* added the other 100. If we believe *Florus* and *Plutarch*, *Gracchus* increased their Number to 600. It afterwards increased still much more, as will be observed in the Course of this History.



a generous Love for one's Country, let your Aversions cease, and be changed either into Compassion, or Repentance.

**CORIOLANUS** said no more. The most worthy Part of the People immediately cried out, he ought to be acquitted. They likewise agreed, that it was unjust to bring a Man of his Merit and Birth to a Trial, upon such slight Presumptions. Even the most mutinous, and the most envious, did not find that the Accusers had given any sufficient Proofs of the Crimes laid to his Charge. So that the Assembly was ready to break up to the Advantage of the Accused, when *Decius* the *Tribune* rose up, and laid a new Charge upon him, in this manner: *Since Marcius's Words and Behaviour are not sufficient to convince you of the tyrannical Spirit which reigns in him, a late Fact will make you fully sensible of it. We have a Law which requires our Generals not to dispose of the Spoil they take from the Enemy, according to their own Fancies. The Money it produces, belongs of Right to the publick Treasury. This Law is just, and has never been disputed. But did Marcius shew any Regard to it the last Year, when he brought back his Troops to Rome laden with Provisions? His Soldiers then lived in Plenty, whilst the rest of the People were pining away with Misery and Want. Did not he in effect give his Troops a License to plunder the Publick, and has not the Publick a Right to call him to account for it? Nay, what more certain Sign can a Man give of his aiming at tyrannical Power, than the making large Presents to an Army, in Defiance of the Laws? Let Marcius explain himself, and let him either prove that he did not dispose of the Spoils of the Enemy, or that no Law forbids it! The Fact is notorious, and the Law universally known. What more is wanting? Cease then, Marcius, to display your Crowns here, and to make a Shew of your Wounds. We don't judge of the Merit of our Citizens by a mad Bravery, but by their Observance of the Laws.* These Words of the *Tribune* gave a great Turn to Peoples Minds. *Coriolanus*, who was not conscious of having been guilty of Tyranny, in getting a Subsistence for his Soldiers, in time of Want, did not imagine this could have been laid to his Charge as a Crime. So that he answered like a Man not prepared for this new Chicane of the *Tribunes*. But the bare Fact, as striped of its Circumstances, and thus maliciously interpreted, seemed plainly to prove him guilty. The *Consuls* themselves, and the Senators, knew not what to answer. Then the *Tribunes* pronounced their Determinations aloud, and got *Marcius* condemned to perpetual Banishment. They were afraid, if they insisted upon his Death, the Compassion of the People would make them acquit him. The Suffrages were taken, and those for him were very near equal in Number to those which condemned him. Of twenty one *Tribes*, nine declared for *Coriolanus*<sup>84</sup>, and eleven against him. An unjust Sentence, which gave the People a Power of citing the Senators themselves to appear before their Tribunal, and thereby made the *Plebeians* superior to the Senate!

<sup>84</sup> In some MSS. we read *Lucius*, instead of *Decius*. He was then *Tribune of the People*, with *Lucius Sicinnius*.

<sup>85</sup> So that if two *Tribes*, adds *D. Hal.* had joined the nine, which voted for *Coriolanus's* Discharge, he would have been acquitted by the Law concerning the Equality of Suffrages. This Reflection of the *Greek* Historian has been Matter of Criticism with his Commentators. It is very true, that by virtue of an ancient Law, the Offender was acquitted, when half his Judges declared for him. For this, see *Aristotle's Problems*, Sect. 29. Quest. 13. This reasonable Maxim prevailed among the *Greeks*. *Æschylus* in his *Æumenides*, and *Euripides* in his *Iphigenia*, confirm this Custom, which passed from *Greece* to *Italy*. But, say the Criticks, if two other *Tribes* had joined the former nine, *Coriolanus* would have had eleven *Tribes* against ten: And consequently, there was no Necessity for having Recourse to the Law of Equality to acquit the Offender. He would have been sufficiently discharged, not on account of the Equality of the Suffrages, as *D. Hal.* pretends, but on account of their Inequality; he having eleven against ten. *Portus* started this Difficulty, without being able to solve it. His Remedy was to correct the Text of the Historian. He was of Opinion that the Copyists, either thro' Negligence or Ignorance, had not given it us entire. And upon this Supposition he pretends, that we ought to read *Ἀγὸς τὴν ἑκατοσύνην*, instead of *Ἀγὸς τὴν ἑκατονταίαν*. Which being supposed, *D. Hal.* says no more than

this, that in case *Coriolanus* had had eleven Votes against ten, he would have been acquitted by the Inequality of Suffrages. But besides that we ought to be very cautious how we admit of Corrections, *Portus's* Addition is disproved by all the Editions, and all the MSS. we have of *D. Hal.* Moreover, the Historian's Reflection would have been superfluous, and childish. There is therefore no Necessity for altering the Text, in order to make good Sense of it. The Interpretation seems to offer it self naturally, upon the least Reflexion on it. The Historian then meant to say, that *Coriolanus* wanted very few Suffrages to acquit him, since it was sufficient for that Purpose, to have his Judges equally divided. Now, in order to have the Law of Equality, which acquitted the Offender, take place in the present Instance, it was necessary, that two of the twelve *Tribes* which were against him, should join the other nine which were for him. *D. Hal.* could not think it sufficient for him to have less. One only would not have made an Equality. But supposing that he had the Suffrages of two other *Tribes*, the Offender would not only have enjoyed the Benefit of the Law, but would likewise have had the Advantage of a Majority. This is all *D. Hal.* means. He could not reason otherwise in the Case of an uneven Number, such as that of twenty one *Tribes*. As to the Opinion of those who pretend to infer from this Passage, that there were then more than twenty one *Tribes*, we have shewn it to be groundless.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXII.  
M. MINUTIUS  
AUGURINUS,  
and AULUS  
SEMPRONIUS  
ATRATINUS,  
Consuls.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXII.

M. MINUTIUS  
AUGURINUS,  
and AULUS  
SEMPRONIUS  
ATRATINUS,  
Consuls.

Plut. Life of  
Coriolanus.

But it must be granted, that if this Power of the People was afterwards the Cause of some unjust Proceedings, it likewise put a Stop to more Factions, and prevented many Attempts against the Republican Government. The Joy of the People, upon this great Event, is not to be imagined. The Commons of *Rome* never expressed so much, even after the greatest Victories. As the Assembly was dispersing, it was easy to distinguish the *Patricians* from the *Plebeians*, by the Sorrow or Gladness which appeared on their Countenances. As for *Coriolanus*<sup>86</sup>, he either had too much Greatness of Soul to sink under Adversity, or was too proud to appear dejected. He neither did, nor said, any thing unworthy of the Magnanimity he professed. Nay, when he came home to his own House, he did not seem at all affected with the Tears of his Mother *Veturia*, the Lamentations of his Wife, and the Embraces of his two Sons. The eldest was about ten, the youngest yet at the Breast. Not but *Coriolanus* had a truly tender Regard for his Mother. She, tho' descended from a *Consular* Family, and left a Widow very young, had made it her only Pleasure, so to form the Manners of her Son *Marcus*, as that he might attain to the highest Pitch of *Roman* Virtue. All *Coriolanus's* Discourses consisted of Exhortations to his Relations, to behave themselves with Constancy, under the various Events of Life. After this, he advanced towards one of the Gates of *Rome*, without either Money or Provisions. Many *Patricians* attended him to the farthest Part of the City; and when he had bid them farewell, he took only three or four of his Clients with him. Thus that illustrious Exile left his native Country, never more to return to it, but at the Head of an Army. He is said to have stopped at one of his Farms in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, to shake off his Uneasiness there. Here, being very pensive, restless, and deeply affected with the Affront which the Senate had permitted the People to offer him, he first formed a Design of revenging it: and among the many Enemies of *Rome*, he thought the *Volsci* the most likely to espouse his Quarrel. He therefore chose to seek a Retreat in this warlike Nation. He took it for granted, that his Reputation, and the Report of his Misfortunes, would soon gain him the Affections of a People, who wanted nothing but able Generals, to make them superior to the *Romans*.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXIII.  
QUINTUS SULPITIUS, and  
SP. LARTIUS,  
Consuls.

Diss. Hal.  
B. 7. p. 472.

§. XXIX. IN the mean time, this fatal Year to the *Patricians* expired. The People were assembled in the *Campus Martius*, and elected new *Consuls*. The Choice fell upon<sup>87</sup> *Q. Sulpitius*, and *Sp. Lartius*, who was now raised to the *Consulate* a second time. Peace reigned in the City, by means of the great Regards the Nobility shewed the People, and of the Plenty with which the Senate took care to furnish them. In these peaceable times, the *Romans* had Leisure enough to shew their Superstition, by attending to a thousand trifling Accidents, which they ascribed to the Anger of the Gods. Some gave Accounts of Visions, and of hideous Spectres which they had seen; others affirmed that they had heard miraculous Voices. Nothing was talked of but the Birth of Monsters. Some fanatical Women uttered Oracles to the idle People in publick; and threatened the State with great Calamities. Besides, a slight Contagion spread it self over the Country; but carried off more Cattle than Men. *Coriolanus's* Friends imputed all these Scourges to the Iniquity of the Sentence, by which he had been banished. The most sensible thought them only common Accidents, which are never attended to, unless when a profound Peace gives People time to reflect upon them. Thus all Mens Minds were full of the Prejudices which a false Religion inspires; when a *Roman*, named<sup>88</sup> *T. Latinus*, who usually resided in the Country, caused himself to be carried to the City. He was rich, advanced in Years, and then labouring under a very great Decay. He therefore came in a Litter to the Senate, and told the *Conscript Fathers* a Dream he had had. *Jupiter Capitolinus*, said

<sup>86</sup> *Livy* differs from *D. Hal.* in saying that *Marcus* was not present, when Sentence was passed upon him. *Ipse cum die dicta non adesset, perseveratum in ira est. Damianus absens, &c. B. 2.* The whole Proceedings in this Accusation, and the Circumstances of it, are told by the *Greek* Historian, with such Exactness, as justifies the Truth of his Relation. Whereas the *Latin* Historian passes hastily over this important Affair, which required a more particular Account. Besides, *D. Hal.* has the Testimony of *Plutarch* for him.

<sup>87</sup> *Q. Sulpitius* is surnamed *Camerinus*, in the *Fasti Capitol.* probably because his Family came originally from *Camerium*. The same Annals give *Sp. Lartius* the Surname of *Flavus*. *Livy* does not mention the

*Consuls* for this Year; but that perhaps may be owing only to the Negligence of the Copyists; or perhaps to the Historian's own Want of Exactness; he having given us but a very succinct Account of the History of these first Ages. Nevertheless, it is certain, we cannot omit these *Consuls*, without confounding the chronological Order of the *Consular Annals*, especially as to what relates to the Triumph of *P. Valerius*, which the *Fasti Capitolini* place in the Year 278.

<sup>88</sup> Authors differ about the Name of this *Roman*, whom *Plutarch* and *D. Hal.* call *Titus Latinus*; but *Lactantius* and *V. Maximus* give him the Name of *Atinius*. He is called in *Livy*, *Tib. Atinius*.



he, appeared to me, and commanded me to tell the Senators, That in the Celebration of the last publick Games, a bad Dancer led up the Dances; That he polluted the sacred Proceſſion; That thoſe Games had been diſapproved by Heaven; and That they muſt cauſe new ones to be celebrated. I neglected, adds he, the Admonition of the God, for ſome time, and thought it one of thoſe Deluſions which often deceive Men in the Night. But I ſuffered ſeverely for it. I had a Son; who was very handſome, and very healthy. He fell down dead all on a ſudden, in my own Sight, without any Appearance of being ſick. After this, Jupiter appeared to me a ſecond time, and to puniſh me yet more for my Negligence, threw me into the Condition in which you ſee me. I feel ſtrange Pains all over my Body, and my benumbed Limbs reſuſe to perform the common Functions of Life. Whether *Latinus* was an Impoſtor, and feigned Pains which he never felt, or whether the Devil had inflicted this Diſtemper upon him, under the Name of *Jupiter Capitolinus*; it is ſaid, that as faſt in proportion as he diſcharged the Commiſſion he had received in his Dream, to the Senate, ſo faſt he recovered the Uſe of his Limbs. This threw the Senate into an exceeding great Fright, and a greater Uncertainty what to do. Where could they find this Profaner of the Games, this Criminal, who had made them odious to *Jupiter*? But the Myſtery at laſt unriddled it ſelf. The Manner of celebrating of theſe Games was this. On the Day appointed for it, the Ceremony began with a Proceſſion which was conſecrated to the Honour of the Gods. This Proceſſion, which was led up by the moſt illuſtrious Romans, ſet out from the *Capitol*, went round the *Forum*, and paſſed on from thence to the *Great Circus*. The young Children <sup>89</sup> of the *Roman Knights* marched at the Head of it, all on Horſeback. They were followed by the Sons of the Commons, on Foot. Then appeared the Chariots, drawn by four, three, or two Horſes; and the Horſemen who were to run for the Prize. After them came the Wreſtlers, naked to their Waſts: And they were followed by the Muſicians, divided into three Chorus's. The firſt conſiſted of grown Men, whoſe Voices were all Baſes; the ſecond of young Men; and the third of Children, whoſe Voices were higher. Theſe Singers had both Wind and String <sup>90</sup> Instruments among them. They were followed by the Dancers, dreſſed in Purple, girt with Belts plated with Braſs, carrying Helmets on their Heads, adorned with Plumes of Feathers, Shields on their left Arms, and ſhort Javelins in their Hands. At the Head of them was one of their own Body, who regulated their Motions, and begun the Dances. Their *Entries* were grave <sup>91</sup> and martial: And theſe Dancers, called *Salii*, were choſen out of the chiefſt of the Nobility. Theſe were followed by another Company of Dancers, who were uſed to dance comical *Entries*. They were covered with Skins, and repreſented Satyrs; and had Caps upon their Heads, made like the Heads of certain Animals. Their Art conſiſted in imitating, and turning into Ridicule, the grave Dances of the *Salii*. All theſe Dancers were attended by a great Number of Muſicians, playing on all ſorts of Instruments. After them came a long Train of Men carrying Perfume-Pots, which filled the Air with ſweet Odours. And laſtly, the Proceſſion cloſed with the Statues of the Gods, which were carried on Biers, in great State, and thereby gained the Veneration of the People <sup>92</sup>.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCXLIII.  
QUINTUS SULLA  
PITIUS, and  
SP. LARTIUS,  
Conſuls.

C. Fabius,  
quoted by  
Dion. Hal. ib.

<sup>89</sup> Theſe Children, who were about fourteen or fifteen Years of Age, according to *D. Hal.* were ſo placed, that the Sons of the *Roman Knights* were drawn up in Brigades and Squadrons; whereas the others were formed into Battalions, divided into *Classes* and *Centuries*.

<sup>90</sup> Theſe muſical Instruments were, according to *D. Hal.* a ſhort Flute, which was very antiently in Uſe among the Romans, an Ivory Harp with ſeven Strings, and a Lute. In the Courſe of this Hiſtory, we will take Care to give the Reader ſome Idea of the Harmony of the Antients. A difficult and obſcure Subject, which deſerves to be cleared up.

<sup>91</sup> Theſe military Dances did not differ from the *Pyrrhic Dance*, ſays *D. Hal.* This Dance was very antiently in Uſe among the Greeks; whether invented by *Minerva*, who is ſaid to have been the firſt who ever danced, armed from Head to Foot, to celebrate thereby her Victory over the *Titans*; or whether, (to go up yet higher) invented by the *Curetes*, when, according to the Fables of Paganism, they endeavoured by jumping up and down, and clattering of their Arms, to drown *Jupiter's* Cries, when he was in his Cradle. *Pyrrhus*, the Son of *Achilles*, was, according to *Aristotle*, the Inventor of the *Saltatio Pyrrhica*, or the *Pyrrhic Dance*, which he danced in his Armour, round his Father's Funeral-Pile. But ſome aſcribe the Invention of it to another *Pyrrhus*, of *Cydon*, who firſt taught the *Cretans* this Way of dancing in their Armour, and how to quicken their *Cadences*. The *Pyrrhic Poſt*, conſiſting of two *Breves*, ſhews the Quickneſs of it. This Dance took its Name, according to ſome, from the Word *πῦρ*, which ſignifies *Fire*, to ſhew the Briskneſs of it; or from the Greek Word *πύρα*, i. e. a Funeral-Pile, becauſe *Achilles* brought it into Credit, by dancing it round *Patroclus's* Funeral-Pile. It was very much in uſe among the *Lacedaemonians*. They taught it their Children at five Years of Age.

<sup>92</sup> *D. Hal.* after his Account of this Proceſſion, takes occaſion from thence to prove, that the Romans were originally Greeks. He urges, as a Proof of it, the Agreement between the Games celebrated at Rome, and thoſe in uſe in antient Greece; from whence were brought into Italy, the Exercises of Wreſtling, and of Racing; their grave and military Dances, and their merry and comical; the Worſhip of the Great Gods, the Demi-Gods and Heroes: and in ſhort, all the religious Ceremonies ever praſtiſed there.

<sup>93</sup> This pompous Proceſſion, adds *D. Hal.* concluded with a Sacrifice which the *Conſuls* and *Prieſts* appointed



Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXII.  
QUINTUS SULLA,  
PITIVS, and  
SP. LARTIVS,  
Consuls.

THIS magnificent Ceremony, which preceded the Games, had been instituted by *A. Posthumius*, in Performance of a Vow<sup>94</sup> he made at the Battel of *Regillus*. And it happened on the Morning of the Day of this Proceſſion, that a ſubſtantial<sup>95</sup> Citizen of *Rome* had condemned one of his Slaves to be whipped. He had delivered him into the Hands of his Fellow-Slaves, with Orders to lead him through the Streets of *Rome*, and whip him in the Croſs-ways, in the *Forum*, and in the *Circus*<sup>96</sup>; that is, in the Places through which this holy Proceſſion was to paſs. And it was found out, that this was the ſacrilegious Leader of the Dance, with whom *Jupiter* had been offended. Perhaps the whole Fable of the Dream, and Cure of *Latinus*, had been invented by ſome Enemy of this Citizen, who had a Mind to deſtroy him. But be that as it will, he was condemned to pay a great Fine; and Preparations were made to begin the Games again<sup>97</sup>, with double the Expence as before.

Plut. Life of  
Coriolanus.  
Lic. B. 2. c. 35.  
Dion. Hal.  
B. 8. p. 481.

§. XXX. Whilſt *Rome* was thus enjoying Peace, and appointing the Celebration of publick Games, *Coriolanus* carried on his Negotiations with the *Volſci*, and fought nothing but an Opportunity of engaging them to take up Arms againſt the *Romans*. After he had reſided ſome time within their Territories, he ſet out for *Antium*. This was the Capital of a Canton of the *Volſci*; and few Cities in *Italy* were better able to contend with *Rome*. *Coriolanus* was not ignorant, what Terror his Name had left here, ever ſince the laſt Wars. But, beſides that Intrepidity was his Character, he had the Confidence to believe, that he ſhould be able to bring the *Antiates*, thoſe old Enemies of *Rome*, to join with him in purſuing their common Revenge. He likewiſe called to remembrance an old Warrior, an Inhabitant of *Antium*, who was the chief Man there, and had a conſiderable Inter-eſt throughout the whole Nation. His Name was *Attius Tullus*<sup>98</sup>. *Coriolanus* and he had often been Rivals for Glory, in Battel. The former thought he could diſcloſe his Reſentments, and entruſt his Life with no body more

appointed for this Office, offered up to the Divinities of *Rome*. They firſt waſhed their Hands, and then threw Water and Corn upon the Victims; which, after certain Forms of Prayer had been repeated, either had their Throats cut, or were knocked down with Clubs. Then they were ſkinned, cut in pieces, and ſome Parts of the Entrails, and of every Member, were cut off, and carefully ſtrewed over with Barley-Meal. Theſe Pieces of Fleſh thus prepared, were put into Baskets; and the inferior Servants, who took care of the Sacrifices, preſented them to the chief Sacrificers, who placed them upon the Altars, in order to burn them there. While they were burning, they were ſprinkled, from time to time, with Wine. This whole Ceremonial, adds *D. Hal.* was a direct Copy of that uſed in *Greece*; whence he infers, in favour of the *Romans*, that ſome jealous Nations do them an Injury, in queſtioning their having the Honour of being originally deſcended from the *Greeks*.

About 1615 l.  
Steril. Arbuth-  
not.

<sup>94</sup> *D. Hal.* alſo adds, that from this time, the Senate appointed the Celebration of theſe Games in Performance of the Vow made by *Aulus Poſthumius*, the Dictator. The Republick then appropriated a Fund of 500 *Minae* of Silver, for defraying the Expences of this Solemnity; which, according to our Reduction of the *Minae* and *Talent*, comes to about 25000 *French Livres*. This Sum was regularly paid, according to the *Greek* Hiſtorian, to the Time of the firſt *Punick* War.

<sup>95</sup> *Macrobius*, *Saturn. B. 2.* gives this Citizen the Name of *Atranius Maximus*: And he differs from the moſt celebrated Hiſtorians, in placing this Fa-ct much later than the Year 263.

<sup>96</sup> That his Punishment might be the more publick, and inflicted in the ſight of the whole City, the Maſter of the Criminal ordered the Wretch to be led before the Proceſſion of the Games, which *Rome* celebrated to the Honour of *Jupiter*. The Slaves who led him to his Punishment, had ſtretched out his Arms upon a forked Piece of Wood, which was tied to his Breſt and his Shoulders. In this ignominious Condition, he was followed by his Executioners, who frequently whipped the Wretches naked Body with Rods, as he paſſed. The Violence of his Pain extorted a thouſand Imprecations from him, and forced him to ſcrew himſelf into Poſtures which were ſhocking to modeſt Eyes. So indecent a Sight therefore

very ill agreed with the Solemnity of the Feſtival. So that upon the bare Relation of *Latinus*, the Senators, being aſſembled, called to Mind this Criminal. His Punishment was thought a Profanation, and they were perſuaded they needed to look no farther for the bad Dancer, whoſe irregular Motions had put *Jupiter* in an ill Humour, as being highly unbecoming the Solemnity of his Feſtival. *Plutarch* relates this Fa-ct much as *D. Hal.* does. But he does not ſay, that the Slave who was condemned to Death by his Maſter, had gone before the Dancers in their March. He only ſays, that the Proceſſion, or pompous March of theſe Games, paſſed by, as the others were thus cruelly tormenting this Slave: And, that at this Sight the Spectators, enraged at the Barbarity of the Maſter, uttered a thouſand Curſes againſt him, but did not quit their Ranks, or endeavour to deliver the Sufferer out of the Hands of his Executioners. This Inhumanity, adds *Plutarch*, provoked the Aſſiſtants the more, becauſe the *Romans* had then made a Law, requiring all to treat their Slaves with Lenity and Compaſſion. They looked upon them as their Companions in Labour; had a Fellow-feeling with them in their Sufferings; entruſted them with their moſt ſecret Concerns; ſhared their Drudgery with them; and omitted nothing that could alleviate the Yoke of Slavery. This Deſcription ſhews us the Moderation and Simplicity of the firſt *Romans*. This Cuſtom of ſtretching the Arms of a Slave along two Pieces of Wood, which were like a Fork, gave thoſe who underwent this Punishment the Name of *Furciferi*. Hence the Word *Furcifer* comes to ſignify a *Rogue*. Agreeably to this Cuſtom, *Plautus* makes one of his Actors reproach a Servant, in this manner,

*Et ob eam rem in carcerem te eſſe compaſſum ſcio,  
Et poſtquam es emiſſus, caſum virgis ſub furcâ ſcio.*

<sup>97</sup> On this Subject, *Plutarch* tells us what the Superſtition of the *Romans* was, at theſe ſolemn Times. If the leaſt Fault eſcaped them, the whole Proceſſion, and Sacrifices, and Games were begun again. If one of the Horſes, in the Chariots in which the Statues of the Gods were carried, happened to ſtumble, or if he that led them took the Reins in his left Hand, theſe were monſtrous Irregularities; and the whole Ceremony was renewed. It ſometimes happened, that the ſolemn Sacrifice was repeated thirty times.

<sup>98</sup> *Plutarch* calls this Warrior *Tullus Amphidius*, ſafely



safely, than with a brave Man, who might perhaps retain as great an Esteem for him, as he had conceived for *Attius Tullus*. At his House therefore he resolved to seek for an *Asylum*, without any previous Enquiries into his Inclinations. Accordingly, he disguised himself, as *Ulysses* had formerly done, and came into *Antium* in the Evening. Many People looked at him, but no body knew him. When he came to *Tullius's* House, he went in and wrapped his Head up in his Cloak. *Attius* <sup>99</sup> was at Supper in a private Apartment, when News was brought him, that an unknown Person, of a very majestick Air, but who would not speak, was come in, all on a sudden, and <sup>100</sup> fate down by his *Hearth*. The Novelty of the thing made him rise from Table: and he came to *Coriolanus*, who uncovered his Face, and threw himself at his Feet. *Attius* then asked him who he was. The *Roman* replied, *If you cannot recollect me, nor upon sight of me, remember who I am; I must of necessity discover my self to you. I am that Marcius, called Coriolanus, who was formerly so formidable to the Volsci. The bare mention of the Name must revive in your Breast your antient Enmity; but my present Misery will perhaps abate it. The Roman People have been so unjust, and the Senate so weak, as to condemn me to Banishment. I am come to seek a Retreat among your Domestick Gods, not to avoid Death; (for should I come to you to preserve my Life?) but what brought me hither, is an earnest Desire of revenging myself upon my Enemies and yours. Is not the very having recourse to you, doing so in some measure? Make the best use then you can of my Misfortune, and employ my Arm, to destroy our common Enemy. You have already had some knowledge of me, in the Wars I made with you. You shall know me better, when I shall fight for you. Resentment will give an Edge to my Valour; and the Experience I have had of the Stratagems of the Enemy, will secure you against them, in the Day of Battel.*

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXIII.  
QUINTUS SUI-  
PIUS, and  
SP. LARTIUS,  
Consuls.

Plut. Life of  
*Coriolanus*:

UPON hearing this, *Attius Tullus* received *Coriolanus* graciously, and with great Joy desired him to rise, and offered him his Hand. After he had assured him of the Friendship of the *Volsci*, and confirmed his Hopes; he invited him to Supper, and kept him in his own House. The following Days were spent in private Conferences about the Means of punishing *Rome* for the Mischief she had done the *Volsci*, and the hard Usage *Coriolanus* had received from her. The great Point then was, how to engage the whole Nation to declare against the Republick. The *Volsci* had lost many Men in the former Wars, and more by the Plague, for some Years last past. Though *Tullus* had a great deal of Power in the Diets of the Cantons of his Country, yet he could not promise himself, that he should be able to persuade the whole Nation to take up Arms so soon. But *Coriolanus* proposed an Expedient, whereby he removed all Difficulties. *We must, says he, bring the Romans to take umbrage at your Countrymen. You know how easily Rome is provoked: Which she shall no sooner be, but her Pride will certainly make her threaten the Volsci, or commit Hostilities upon them. Then we will blow up the first Sparks of a kindling War, and prevail on the Volsci to declare themselves Enemies to the Romans.* They waited some Months for a favourable Opportunity to open the Scene: And in the mean time, *Coriolanus* continued concealed in *Tullus's* House, unknown to the *Antiates*.

Livy, B. 2:  
*ibid.*

§. XXXI. The renewing the Games at *Rome* had been deferred till after the Election of the new Consuls. The People had chosen *C. Julius Iulus* <sup>101</sup>, and *P. Pinarius Rufus*; both Men of a pacifick Temper, fearful, and but ill qualified for military Enterprizes. They fixed the Day for the magnificent Show, which *Jupiter* had ordered to be repeated. The Report of it was spread among the neighbouring Nations, and the Concourse of Strangers at *Rome* was incredibly great. The *Volsci* especially, excited and led by *Attius Tullus*, and their own Curiosity, came thither in greater Numbers

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXIV.  
C. JULIUS IUL-  
LUS, and P. PI-  
NARIUS RU-  
FUS, Consuls.

<sup>99</sup> *D. Hal.* differs a little from *Plutarch* in his Account of this first Interview. *Tullus*, according to him, was sitting near the *Hearth*, when *Marcius* accosted him in a Suppliant Posture, in order to relate his Misfortune to him. Unless we say, according to another Version, and the Text of the *Vatican MS.* that *Marcius* being sitting near the *Hearth*, then threw himself at *Tullus's* Feet, for whom he was waiting.

<sup>100</sup> This was the Custom of Suppliants, in order to raise the Compassion of those to whom they fled for Relief. To draw near the sacred *Hearth*, was, in some measure, to put themselves under the Protection of the *Lares*, or Household-Gods, and the Master of the House. *Homer* represents *Ulysses* sitting in the Ashes in *Alemon's* Palace, whose Assistance he came to im-

plore. *Thucydides* says the same thing of *Themistocles*, when he came to the Palace of *Admetes* King of the *Molossi*. He threw himself, says the Historian, at the Feet of this King's Wife, who advised him to take her Son in his Arms, and stand near the *Hearth*, and wait there till *Admetes* returned to his Palace. *Plutarch* adds, in his *Lives of Themistocles* and *Thucydides*, that this Method of entreating was so forcible, that there was no denying the Petition of the Suppliant, without being guilty of Irreligion.

<sup>101</sup> *Livy* omits these two Consuls. The *Fasti Consulares* give *Pinarius* the second Surname of *Mamercinus*, which was pretty common in the *Pinarian* Family; as will appear in the Sequel of this History.



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Coriolanus.

than the People of any other Country. The Two-Years-Truce they had concluded with *Rome*, gave them free Liberty to come thither : but as they were eternal Enemies to the *Romans*, they met but with little Hospitality, and few Friends. They had therefore no Lodgings, unless in sacred Places, which were set apart for the Reception of Strangers on these Occasions. The *Volsci* went about the City in Companies, and their Numbers gave the *Romans* Uneasiness; which was increased by the Artifice <sup>102</sup> Tullus had concerted with *Coriolanus*; which was this. He suborned <sup>103</sup> one of his Nation a bold impudent Fellow, to come, and pretend to make a Discovery to the Consuls and betray the Interest of the *Volsci*. He told them, that *Tullus* was to attack the *Romans* the next Day, with a chosen Body of the bravest Youth his Nation afforded, and was to burn *Rome*, while they were taken up with the *Games of the Circus*. The Consuls were seized with a sudden Fright, immediately reported the Information to the Senate, and produced the Informer. He confirmed his first Deposition with such an Appearance of Sincerity, as gained him Credit : and the Senate instantly commanded all the *Volsci* to leave *Rome* before Sun-set, on Pain of Death. The Decree was immediately published, and the Consuls were ordered to take care to see it put in execution. They therefore caused all the Gates of the City to be shut, except the Gate *Capena*, through which he drove out the *Volsci*. *Attius Tullus* was at the Head of them, and the Number of the pretended Conspirators was surprizingly great. *Tullus* triumphed at his succeeding in the Stratagem which *Coriolanus* had suggested to him; but it was necessary to complete it, and make it produce an entire Rupture between the *Volsci* and the *Romans*. The Method he pursued in order thereto, was this; he got before upon the great <sup>104</sup> Road from *Rome* to his own Country; and standing upon an Hillock, stopped his Countreymen as they passed by, and exaggerated to them the Affront they had received from the *Romans*. *We only*, said he, *of all the different Nations that were in Rome, were not thought worthy to see the Games. Go, and tell in all your Cities and Villages, the distinguishing Affront the Romans have put upon us.* He found no difficulty in exasperating Minds already prejudiced : and the whole Countrey of the *Volsci* was very soon in a Rage. In short, at *Tullus's* Persuasion, a general Diet was called at *Ecetrae*, a City conveniently situated in the Center of all the Cantons of the Nation. The Deputies of every City were of opinion, that they were at liberty to declare War with the *Romans*, without waiting till the Truce expired, since they had first broken it. *Tullus* then advised them to search for *Coriolanus*. *Nobody*, says he, *understands wherein the Strength and Weakness of his Country consists, better than he. He is capable of doing the Romans more hurt than we have received from him.* He was brought to the Assembly, which he entered with a melancholy Air, and addressed himself to it thus. *Your Prejudices, illustrious Volsci, and the Reports which have been spread abroad at Rome concerning me, may perhaps give you an Aversion to an unhappy Exile. But in truth, the Zeal I formerly had for my Country is all my Crime. A Faction of Tribunes is there formed, who set no Bounds to their Desires. They indeed concealed their Ambition under specious Pretences of serving the Publick. Five factious Men stirred up even the Consuls to destroy me; and the Cause of their Hatred was the Freedom I took in opposing their aggrandizing themselves. Happy had I been, if I could have destroyed a College, so pernicious to my Country! My Misfortunes were begun by jealousy, carried on by Artifice, and at last completed by the Injustice of the Tribunes, and the Cowardice of the Patricians. But, tho' condemned and banished, I thought I ought not to sink under Adversity. Nor would *Coriolanus* have thought it worth while to live, unless to obtain Revenge. And tho' I had my Choice of many other Nations, to whom I might impart my Resentments, I have not had recourse, either to the Latins or Hetrurians. I chose rather to apply my self to a People no less warlike, than enraged against the Tyrants of Italy. Forget then the Terror my Arms formerly spread among you; or if you remember it, let it be turned into Confidence in a Man, whose Interest is the same with yours, and who devotes himself wholly to your Service. I am banished my Country,*

Dion. Hal.  
B. 8. p. 484.

<sup>102</sup> *Plutarch* speaks of this Contrivance in such a manner, as makes it credible that it was laid, without the Knowledge of *Coriolanus*. But *Livy* and *D. Hal.* assure us, that the Whole was an Artifice of *Coriolanus*. Such a Deceit was indeed unworthy a *Roman* Soul.

<sup>103</sup> If we believe *Livy*, it was *Tullus* himself who went to the Consuls, with design to deceive them. But it is utterly improbable, that *Tullus* should act so base a Part himself; especially since he was resolved to find out some fair Pretence for declaring War with the *Ro-*

*mans*. Doubtless, they would not have failed reproaching him with so shameful an Imposture, and would have taken occasion from thence to ruin him; or at least to dishonour him among those of his own Party, by publishing the Cheat.

<sup>104</sup> *Livy* says, it was at *Ferentinum*, that *Tullus* waited for the *Volsci*, in order to stir them up, as they passed by, to revenge the Affront they had received at *Rome*.



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torn from my Relations, and without hopes of being ever laid in the Sepulchre of my Fathers; Rome, thou hast declared me thy Enemy: and know, that I am so indeed! I will no longer esteem that my Country, which has thrown me out of her Bosom: The Country which receives and adopts me, will I look upon as my native Land. If the Gods grant us their Protection, illustrious Volsci, how formidable are you like to be! You may judge of the Opinion the Romans have of your Valour, by their Behaviour towards you. They have surrounded you with Colonies. They have not restored you any of the Cities they took from you, as they have done to other Nations. Rome aims at nothing but weakening you. But what a Change will you quickly see! Your Union and Constancy, in making War upon her without Interruption, will turn that Slavery with which you are threatened, upon herself. If my Experience in War and Politicks may give my Advice any Weight, I am of opinion, that we ought to make both Gods and Men Parties in our Cause, by making Justice the Foundation of the War. The Country, the Romans originally possessed, is neither spacious nor fruitful. They could not subsist, but by their Conquests. Demand then the Surrendry of what they have taken from you. But don't imagine, that Rome will do you Justice. She will be afraid, that the *Æqui*<sup>105</sup>, the *Albans*, the *Hetrurians*, and many other Nations, will come in their turn, and demand the Restitution of the Lands which have been forced from them by Violence. However, you will at least have the Credit of having taken Arms, only to recover your usurped Estates; and perhaps you will, by that means, stir up all the other injured Nations to be active as well as you. Don't let slip the present Moment, when Rome is divided, the Senate jealous of the People, and the Consuls are Men unexperienced in War. As for my self, I shall be very well satisfied to assist your Generals with my Counsels, and my Sword, without aspiring at any Command in your Armies.

CORIOLANUS's Discourse was received with general Applause. A Decree passed upon the Spot, whereby the Deputies of the chief Cities were appointed to go to Rome. Nor did the *Volsci* delay making Preparations for War, till the Senate had rejected their Demand. They thought the Great *Coriolanus* had brought them all the Valour of the *Romans* along with him. His Prediction indeed proved true. The *Romans* refused to surrender the Lands the Deputies demanded; and all they brought back, was this haughty Answer. *The Volsci will be the first who take up Arms, but the Romans the last who lay them down.* This Bravadoe of the *Romans* was reported to the Diet: Upon which, *Tullus* and *Marcus* were unanimously named for Generals. And the National Assembly was just upon breaking up, when *Coriolanus* desired that the Commanders might have Leave to raise an Army of Volunteers with the utmost Expedition; in order to attack the *Romans*, before they had raised their Troops, or made due Preparations for the War. Accordingly, the Generals raised two Bodies of Troops, by the Consent of the Nation. With the first, *Tullus* covered the Country of the *Volsci*, on the Side of the *Latins*: With the other, *Coriolanus* entered the Territory of *Rome*; and committed inconceivable Devastations in it. As this sudden Irruption was unexpected, *Coriolanus* found many *Roman* Citizens dispersed abroad about the Country; and these he made Slaves. The Cattle, Slaves, Corn, and Instruments of Husbandry, he either carried away, or broke to pieces. The Farms he burnt; and all the Country was in Flames. Nevertheless, *Coriolanus* did not give himself up so entirely to his Resentments, as not to observe some prudential Measures, and shew some Regard to his old Friends. He spared the Houses of the *Patricians*. By this he increased the Suspicions the Commons had of the Nobility, and kept up a reciprocal Enmity between the two Parties. The *Plebeians* at *Rome* complained of the *Patricians*, and accused them of bringing this dreadful Enemy upon them: Whilst the latter found it difficult to clear themselves, tho' they made it evident that this was only an Artifice in the General, to keep up mutual Discords between them. And their Disputes had this Consequence at last, that no Body durst appear in the Field to drive the *Volsci* out of the Territory of *Rome*. So that they returned home loaded with Spoil, and the whole Nation had great Confidence in the famous *Coriolanus*. They made Haste to raise a regular Army, which was to be commanded by the two Generals. It consisted partly of old Troops, and partly of Levies newly raised. *Coriolanus* was for dividing them into two Bodies, one consisting of Veterans, the other of the Youth who had been little inured to Arms. The latter were to remain in the Country to defend it; the former to make Head against the Enemy. *Coriolanus* left

Dion. Hal.  
B. S. p. 483.

<sup>105</sup> The *Æqui* formerly inhabited that Country in Italy, which is now a Part of the *Compagnia di Roma*, near *Subiaco*, and the Head of the *Teverone*.



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Livy, B 2.

ch. 39.

Dion. Hal.

B. 8. p. 489.

Plut. Life of Coriolanus.

his Collegue to choose which Army he would command, and what Part he would act; and *Tullus* did the *Roman* Justice on this Occasion. He left him the chosen Troops of his Nation; and contented himself with employing the others in repairing the Fortifications of dismantled Cities, in cleansing the Ditches round them, building Castles for a Retreat for the Peasants, making Arms, getting ready Convoys of Provision, and providing Machines for Sieges.

§. XXXII. *CORIO LANUS*, now at the Head of a noble Army, entered upon Action, without Delay. He first turned his Arms against the City of *Circæum*. It was a mixed Colony, consisting partly of the antient Inhabitants of the Country, and partly of *Romans*, transplanted thither. Neither of these thought it proper to maintain a Siege; and therefore surrendered to the <sup>106</sup> *Volscei*, from whom the City had been dismembred. So that they were left to enjoy their antient Customs, and nothing required of them but Clothes, and Corn enough for a Month's Subsistence for the Troops. This first Expedition terrified the *Romans*. The People renewed their Suspicions and Murmurs against the *Patricians*; as the *Patricians* did their Complaints against the People. *It was you*, said the *Patricians*, *who drove away Coriolanus*. *It is you*, replied the People, *who now bring him upon us, by your secret Sollicitations*. Urgent Necessity often unites divided Minds. The *Tribunes* came at last to a good Understanding with the Senate, which assembled; gave the *Consuls* a Commission to raise Troops in *Rome*, according to Law, and to get as many Auxiliaries as they could from the Allies of the Republick: And the Decree was confirmed by the People. As for the *Latins*, who demanded Succours against the *Volscei*, they had Leave to raise an Army among themselves, and give the Command of it to Leaders of their own Nation; tho' both these things had been forbidden them in the last Treaties of Peace they entered into with the *Romans*. Necessity made the Senate recede from that Point of Policy which they had hitherto had so much at heart. But what Ravages soever *Coriolanus* committed in the *Roman* Colonies, neither of the *Consuls* marched out of *Rome* to stop him. They had now but little time to continue in their Posts. Their Year soon expired: and the *Centuries* appointed <sup>107</sup> *Spurius Nautius*, and *Sextus Furius*, to be their Successors; who entered upon their Office in one of the most critical Years of *Rome*. It is surprizing, that none of those famous Generals, those Conquerors who had triumphed, and were yet living, were chosen, to act against *Coriolanus*. Perhaps the Republick was now more sensible than ever, how much one great Man may be missed in a State. The Conquests of *Coriolanus* followed one another with inconceivable Rapidity. His first Attempts were upon the Places the *Romans* had formerly taken from the *Volscei*. From them he went into *Latium*: but the Inhabitants of <sup>108</sup> *Toleria* made some Resistance. They defended their Walls with Bravery, till at length the Slingers cleared the Ramparts, which were scaled. *Coriolanus* first mounted the Ramparts, entered the Place, and ran to seize the Gates. He exposed himself to the Darts which were thrown from the Towers, as much as any common Soldier. The Action was renewed in the City; *Coriolanus* fought a long time there, and made a great Slaughter of the Inhabitants. Whilst he was striking the People with Terror in the Heart of the City, the *Volscei* poured into it in great Numbers by the help of Ladders, and made themselves Masters of the Place. The General gave it up to be plundered by the Soldiers; and without reserving any thing to himself, set aside one Part of the Spoil for the Gods, and another for the Decoration of Cities. The Plenty here was so great, that it required several Days to carry away the Riches. *Bola* <sup>109</sup>, another City of *Latium*, shewed the same Courage, and met with the same Fate. The Inhabitants would

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<sup>106</sup> Antient Authors give us no account of the Origin of the *Volscei*. They only say, they had a particular Language of their own. But it is conjectured, that they were a Part of the antient *Opici*, or *Osci*; and that they drove the *Siculi* out of this Country, which bordered, Westward, on the Country of the *Rutuli* and the *Latins*; Northward, on the *Æqui*, the *Hernici*, and the *Alarfi*; Eastward, on *Samnium* and *Campania*; and Southward, on the *Aurunci*, and the *Tyrrhenian* Sea. The antient Territory of the *Volscei* comprehended one of the most considerable Portions of the *Campagna di Roma*, since called *Pasiano*, *Velitri*, *Capo d'Antio*, and a little Canton of the *Terra di Lavoro*.

<sup>107</sup> The *Fusti* of *Cuspinian* give *Sp. Nautius* the two Surnames of *Rutilus* and *Viscellinus*. The Greek Tables give *Sex. Furius* the Surname of *Fusus*. This

was the first time these two Magistrates were made *Consuls*.

<sup>108</sup> The antient Geographers say nothing more of the City of *Toleria*, than that it stood in the Territory of the *Latins*, in the Neighbourhood of *Laticum*, and towards the Frontiers of the *Æqui*.

<sup>109</sup> *Bola* was upon the Confines of *Latium*, on the Side of *Prænestæ* and *Laticum*. *Livy* calls it *Vola*. It was a Colony from *Alba*, and belonged to the *Latins*, according to *D. Hal.* But *Livy*, on the contrary, says, *Bola* was subject to the *Æqui*. It is easy to reconcile the two Historians, by saying, that *Livy* comprehended the *Æqui* among the Nations of *Latium*. They were indeed Inhabitants of a Part of *New Latium*, as well as the *Hernici* and the *Volscei*.



not surrender by Capitulation, as *Coriolanus* expected; but defended themselves with Courage. They opened all the Gates of their City, and made Sallics upon the Enemies, from every one of them: And *Coriolanus* not being present at this Action, the *Volsi* were repulsed, after the Loss of a great many Men. But as soon as he heard of the Defeat of his Troops, he ran to them, rallied the Fugitives, and made them renew the Attack in the same Place. The Besieged made the same Resistance, and the same Sallics as before, but with different Success. The *Volsi* retired gradually, and by a feigned Flight drew the Enemy into an Ambuscade, from which *Coriolanus* attacked them, with a chosen Body of Men. Being therefore obliged to give way, and fly, the Inhabitants of *Bola* endeavoured to recover the Gates of their City, which were left open for them. But the General pursued them, and entered with them. When he had made himself Master of one Gate, he soon was so of the whole Place. It was first plundered, and then burnt. From hence the Conqueror hastened to <sup>110</sup> *Laticum*: And to strike the greater Terror into the *Latins*, who inhabited it, he set the Corn-fields on Fire. Nevertheless, the *Labicani* saw the Flames from the Tops of their Ramparts, without any Fear. They sustained the Attacks of the *Volsi* with Courage, and repulsed them in several Assaults. But at last, they were overpowered by the Numbers and continual Attacks of the Besiegers. Their City was taken and plundered, and the Inhabitants all made Slaves. The Torrent grew impetuous, and took its Course to <sup>111</sup> *Pedum*, another City of *Latium*, which *Coriolanus* carried by Assault. After this, all the Places before which the Conqueror appeared, were struck with Terror at the Sight of him, and surrendered without fighting. All the Nations who surrendered to him, were treated with great Lenity; *Coriolanus* spared the Men, and their Estates. He kept his Troops under strict Discipline, while he was in their Territories; and that he might not put any of them to Expence, made his Army encamp near the Cities, without suffering his Soldiers to enter them. *Treba* <sup>112</sup>, and many other <sup>113</sup> Places, which opened their Gates to him, experienced his Clemency.

§. XXXIII. It is surprizing that the *Romans* did not appear in the Field, to divert the approaching Storm. Was it that the Republick now wanted Generals to make her formidable? Doubtless, *Rome* had then no Commanders to head her Troops; the present *Consuls* were neither of them Soldiers. Besides, the People had no Confidence in the *Patricians*; and the Allies of the Republick were not in a Condition to relieve her. Several of them had gone over to the Enemy; the *Aequi* had joined the *Volsi*: And in short, the several Nations of *Italy* came in Crowds to learn, under a *Roman* General, how to make War against *Rome*.

<sup>110</sup> *Laticum* was an antient Colony from *Alba*; it stood in *Latium*, 15 Miles, or 120 *Stadia* from *Rome*. If we believe some, particularly *Albertus Leander*, the City now called *Valmonté*, was built upon the Ruins of old *Laticum*. But it is evident that he must be mistaken, since *Valmonté* is about 30 Miles from *Rome*; which does not at all agree with *Strabo*, who says, B. 5. that *Laticum* was but 120 *Stadia* from thence. *Cluverius* and *Kircher* pretend it stood where *Zagaruolo* now is. *Holstenius* is of Opinion, that we ought not to look any where for its old Situation, but where *La Colonna* now stands.

<sup>111</sup> The City of *Pedum*, formerly situated between *Preneſte* and *Tibur*, was not in being in *Livy's* Time; who ranks it among the Cities of Old *Latium*. *Cluverius* guesses it stood where *Gallicano* now is. *Holstenius* thinks its Situation suits better with *Zagaruolo*. *Kircher* places it in the Neighbourhood of *Oſteria d' Oſa*. *Pedum* was reckoned to be 9 Miles from *Rome*; i. e. 4 Miles from the *Fossa Cluilia*, which was 5 Miles from *Rome*.

<sup>112</sup> The City of *Trebia*, which *Livy* mentions in this Place, was in the Country of the *Aequi*, at a little Distance from the Springs of the *Anio*. It is doubtless the same Place which *Frontinus* and *Ptolomy* mention, under the Name of *Treba*, and which the Natives now call *Tréva*, or *Trévd*. It is plain *Livy* could not mean another City of the same Name, which *Pliny* places in *Umbria*, and the Inhabitants of which he calls *Trebiates*. Nor could he mean the City antiently called *Treballa Mutusca*, which *Arnobius*, B. 3. *Cont. Gentis*, calls *Trebia*. This last City belonged to the *Sabines*. Now it is certain, *Coriolanus* neither carried

his Arms into *Umbria*, nor *Sabinia*, since he had no Design, but to go directly to *Rome*, and take all the Cities he found in his Way. Nevertheless, it must be owned, that neither *D. Hal.* nor *Plutarch* say any thing of the taking of *Trebia*, by *Coriolanus*. Add to this, that *Trebia* was at a pretty great Distance from *Laticum*. Which made *Cluverius* think, that the Copyists may have been guilty of a Mistake, in taking *Trebia* for *Toleria*, the Siege of which is described by both the *Greek* Historians. It is certain, this last mentioned Place was in the Neighbourhood of *Laticum*, and pretty near the Rout *Coriolanus's* Army took.

<sup>113</sup> Among these Places *Livy* reckons *Satricum*, *Longula*, *Polusca*, *Corioli*, *Corbio*, and *Vitellia*. *D. Hal.* adds, that *Coriolanus* turned his Arms against *Corioli*, whose Inhabitants opened their Gates to him, and furnished him with as much Provisions as he desired. From thence, continues the *Greek* Author, he marched at the Head of his Army, directly to *Bovilla*, a considerable City in Old *Latium*. He besieged it; and the Besieged defended it with a Bravery which surprized the Besiegers. A great many *Volsi* perished in this Undertaking. But at last, after a long and vigorous Resistance, it was taken by Storm. Such of the Conquered as refused to lay down their Arms, were put to the Sword. The rest were made Prisoners of War. *Coriolanus* reserved nothing to himself, of all the valuable Spoils, and immense Riches, which he found in this City. All was distributed among the Soldiers. So signal a Victory filled the neighbouring Towns with such Terror, that they all immediately made their Submissions to the Conqueror.

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and SEXTUS  
FURIUS, Con-  
suls.

*Liv. B. 2. c. 39.*



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So that *Coriolanus's* Army was very numerous, when he sat down before *Lavinium*. This City was a kind of Mother to the *Roman* Nation, and thought it self obliged to continue faithful to it. The *Lavinians* fought several Battles under their Walls, before the City was invested; and the Conqueror was obliged to starve it. His whole Army watched all the Avenues to it, to prevent either Provisions or Succours from being carried into it. This was the first Siege which took up *Coriolanus* any considerable Length of Time; and whilst he was obstinately bent upon taking *Lavinium* in Form, the *Romans* had some Thoughts of appeasing this brave Citizen, whose Banishment was bringing on the Ruin of the Republick. They thought *Lavinium* was the last Place the Conqueror would stop at before he came to the Capital; and the People, who were formerly so furious against *Marcus*, were now continually crying out, to have the Decree of his Banishment repealed. And, which is scarce credible, the Senate, who formerly protected the Exile, now refused to comply with the Desires of the People. It was perhaps an Obstinacy in the *Conscrip't Fathers*, never to repeal any Law, which the People had passed, and the Senate confirmed. Or perhaps they thereby intended, either to enflame the Desires of the People, and oblige them to force their *Tribunes* to repeal their own Decree; or at least, to clear themselves from the Suspicion they lay under of maintaining a Correspondence with *Coriolanus*. However, the *Roman* General no sooner understood the Opposition the Senate made to his Return, but he divided his Troops. He left one Part of them before *Lavinium*, to carry on the Siege; and marched with the other towards *Rome*. So that the *Volsci* came and encamped at forty *Stadia* Distance from the City, in a Place called <sup>114</sup> *Fossa Cluilia*. This greatly increased the Fright of the People in *Rome*. Some ran upon the Ramparts without Orders; others, without Leaders, marched to defend the Gates; others went up upon the *Capitol*, to guard it; and every Man armed his Slaves to defend his own House. *Coriolanus* arrived pretty late in the Evening, in the Place where he encamped; and his Army spent the Night there in Tranquillity, without giving the City any Alarm. Nay, the best part of the next Day passed over, and still the General of the *Volsci* did not stir. This made it believed in *Rome*, that *Coriolanus* only waited for an Opportunity to reconcile himself to his Country. The Senate therefore thought it necessary to send a Deputation to him, consisting of the most illustrious Senators, who had formerly been his best Friends. Their Names are sufficient to shew what Rank they bore in the Republick. They were, *M. Minucius*, *Postumius Cominius*, *Sp. Lartius*, *P. Pinarius*, and *Q. Sulpitius*: And the Reader may remember, they had all been *Consuls*.

S. XXXIV. WHEN *Coriolanus* understood that a Deputation was coming to him from *Rome*, he took a Pleasure in humbling these proud Republicans. He gave them Audience sitting, and surrounded with the most considerable Nobility of the *Volsci*. *Minutius*, who had been his chief Advocate, was their Speaker; and his Speech was to this Effect: *We have offended you, Coriolanus, and you have revenged your self; we are not surprized at it. We are not ignorant, how keen the Resentments of an injured brave Man are: but don't you carry them too far? The Siege with which you threaten Rome, is a common Mischief to all the Inhabitants. Have all then deserved your Anger? The Senate always protected you. Were not the Patricians your Defenders or Intercessors, from the Time the Tribunes first moved to have us condemn you to die, to the very Day of your Banishment? Nay, as to the People themselves, by whose Suffrages you were banished, were they all guilty of passing the Decree? Nine Tribes declared themselves in your Favour. But what Injury have so many Women and Children done you, whom you are going to confound together in one common Destruction? How have the Innocent deserved to be involved in the same Fate with the Guilty? And what Answer could you make to your own Ancestors, if they were to ask you, what they have done, to deserve to see their Tombs opened, and their Bones scattered abroad by your Troops? What Answer will you make the Gods, who protected you in your Infancy, when they call you to an Account for the Profanation of their Altars, and the Demolition of their Temples? Revenge after great Injuries is very sweet; we grant it. But nevertheless, ought not Men, after all, to set some Bounds to their Fury? Are not the Devastation of our Fields, the burning our Granaries, the sacking our Colonies, and the reducing our Allies to Despair; are not all these Scenes of Horror sufficient*

<sup>114</sup> We have already spoken of this *Fossa Cluilia*, B. 2. p. 77. It was, according to *Livy*, B. 1. towards the *Appian Way*, five Miles from *Rome*. This Distance agrees with the forty *Stadia* of *D. Hal.* supposing every Mile to contain eight *Stadia*.



to satisfy your Revenge for the Injuries you have suffered? Fortune indeed smiles upon you, and she seconds that Valour with which you was born, and which you first exercised among us. But still these Things are the Gifts of Heaven: And who knows how long the Gods will continue them to you? It is therefore your Business to use the Advantages of Nature and Fortune with Moderation. A Pride which knows no Bounds, often meets with mortifying Revolutions. You may now make Peace with us, without any Dishonour to your self. The Senate will make a Decree for your Return, and the People pass a Law for it. We come hither to engage the publick Faith for it, and to be our selves the Guarantees of it. Return, Coriolanus, and see your Relations again. Your Country it self calls you back, even more for your sake than her own. You know the Condition Rome is in, and are not ignorant of her Strength. She wants neither Soldiers, nor Allies, nor Generals. Our Broils have been the only Reason that you have not been made sensible of it: But your Obstinacy will put an End to them, and then Experience will shew you that the Republick is invincible, even in the worst of Times. Don't judge of the Conquest of Rome, by those of Pedum and Bola. Remember, rather, that your Æqui and Volsci have not changed their Natures, since you have had the Command of them. Their past Losses have taught them to tremble at the Sight of Romans. Whereas the Courage of the latter will increase, in proportion to the Necessity to which you shall reduce them. And what will become of you, Coriolanus, if the Success should not answer your Expectations? When you are hated by your own Countrymen, despised by those among whom you sojourn, considered and accused by them as a rash Man, who made them undertake more than he could enable them to accomplish, what will you not have Reason to fear from their Resentments? Where will you fly for Refuge? At present Rome opens her Bosom to receive you; throw your self therefore into her Arms. Come and enjoy the tender Love of a Mother, who laments the Loss of you; the Caresses of a faithful Wife, and the Embraces of your Children—Avoid the odious Appellations of a bad Son, a cruel Husband, and an unnatural Father. Avoid the Remorse which attends tragical and barbarous Actions. In short, don't deliver your self up a Prey to the Furies, those Ministers of Vengeance upon wicked Men, who suffer them to enjoy no Rest or Peace after the Commission of great Crimes.

THUS spake Minutius. And Coriolanus gave him an haughty Answer, in these Words. I have more Parts to act than one. I am Coriolanus; I am an injured Roman; I am the General of the Volsci. Coriolanus, Illustrious Deputies, has not forgotten the Obligations you laid upon him. He remembers your Friendship with Pleasure. You have continued it to him, even since his Banishment. You have been the most avowed Protectors of my Mother, my Wife, and my Children. So that my Acknowledgments to you, can never be too great. Make your Demands, and you shall instantly see how far my Gratitude will carry me. But, as an injured Roman, is a bare Re-establishment in Rome a sufficient Satisfaction for what I have suffered? With what Pleasure can I return to a City where Injustice reigns, and Vice enjoys the Honours which are due to Virtue? Consider the Men who govern there, and the Man whom you have driven thence? The taking of Corioli, and the Battle I won, before I was so much as a Centurion, are such Monuments of my Glory, as eclipse that of your greatest Generals. And yet, what Benefit did I reap from them? Tho' I was refused the Consulship, and denied publick Honours, was any Defect in Birth, or Libertinism of Life laid to my Charge? You never yet punished Intemperance and Debauchery with Banishment: But you have driven me from Rome, tho' known to be a Man both temperate and frugal! What then was my Crime? It was my not consenting to have the publick Authority entirely in the Hands of factious Tribunes, and a senseless Populace. It was my inclining to restore it to the Nobility. This was the Transgression for which the Senate it self delivered me up to the Fury of the People. Yes, it is they, it is the Senators I accuse of being the Authors of my Misfortunes. The Injustice of the People indeed condemned me, but it was the Weakness of the Senate which put me within the Reach of their Power: So that Corruption and Iniquity are become universal in the Republick. And yet you would have me return to it. How shall I be safe there? What a shameful Life shall I be forced to drag on in Rome? Must I, to raise my self from the Dust, be forced to flatter the insolent Curia, and beg their Favour? Or shall I be able to live independently of them, as I formerly did, and speak my Opinion with Freedom? Who will promise me, that I shall not meet with a Sicinnius or Decius, whose crafty Intrigues and Interest will again arm the Populace to rob me of my Life? How can I be assured, that the Devastations made on your Lands, the Conquest of your Ci-

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Dion. Hal.  
B. 8. p. 502.  
Plut. ibid.

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*ties, and the Slavery of your Allies, will not be laid as fresh Crimes to his Charge, who has already been adjudged worthy of Death for bare Words? To desire me to return to Rome, is to desire to bring back a Victim to the Altar, which will always be in danger of being sacrificed, on the least Suspicion. I grant, this will never be done without your Consent; but the Danger is certain. You accuse me of Impiety. Have I been guilty of any towards Rome? I say, even towards Rome, that cruel Step-Mother, whom no Services could oblige, and who has thrown me out of her Bosom. The Country of the Volsci is now my Mother. She has forgotten the Mischiefs I did her; she received me, when a Wanderer, a Fugitive, and poor: She has been profuse in bestowing her Honours, her Magistracy, and the Command of her Armies upon me. Is it impious to abandon professed Enemies, and is it not so to betray the most affectionate Friends, when they place all their Confidence in me? No; I am not like you, Romans. I know how to acknowledge Obligations, and adhere to those who have done me Honour. Let Rome herself experience the Rage of those revengeful Furies, with which you threaten me! She is an unnatural Mother, who has cast off a Son, who was useful to her, and zealous for her Glory. As to me, the Gods sufficiently shew they approve of my Resentments. Success attends me, wherever I go: And Victory, which follows me, proclaims to all Italy, that Heaven has declared it self in my Favour. Thou, even thou, guilty Rome, shalt soon feel whose Cause the Gods espouse! Thus much I purpose as an injured Roman.*

*BUT the Resolutions of the General of the Volsci are these. Whatever Remains of Affection he may have for Rome, how much soever his Compassion may be raised, at the Prospect of the terrible Condition to which she is going to be reduced, yet it is not in his Power to preserve her. The Nation I serve impose Laws upon me which I cannot disobey. It is to her you must apply yourselves, in a suppliant Manner, for Peace. Nevertheless, I will presume, that in Regard to the Gods who protected me in my Infancy, and the particular Friendship I have for you, Illustrious Deputies, she will readily shew you Favour on the following Conditions. 1st. Restore the Volsci all the Country you detain, and all the Cities you have taken from them; and withdraw all your Colonies with which you have invested them. 2dly. Make such a Peace with them, as shall leave them in perfect Liberty; and let mutual Oaths unite you to the Volsci, as they do to the Latins. 3dly. Make the Senate sensible of the Injustice of invading other Mens Properties, and shew them what Punishment is due to those who are guilty of it. Let them know, once for all, that if they will usurp the Cities of their Neighbours, they must expect to see in their Turn, their own People, not excepting their Women and Children, justly reduced to Slavery. And add to this, that they do Wrong to accuse Coriolanus of the Misfortunes with which Rome is threatened; they ought rather to ascribe them to their own Ambition, and their unjust Usurpations. This is all the Answer you are to expect from the General of your Enemies, who allows you thirty Days to consider of it. In the meantime, I will, for your sake, Minucius, draw off my Army, which cannot continue here without great Detriment to Rome; but will certainly return at the Time appointed to receive your Answer.*

Dion. Hal.  
B. 8. l. 509.

§.XXXV. It was Coriolanus's Fate to be the Object of Jealousy, wherever he came. The Glory of the Roman was too bright; it even dazzled the Eyes of the Volsci themselves. Who would imagine, that the same Attius Tullius, who received him into his House, and by a voluntary Cession placed him at the Head of the Army which made Rome tremble, should be entirely changed all on a sudden, and become the most implacable of his Enemies! Coriolanus had given this unjust Rival no Offence, but by the great Glory of his Exploits. It is true, many of the Soldiers left the unactive Army Tullius commanded, to go and gather Laurels in the Field Coriolanus had opened: And it is true, his Collegue's Reputation eclipsed his, and drew all the Attention of the People to the brave Exile. But, after all, the Virtue of the Roman was all the Cause he gave for the Uncasiness of the envious Tullius. Nevertheless, he from this time resolved on the Destruction of Coriolanus. First, he whispered about secret Calumnies, and reported, that the Roman was a Traitor, and kept a secret Correspondence with Rome. These Suspicions he confirmed by the thirty Days Respite Coriolanus had granted his Country. He charged it upon him as a Crime, that he had let slip the Opportunity of besieging the City, and given the Romans time to recover their Strength, and prepare for a Siege: And it was easy for a Native to form a Party against a Foreigner, who had neither old Friends, nor zealous Protectors in the Country, into which he had been transplanted.



It seldom happens, that Men of true Merit are of a suspicious Temper. *Coriolanus* knew nothing either of *Tullus's* Jealousy, or of the Plots he was laying against him. He employed the thirty Days Truce, he had granted the *Romans*, in putting the Allies of *Rome* out of a Condition to assist her. He was not aware, that new Conquests would enflame the Wound *Tullus* had received; but marched into *Latium*. The first Place he besieged was *Longula*; which was taken, and its Inhabitants reduced to Slavery. From thence he hastened to *Satricum*, and made himself Master of it. All the Spoil he found in it, he sent to *Ecetrae*. *Setia* <sup>115</sup> next felt the Weight of his Arms: and the Conquest of it was followed by that of *Polusca* <sup>116</sup>, *Albietum* <sup>117</sup>, and *Mugilla* <sup>118</sup>. *Coriolanus* finished all these Expeditions with the taking *Corioli* <sup>119</sup>, which he restored to its old Masters. The signalizing the thirty Days of the Truce with so many Victories, ought doubtless to have removed the Suspicions *Tullus* had instilled into the Minds of the *Volsci*, concerning the Fidelity of their General: And no sooner were they expired, but he returned and encamped before *Rome* with all his Forces.

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§. XXXVI. Whilst the Conqueror was busy in the Country of the *Latins*, the *Romans* spent their thirty Days in Deliberations. The Temper of these Republicans cannot be better known, than by the Result of the Councils of the Senate. Their *Roman* Pride did not at all abate, notwithstanding the present Extremity. They resolved, never to receive Law from their Enemy, nor so much as ever to treat of Peace with him, till he had laid down his Arms, retired into the Country of the *Volsci*, sent an Embassy to *Rome*, and the *Roman*-People had consented to accept of his Terms. This we shall see will be the Conduct of the Republick in the most tempestuous Times. She will rather chuse to expose herself to utter Ruin, than stoop. The Senate now chose ten new Deputies to carry their Answer to *Coriolanus*, exhort him to lay down his Arms, and to procure an Embassy to be sent from the *Volsci* to *Rome*, to treat of a Peace. Upon these Conditions, they gave him room to hope, that they might resolve upon entering into an Alliance with the Nation, whose Troops he commanded. But *Coriolanus* declined to answer the long Harangue of the Deputies. He only told them, in two Words, that they gave a bad Turn to a bad Affair, and that he would give the Republick but three Days to change her Resolution. The Deputies would have replied, but the General would not hear them; he ordered them to leave the Camp, and threatened to treat them as Spies, if they did not quit it immediately. The Senate was much offended, and more affrighted, at the Report of the Deputies: but yet, did not think proper to march an Army into the Field. The *Romans* could neither confide in their *Consuls*, nor their Troops. Their Valour seemed entirely sunk, and their Wisdom changed into Stupidity. Their Fears made them understand all *Auguries* in a bad Sense, and interpret the *Sybilline* Books to their Disadvantage. All that could be done in this universal Dejection, was to appoint every one his Post, either on the Ramparts, the Towers, or the *Capitol*: And as their last Remedy, they had recourse to Religion; which, it is highly credible, they thought *Coriolanus* could not but be affected with. All the Ministers of the Gods in *Rome* were ordered to march out of the City, with great Pomp, and in good Order. This Deputation was, without doubt, very venerable, whether we consider the sacred Functions they were employed in, or the Nobility and Dignity of the Persons, who then exercised the Offices of *Pontifices*, *Priests*, *Sacrificers*, *Salii*, and *Augurs*. We may also conclude, that the *Vestals* made a Part of the Deputation. This sacred Company was dressed in the magnificent Habits they wore on Days of Ceremony, and every one carried in his Hand the Symbols of his Office. They harangued the General, and without abating any thing of the Pretensions of the Senate, exhorted him to lay down his Arms, return into the Country of the *Volsci*, and send an Embassy from thence to demand a Peace. But the Proposal was no better received from the *Pontifices*, than it had been from the first Deputies. They were sent back to the City, with Orders to declare to the Senate, that the Attack would immediately be

Dion. Hal.  
B. 8. p. 509.

<sup>115</sup> *Setia* was become a *Roman* Colony, since the *Romans* had taken it from the *Volsci*. Historians place it in the Country about the *Pontin Lake*, near the River *Anasene*, between *Privernum* and *Norba*. If we believe Geographers, it was the present *Sezza*.  
<sup>116</sup> Authors say nothing of *Polusca*, more than that it was a City of the *Volsci*, which had become subject to the *Romans*.  
<sup>117</sup> This City was probably not far off from those beforementioned. We can give no certain Account of its Situation.

<sup>118</sup> *Papirius's* Surname of *Mugillanus*, inclines us to believe, there was a City called *Mugilla*. But antient Authors have not determined the Situation of it.  
<sup>119</sup> We have already observed, that *Corioli* was subdued by *Coriolanus*. And we must therefore add, either that this City shook off the Yoke, immediately after the General of the *Volsci* had made himself Master of it; or else, that we ought to embrace the Opinion of *Sylburgius*, *Gelenius*, and *Cluverius*, who think we ought to read *Cora* instead of *Corioli*. We have spoken of the City of *Cora*, B. 2. page 94.  
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*Plut. Life of  
Coriolanus.*

*Dion. Hal.  
B. 8. p. 511.*

begun, if they did not submit to the Conditions *Coriolanus* had proposed. The *Romans* therefore resolved to hazard all the Dangers of a Siege: The Consternation among the Citizens was universal. The Women ran in Crowds to vent their Despair at the Feet of the Altars. All the Temples were filled with them. But the Ladies of most Distinction went up to the *Capitol*, threw themselves prostrate before the Statue of *Jupiter* who was there worshipped, and implored his Protection with great Lamentations. Among the rest, the illustrious *Valeria* signalized her Piety there. She was Sister to the great *Poplicola*, and had survived her dear Brother. Her Character was answerable to her Birth, and she supported the Reputation of her Family, by a constant Regularity. It was she, who seized with a sudden Fit of Enthusiasm in the Temple of *Jupiter*, inspired <sup>120</sup> the Ladies assembled with a Resolution, which saved *Rome*. *Let us not suffer ourselves*, said she to them, *to sink under our present Afflictions. What Men could not do, Women may perhaps accomplish. We may perhaps soften the Heart of a severe Conqueror. Arms are their Province, Persuasion is ours. Let us go, in this negligent Dress to the House of Veturia* <sup>121</sup>, *that Mother so tenderly beloved by Coriolanus. Let us agree to follow her in a Body to her Son's Camp, and entreat her to join her Tears with ours, for the Deliverance of her Country.* This Discourse of *Valeria* seemed to be inspired by the Gods. All the Ladies followed her, and flattered themselves, that *Coriolanus* could not be so insensible, as to hold out against the Tears of his Mother, his Wife, and his Children, when attended with all the Ladies of *Rome*.

§. XXXVII. WHETHER this last Expedient was tried by Order of the Senate, or not, is uncertain. But they seem at last to have connived at it. Be that as it will, the *Roman* Ladies came all together to *Veturia's* House. They found the Mother-in-law, and Daughter-in-law, sitting together, and busy in Work proper for the Sex. When *Veturia* saw them crowd in upon her: *What has brought you*, said she to them, *to an House overwhelmed with Sorrow? You*, replied *Valeria*, *are the only Refuge we have left in our Misfortunes. We have not been the Causes of your Grief. We come to entreat you to preserve our Estates, our Honour, and our Liberty, from the Volsci. Come away then, with Volumnia, and bring with you these tender Children, who may soften their Father. Your Presence will doubtless persuade him, to prefer the Preservation of his destitute Family to the Pursuit of his Resentments, and the Honours he may expect from the Volsci. His Return to you, is the least Favour you can hope from a Son, who has always been grateful and obedient. You will by this means purchase as much Glory, as the Sabine Women did, who reconciled their Fathers to their Husbands. Nothing can be more glorious, Veturia, than for you to attempt at the same time, to recover your Son, deliver your Country, and save the Lives of your Fellow-Citizens. Make no delay, since the Danger is great, and requires a speedy Remedy.* At these Words, *Veturia* burst out into Tears; recollected her self a Moment, and replied thus: *Alas! my Interest in Coriolanus is but a poor Refuge. What Impressions can Women make upon a Warrior spirited by Revenge? I am not wanting in Affection to my Country: but what am I now in my Son's Eyes, more than other Roman Women, who shares the Aversion he has for Rome. This he sufficiently shewed at his Departure into Banishment. Coriolanus, said he to us, is now lost to you for ever. I have no longer either Mother, or Wife, or Children. I renounce all, even my domestick Gods. Can we then hope to soften so hard an Heart? What shall we persuade him to do? What? To love a Country which has treated him injuriously? To betray a Nation which has received him into its Bosom? Shall we desire him to shew Compassion to a People, who had none for him? Let me alone, *Valeria*; let me spend my unhappy Days, destitute and neglected; and don't force me to undergo the Mortification of a Refusal, which will neither do Honour to Coriolanus, nor his Mother.*

THESE Words of *Veturia* were followed by the Lamentations both of *Valeria*, and the Ladies who accompanied her; but after shedding many Tears, they renewed the Application to *Coriolanus's* Mother. As they were, for the most part, her Relations and Friends, they employed Caresses and Entreaties; and several of them even fell down at her Feet. Till at length she complied, and suffered the Women and Men who were inclined to attend her, to conduct her to her Son's Camp. She took *Volumnia*, *Coriolanus's* Wife, and her two <sup>122</sup> Grandsons, along with her: and early in the Morning,

<sup>120</sup> If we believe *Livy*, it is not certain that the *Roman* Ladies did of themselves resolve to go to *Coriolanus*, and endeavour to persuade him. *Id publicum consilium, an muliebris timor fuerit, parvum invenio.* *D. Hal.* leaves no room to doubt, but *Valeria* was the sole Author of this Expedient.

<sup>121</sup> *Plutarch* gives *Coriolanus's* Mother the Name of *Volumnia*, and his Wife that of *Virgilia*. But in this he is contradicted by most antient Authors.

<sup>122</sup> According to *D. Hal.* after *Veturia* had complied with the earnest Requests of the *Roman* Ladies, they went to give the *Consuls* an Account of the



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*Veturia* and her Train set out in their Chariots, and took the Road of *Tusculum*, where the *Volsi* were then encamped. As soon as the Company was set out from *Rome*, the Scouts of the *Volsian* Army brought *Coriolanus* word, that a great Number of *Roman* Ladies were upon the Road, doubtless to make new Supplications to him. The General, who did not imagine it was his Mother and Wife, resolved to hold out resolutely against these new Deputies. In the mean time, the Chariots drew near; and a *Volsian* Officer, who knew *Veturia* and *Volumnia*, gave *Coriolanus* notice who they were. Upon this the General, already half subdued, walked out of his Tent, and met his Mother. He ordered the *Lictors* of his Guard to lower their *Axes*, and lay down their *Fasces*, before her. This was a Ceremony paid to the great Magistrates by inferior, whenever they met. *Coriolanus* thereby signified, that his Mother's Power was superior to his. Inflexible as he was, he could not see the melancholy Appearance *Veturia* made, the Tears she shed, and the Mourning Habit she had on, without relenting. He therefore came to her, to embrace her; but the haughty Matron, instead of being the Suppliant she appeared to be, assumed the imperious Mother, and addressed her self to him in these Words. *Before I receive your Embraces, Coriolanus, let me know, whether I am to receive a grateful or an ungrateful Son into my Arms? Am I now your Mother, or your Captive? Ah, Son, have I lived so long, only to see you first banished, and then become my Enemy? Could'st thou indeed be cruel enough to ravage the Country which gave thee Birth? Was not thy Rage abated at the sight of thy native Land? Could'st thou see Rome, without saying to thy self, There are my Domestick Gods; There dwells a Mother who loves me, a Wife who is dear to me, and Children whose Father I am? Wretched Veturia! Did I then bring a Son into the World, only to see him ruin my Country? Rome! I became a Mother only to destroy thee! Thou would'st have enjoyed thy Liberty to this Day, had I been barren! But thou shalt soon have thy Revenge on me for being thus criminally fruitful! No; I will not survive my Son's Dishonour, and thy Misery! Coriolanus, thou shalt either set Rome at Liberty, or walk over thy Mother's Body, to go and besiege it.* Thus spake *Veturia*, and the proud *Roman* was struck dumb at her Presence. She put a favourable Construction upon his Silence, and went on thus. *You fancy, Coriolanus, it is a glorious thing to have given so much way to your Resentments. But consider that it is a more shameful one, to grant your Country and your Mother nothing. This is a double Rebellion; it is monstrous Ingratitude. You have revenged your self upon Rome; but what have you done for me? The only Favour I ask, is to deliver our City from the present Danger; and shall even that be deny'd me?* This said, she fell down at her Son's Feet; and *Volumnia*, and her Children, threw themselves prostrate on the Ground. At this Sight, *Coriolanus* could hold out no longer; but amidst a struggle with different Passions, cried out: *You disarm me, Mother. May the Gods grant, that my respectful Compliance may not turn to my Destruction! You gain a Victory over your Son, which is indeed advantageous to your Country, but will prove fatal to him.* When he had said this, he retired into his Tent with his Mother, Wife, and Children. Here, being in private with his Family, he con-

*Dion. Hal.*  
B. 8. p. 523.

sign they had formed, for the Preservation of the Republick. The two Magistrates could not but applaud so generous an Undertaking. Nevertheless, they assembled the Senate, and laid it before them. But the Senators were divided in Opinion. Some said, That to permit the *Roman* Ladies to go into the Enemy's Camp with their Children, was evidently running the hazard of utterly destroying *Rome* at once: That this would be giving the *Volsi* a new means of subduing the City without striking a Stroke: That to deliver up their Wives and Children, in this manner, into the Power of the Enemy, was to deliver up themselves, and the most valuable Securities of their Love to their Country, to the Vengeance of *Coriolanus*: and that it was to be feared, that in order to force *Rome* to submit, he would retain them, without any regard either to the Laws of Nations, or to their Supplications. Whence they concluded, it was not fit to send any *Roman* Ladies to him, but such as were united to him by the Ties of Nature and Blood, and were for this reason the most proper to prevail on him to desist from pursuing the Destruction of his Country. Others were of opinion, that these ought not to be suffered to go out of the City; but that, on the contrary, they ought to be secured, as so many hostages, who were, in some sort, answerable for *Coriolanus's* Conduct, and might, upon occasion, dis-

arm the Conqueror of his Wrath. And lastly, several were of opinion, that the *Roman* Women should go with *Coriolanus's* Relations, to add Weight and Dignity to the Deputation. As to the Inconveniences apprehended, they added, that the Protection of the Gods, and *Marcus's* Probity, were sufficient Guarantees of the Safety of the Embassy. And this last Opinion, says *D. Hal.* prevailed. After this, the Consul repaired to the Forum, where they communicated to the Assembly of the People the Deliberations of the Senate. At the same time, they ordered all the Citizens to meet at the Gates of the City, by Break of Day the next Morning, in order to do Honour to the *Roman* Ladies, who went on this Embassy. When the Day was come, the *Roman* Ladies and their Children, met very early, by Torch-Light, at *Veturia's* House; and from thence they attended her towards the Gates of *Rome*. The Consuls had there prepared Chariots, and Mules, and such other Carriages as were necessary, and convenient for them in their Journey. They assigned all the *Roman* Ladies their proper Places: And they were attended part of the Way by a numerous Train of Senators and Citizens, who made the Air ring with their Acclamations and Wishes, with which they honoured these illustrious Heroines, as they went along.

sulted



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CCLXV.

SP. NAUTIUS,  
and SEXTUS  
FURIUS, Con-  
suls.

Plut. Life of  
Coriolanus.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 8. p. 526.

sulted with the two Persons who were most dear to him, how he should behave him-  
self, both with respect to the *Volsci* and the *Romans*. The rest of the Day was spent in  
Deliberations; and the Articles agreed on were these. I. That the *Romans* should not  
take any Step towards recovering their Losses, till the Peace between them and the  
*Volsci* was entirely concluded. This was to prevent lowering the Minds of the *Volsci*,  
and heightening their Suspensions. II. That *Coriolanus* should decamp the next Day  
and commit no Hostilities in the *Roman* Territory, as he passed through it, in his Re-  
turn to the Country of the *Volsci*. III. That after he had assembled their Chiefs, he  
should prevail on them to make a solid Peace with *Rome* upon reasonable Terms.  
IV. That if the *Volsci* would not comply, he should lay down the Command of their  
Troops. After a Conference so beneficial to her Country, *Veturia* and her Com-  
panions returned in the Evening to *Rome*, where they were received with the Accla-  
mations of the whole City. The Senate desired them to ask what Reward they pleased  
for so important a Service. *We ask nothing*, replied *Veturia*, *but leave to build a Tem-  
ple* <sup>123</sup> *To the Fortune of Women: We ourselves will be at the whole Expence of  
it. The Republick shall only furnish the Victims, which shall be constantly offered up to  
the Goddesses.* The Senate was charmed with *Veturia's* Disinterestedness: but would not  
suffer her to pay for the erecting the Temple, or the Statue which was to be worship-  
ped in it. This was done at the publick Expence. It is true, the Ladies afterwards  
made a common Purse to erect a second Statue of the same Goddess, in the same  
Place: And it was reported in *Rome*, that it spoke twice <sup>124</sup>, and said, IT IS YOU,  
ROMAN LADIES, WHO HAVE CONSECRATED ME. But prophane Writers themselves  
treat this miraculous Adventure as fabulous. Moreover this Temple of *Fortune* was  
appropriated to the Ladies. They went to perform their Vows at it privately, by them-  
selves. *Valeria* was the first Priestess in it, and *Proculus* the *Consul* dedicated it, two  
Years after. This Temple was very much frequented by the *Roman* Women; but it  
was decreed, that no Crown should be put on the Goddess's <sup>125</sup> Head, and that Wo-  
men who had had two Husbands should not be employed in any Offices about her.  
These were given only to young married Women.

§. XXXVIII. WHILST *Rome* was rejoicing at its Deliverance, *Coriolanus* led his  
Army back into the Country of the *Volsci*. As soon as he entered it, he divided all  
the Spoils of so glorious a Campaign among his Soldiers, and reserved nothing for  
himself. The greatest Part of them were mightily pleased to go and live in Peace in  
their own Villages. But some murmured at *Coriolanus's* Respect for his Mother and  
his Country. *Attius Tullus* was the first in raising the Jealousy and general Envy  
of his Army against *Coriolanus's* Troops, who were grown rich with Plunder; and *At-  
tius's* Party was strongest, for he was in his native City: *Coriolanus* and he having re-  
tired to *Antium* as soon as the *Roman* had disbanded his Troops. Here then, *Attius  
Tullus*, assisted by his Countrymen, summoned *Coriolanus* to appear before the *An-  
tiates*, accused him of having raised the Siege of *Rome*, and would have had him first  
lay down his Office as General, and then give an Account of his Administration.  
*Tullus* had a Right to assemble the People of his City, since he was yet in Office. But  
*Coriolanus* insisted, that he was not obliged either to lay down his Generalship, or  
give any Account. He pretended, that at worst, none could oblige him to abdicate  
his Office, till he had first justified his Conduct in an Assembly of the whole Nation.

<sup>123</sup> This Temple, according to *Val. Maximus*, was  
built four Miles from *Rome*, in the very Place where  
*Veturia* had softened the Heart of *Coriolanus*. *Fortuna  
muliebris simulacrum, quod est viâ Latinâ, ad quar-  
tum milliarium, eo tempore consecratum, quo Coriola-  
num ab excidio urbis maternæ preces depulerunt*, B. 1.  
ch. 8. The Senate likewise ordered, that the Memory  
of this Deputation should be perpetuated, by a publick  
Inscription, engraven on Copper.

<sup>124</sup> *D. Hal.* in Proof of this Fable, says, he had  
read it in the Books of the *Pontifices*. It was indeed  
their Business to record the most remarkable Events in  
historical Annals. This Custom had its Rise immedi-  
ately after the Foundation of *Rome*, according to *Tul-  
ly's* Account, who speaks of it in these Words. *Erat  
... Historia nihil aliud nisi Annalium consecutio, cujus  
rei memoriæque publicæ retinendæ causâ, ab initio re-  
rum Romanarum, usque ad Publium Mutium Pontifi-  
cem Maximum, res omnes, singulorum annorum man-  
dabat litteris Pontifex Maximus, referebatque in al-*

*bum, & proponebat tabulam domi, potestas ut esset pu-  
pulo cognoscendi, hique etiam nunc Annales Maximi  
nominantur.* As to this fabulous Story, which *D. Hal.*  
relates as true; *Plutarch* shews the Absurdity of it,  
and ranks it among Fables. The same Writers, and  
*D. Hal.* in particular, add, that *Valeria* offered the  
first Sacrifice to *Fortuna Muliebris*, in the Name of  
the People, on an Altar erected in the Place on which  
it was resolved to build a Temple to this Goddess.  
This Ceremony was performed, according to *D. Hal.*  
the next Year, in the Month of *December*, on the Day  
of the New Moon, which the *Greeks* call *Neomenia*,  
and the *Romans*, *Calendæ*; because this was the Day  
on which *Coriolanus* had laid down his Arms. The  
Year after, the Temple was finished, and dedicated  
on the seventh Day of *July*.

<sup>125</sup> *Servius*, on the fourth Book of the *Aeneid*,  
confirms this Custom. *Tertullian* speaks of it thus.  
*Fortunæ muliebri coronam non imponebat nisi Uni-vir.*



But as *Tullus* knew his Collegue was eloquent, and that the Reputation of his Exploits would make strong Impressions on the Minds of the People, to whose Service he had dedicated all his brave Actions, he did not care he should make his Defence before them. He likewise foresaw, that the general Diet of the *Volsci* would readily consent to a Peace with *Rome*, and raise the Glory of his Rival, by giving him the Honour of fixing the Terms of it. He therefore was resolved to have the Affair determined in the private Assemblies of the *Antiates*. The whole Time of them was spent in mutual Bickerings, between the two Generals, and in the Harangues they made to the People. But neither one or the other pretended to use Violence. They had a mutual Respect for each other's Dignity and Power; for *Coriolanus* had a Party in *Antium*, as well as *Tullus*. Till at length *Attius* got Interest enough to cause his Collegue to be summoned to come and answer a Charge of Treason. The brave *Roman* appeared on the Day appointed, and depended too much on the Goodness of his Cause, and the Superiority of his Merit. *Attius* became *Coriolanus*'s Accuser, and in a long Harangue inveighed much against the Foreigner; exhorted him to lay down his Generalship voluntarily; and stirred up the People to declare him deprived of it, if he did not resign it of his own Accord. Then *Coriolanus* ascended *The Tribune*, in his Turn. He would fain have been heard; but the Clamours of *Attius*'s Friends prevented it. Confused Voices were heard of some who cried out in the midst of the Assembly, *Stab him! Kill him!* and the seditious Multitude surrounded him in an Instant. In short, he was overwhelmed with Stones and Blows, and <sup>125</sup> died before his Justification was heard. Indeed, the Gratitude of the *Volsci* for their Hero, immediately revived; but too late for their own Good. They all regretted the Loss of a General, who had made them superior to the *Romans*. Among the rest, the Soldiers of his Army lamented bitterly the Death of so brave, and so disinterested a Commander. They flocked to *Antium* from all Parts of the Dominions of the *Volsci*. In their Concern, they were all earnest to shew some Proofs of their Gratitude to, and Esteem for him, after his Death. They changed his Funeral into a Triumph. After all Things were got ready in the *Forum*, they dressed up his Corpse in a General's Habit. In celebrating his Obsequies, they carried along with him the Representations of the Cities he had taken, and the Spoils he had brought home. Young Soldiers, of the greatest Nobility, bore on their Shoulders the Bier upon which his Body was laid. In this manner he was carried to the most considerable of the Suburbs of *Antium*, where his Funeral-Pile was prepared. All the People assisted at the Solemnity, in Tears. The Body was burnt, Victims were offered up, Wine, Oil, and Perfumes, thrown into the Fire; and, in short, every thing was done for him, which was usual at the Funerals of the greatest Kings. The Friends of the Deceased continued round the Pile, till the Fire was extinguished. Then his Bones were gathered together, and enclosed in the same Place, within a magnificent Tomb, adorned with all the Symbols of his Dignity. The *Romans* had their Reasons of State, for not decreeing him the same Funeral-Honours which had been done him at *Antium*. For after all, *Coriolanus* had born Arms against his own Country, and was now dead, before he had been reconciled to her, by a regular Treaty. But the *Roman* Ladies, upon presenting their Petition to the Senate, obtained Leave to bewail him, as they did for their Fathers and their Husbands. They went into Mourning for ten Months, which was the longest Time the Laws permitted it on any Occasion.

SUCH was the End of the famous *Marcus*, surnamed *Coriolanus*. With respect to his military Virtues, *Rome* never bred a greater Soldier. It is hard to say, whether his Success, or his Conduct and Bravery, were the greater; but it may be affirmed, that he was always successful, because always brave and prudent. His private Virtues, were those of an austere Philosopher, who never gave any Loose to his Desires. He was sober to such a Degree as to have an Aversion to the least Excess. He was so chaste, as not to cast a Look even on his own Wife, when she came, with the rest of the *Roman* Ladies deputed, to him. He was so obedient to his Mother, as to sacrifice his Revenge and his Life to her: And so disinterested, as to deprive himself of his Rights as General, and even of his own Subsistence, for the sake of his Soldiers. As to civil

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<sup>125</sup> *Plutarch* and *D. Hal.* agree, as to the Manner of his Death. They both say this Hero was killed at *Antium*, by a Faction of the *Volsci*, whom the perfidious *Attius Tullus* had stirred up against him. But *Cicero* says *Coriolanus* killed himself. *Fabius*, an ancient Author whom *Livy* quotes, pretends that he died

of extreme old Age, and used to say, towards the End of his Days, that no Affliction affected an old Man more, than the Misfortune of being banished his Country. But in this Diversity of Opinions, *Plutarch* and *D. Hal.* deserve the Preference.



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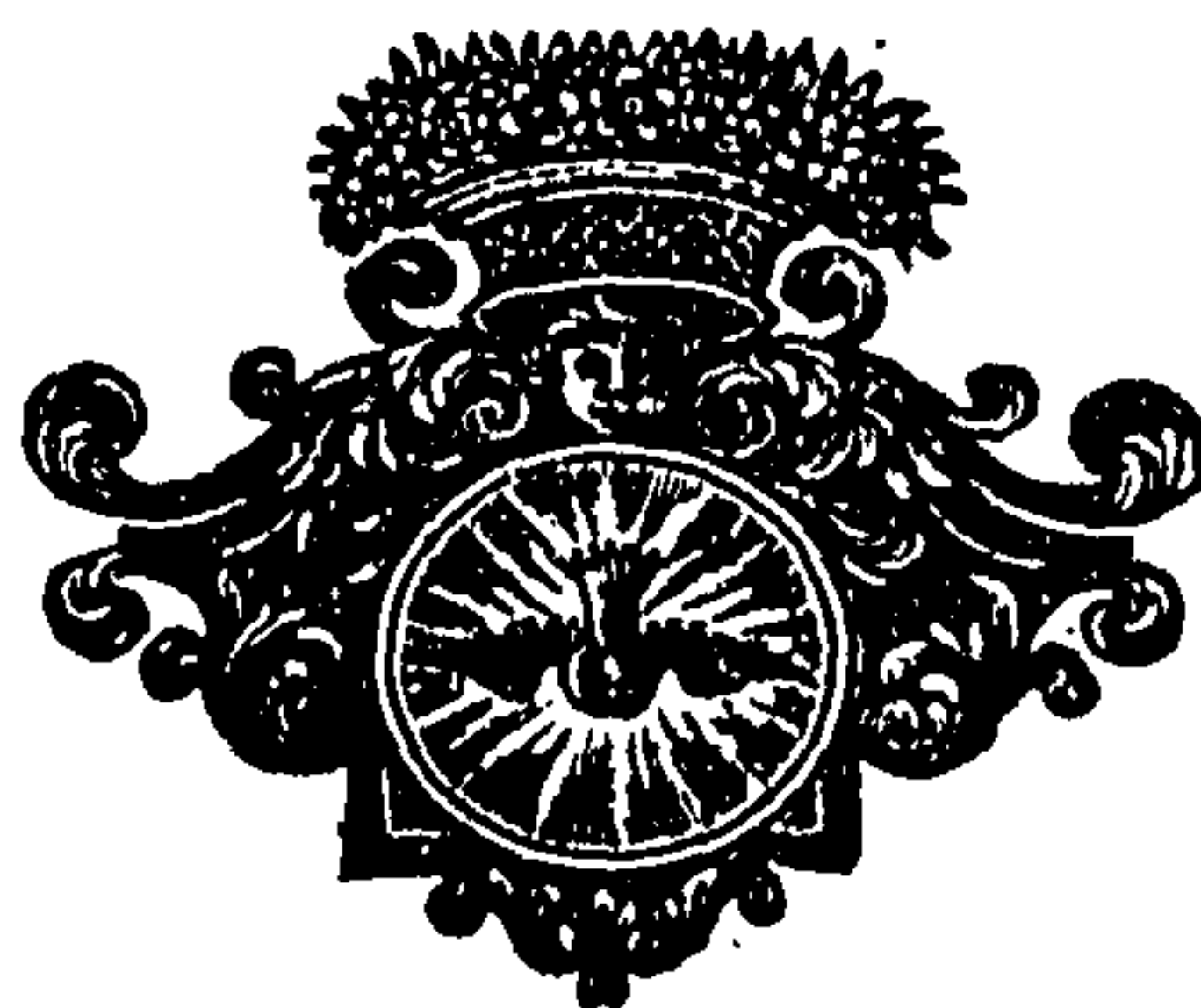
Virtues, he carried them to Excess. He was rigidly just; and his Love of his Country would not suffer him to bear the least Violation of its Laws. *Coriolanus* was inexorably severe, steady even to Obstinacy, in pursuing his Designs, sincere even to Roughness; and in short, was so far from making Dependants, or affecting Popularity, that he run into the contrary Extreme, which passed for Pride. But notwithstanding this Mixture of Virtues and Defects, his Country has ever honoured him as one of her Heroes. History has done him the Justice to say, that he could alone have greatly enlarged the Dominions of the Republick. Unhappy Factions hindered *Rome* from reaping any Benefit from his Virtues. But she was at last sensible of the Loss she had suffered by banishing him; and her own Misfortunes taught her how many Calamities she might have avoided, and how many Conquests gained, if she had known how to make a good Use of the Present Heaven had made her in him.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 8. p. 528.

THE News of *Coriolanus's* Death was no sooner brought to *Rome*, but the *Consuls* ventured to bring their Troops into the Field. They were both Men without Experience or Courage. They encamped separately, on Eminences, with Design to stand the Attack of the *Volsci*, who had now lost their General: And the Cowards made no Advantage of the favourable Opportunity their Enemies offered them. The *Æqui* and the *Volsci*, who were entered into a Confederacy against *Rome*, fell out with one another; and their Ambition was the Cause of their Rupture. Each Nation pretended to appoint the General of the Confederate Army. From verbal Contests, they came to Blows, and the *Æqui* and the *Volsci* fought a bloody Battle. They fell upon one another in a confused Manner, and the Night alone put an End to the Slaughter, which was great on both Sides. Nothing was easier, than for the *Consuls* to come and fall upon these fatigued and weakened Men, as the two Armies were decamping, in order to retire each into its own Country. The *Roman* Camp was but thirty *Stadia* Distance from the Enemy. But the Terror with which *Coriolanus* had filled the *Romans*, seems to have <sup>126</sup> survived him. The timorous *Consuls* durst not attack the Enemy in their Flight: They chose rather to return to *Rome*, than fight. *Nautius* and *Furius* led back their Troops to the City, where they were received with the Hisses of all the People. Happy was it for *Rome*, that these timorous Generals were at the End of their Year; she put on another Face, as soon as she had chosen new *Consuls*.

<sup>126</sup> Nevertheless, *Plutarch* affirms, that the *Æqui* and *Volsci* were overcome by the *Romans*, who took Advantage of their Divisions. He adds, that the perfidious *Tullus* perished in the Fight, with the choicest of his Troops. After which the *Æqui* and *Volsci* were

glad to accept such shameful Conditions as the Conqueror thought fit to impose upon them. It is probable this is the same Victory which made the succeeding *Consulate* memorable.





# T H E Roman History.

## B O O K VIII.

§. I. **R**OME had been humbled by *Coriolanus*, but she drew at least one solid Advantage from her Humiliation. For some Years past the *Roman* People, being intimidated by the lofty Airs of the haughty *Coriolanus*, had not placed any of those proud Warriors at the Head of them, who are usually less pliable and submissive than Men of Courage. But at length, after they had experienced the Inconveniencies a State suffers by being governed by Men of little Merit, *Rome* changed her Politicks, and chose two Soldiers to govern her, who had signalized their Bravery and Capacity in Battle. The first was *Aquilius Tuscus*, the second *Sicinius Sabinus*. Martial Vigour seemed to revive, under their Administration. The *Volsci* were old Enemies to the *Romans*, and did not at all abate of their Inveteracy upon the Death of *Coriolanus*. They had at least learned from him how to make War after the *Roman* Manner; that is, according to the Rules of Art. *Attius Tullus* was now the sole and unrivall'd Commander in chief of their Forces: And the new *Consuls* had Thoughts of marching their Troops first against the *Volsci*. But there had just started up a new Enemy against the Republick. The *Hernici*, who were contiguous to the *Latins*, and situated between the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, had long been Allies to *Rome*. It was always the Policy of the *Roman* Senate, not to suffer any Hostility to be committed on her Neighbours, without revenging it. In the first Place therefore, they sent a Deputation to the *Hernici*, to reprimand them as Allies, and reproach them with the Violation of their Treaty with *Rome*. But they, proud of their Alliance with the *Volsci*, and presuming yet more upon the low State to which the *Romans* were reduced, answered the Deputies, That the *Hernici* did not think themselves in Alliance with the *Roman* People; That the Treaty they had formerly made with *Tarquin* was personal; That it died with him, and was of Force no longer than while the Regal Power subsisted; That besides, the Hostilities they had been reproached with, had not been committed by publick Authority, but were the avaricious Proceedings of private Persons, who acted without Commission; That it would be difficult to find out who these Persons were; and, That, if *Rome* was for a War, the *Hernici* were ready. These Answers forced the *Romans* to divide their Troops into three Bodies. That which was to act against the *Hernici*, fell by Lot to *Aquilius*. *Sicinius* commanded that which was appointed to march against the *Volsci*. And *Sp. Lartius* was left with the third, in the *Roman* Territory, to prevent its being plundered. Lastly, *Sempronius Atratinus* was nominated to defend the City, in case of an Attack: And this wise Disposition was attended with great Success.

*AQUILIUS* marched out of the City with his Army, and had not far to go, in search of the *Hernici*. They were advanced to *Præneste*, encamped in a Plain which surrounded that City, and there waited for the *Romans*. The *Consul* came, and posted himself near them, scarce 200 *Stadia* from *Rome*; so narrow was the Territory of the *Romans* at that time. He had scarce three Days to entrench himself, and fortify his Camp, before the Enemy appeared in the Plain, in Order of Battel. The *Romans* immediately drew up against them; and the *Consul* gave the Signal. The Attack was begun, as usual, by Slingers and Darters, who were light-armed, and chosen out of the inferior *Classes*. This first Onset was without much Advantage on either Side, the Dead and Slain of both Armies were pretty near equal in Number. After this, the Cavalry of the *Hernici* came to an Engagement with that of the *Romans*; and at length the Battel became general. Both Armies stood their Ground a great while; but at last the *Romans* began to give way. They had for some time past continued unactive in their City, and had a little unlearned the Art of Fighting. But *Aquilius* soon remedied

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remedied the Disorder which he had apprehended. He had provided against it, by a *Corps-de-Reserve*, which he placed in the room of those whom he saw fatigued. He instantly commanded the latter to retire to the hindermost Ranks; and this Motion made the *Hernici* believe the *Romans* fled. They mutually exhorted one another to fall upon the disordered *Legions*, which were ready to disperse. But they found themselves opposed by fresh and intrepid Troops, who received them with as much Vigour as they were attacked. This made the Battel more furious than before; for the General of the *Hernici* had likewise relieved his harassed Troops with fresh Men, whom he had reserved for that Purpose. At last, towards the Close of the Day, the *Consul* encouraged his Horse to follow him, and with a Squadron of his Guards fell upon the Enemy's Right Wing. They sustained the Attack for some time: but being at length repulsed and broken, after much Loss, they dispersed. In the Left Wing, the *Hernici* bore hard upon the *Romans*, and distressed them. *Aquilius* therefore flew to their Relief; exhorted them to behave themselves well; called upon the bravest of them by Name; and suddenly snatching the Ensigns out of the Hands of those who bore them, threw them into the midst of the Enemy's Squadrons. It is well known, the *Romans* had a religious Regard for their Standards, and inflicted military Punishments on those who lost them. The Soldiers therefore made extraordinary Efforts to recover them; and at last penetrated into the very Centre of the Wing they attacked, and routed it. As for the main Body of the *Hernici*, it could no longer make any Resistance, after the two Wings were defeated. The whole Army now thought of nothing but regaining their Camp, and were long pursued by the *Romans*, who made some Attempts to take it by Assault; but the *Consul* was afraid of having his Victory disgraced by a Repulse before Entrenchments, which were not easily forced. He sounded a Retreat, and would not suffer his Men to pursue any farther the Advantages of the Day. Noises were heard in the Enemy's Camp all the Night long. The Soldiers, who thought themselves unable to engage again, mutinied against their Officers, and marched off in Companies, to return home. The Wounded, and they whom Sickness or Fatigue disabled from following the most Nimble, in vain desired them to wait for them, and be their Guard. Fear prevailed over all Considerations, either to Countrymen or Friends. Upon hearing these Noises, the *Romans* thought Reinforcements were come to the *Hernici*, and that they proceeded from their Joy at receiving them. They therefore continued upon the Watch all Night, and to shew they were upon their Guard, made a Noise with their Arms, all round the Camp: which Precaution increased the Terror of the Fugitives. They thought the *Romans* at their Heels; dispersed themselves abroad in the dark, and took different Roads towards their own Villages. The Return of the Light shewed the *Romans* their Enemies were fled. Then the *Consul* entered their deserted Camp; and there found as many Sick and Wounded, as were almost equal in Number to those who were well, and had escaped. A great Part of the latter were taken Prisoners, and carried into Captivity, under a Guard of *Roman* Cavalry. The Camp of the *Hernici* became a Prey to the Conquerors, and their Fields were ravaged by the *Consul* without Opposition, they having no more Troops in a Condition to stop him. This Victory roused the Indolence of the *Romans*, and the Glory they gained by it, animated them to assume their former Ascendant over the neighbouring Nations.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 8. p. 534.

§. II. AND indeed the *Volsci*, who were so formidable under the Command of *Coriolanus*, could not withstand the Valour of the *Consul* *Sicinius*. The Victory he gained over them was more considerable than that of his Collegue over the *Hernici*. But it must be acknowledged, that as *Sicinius* was to engage with a warlike Nation, elated with their past Victories, he had had the choicest of the *Roman* Troops. Besides, the *Volsci* had changed their Manner of fighting, under the Conduct of *Coriolanus*, and their wild unrestrained Valour was brought more under Discipline. They had *Attius Tullus* at the Head of them, who, notwithstanding his Jealousy of *Coriolanus*, had been his Admirer; and who, after having studied him, thought himself able to supply the Want of him. He began, after the *Roman* General's Example, with molesting the Allies of *Rome*. He imagined the Republick would send them no more Succours now, than formerly; and leave them to defend themselves. But in this he found himself mistaken. He was no sooner entered into the Country of the *Latins*, but the *Consul* *Sicinius* came and encamped within Reach of his Army. Upon this, an Action immediately ensued. The Field of Battle was so rough, uneven, and full of Ditches, that the Cavalry could not act on either Side: But the *Roman* Cavalry, who



who were sensible of it, could not content themselves with being useless in an Action, in which they promised themselves Glory. They went in a Body to the *Consul*, to desire leave to fight on Foot: and *Sicinius* thought he might make Advantage of their good Disposition. After he had formed the Squadrons into Battalions, he placed them near him, that he might send them to any Parts where the *Romans* should be worsted: And to their Courage may the Victory be ascribed. The Infantry of the *Volsci* was then not inferior to that of the *Romans*. They were equal in Number, made use of the same Arms, were used to the same Exercise, and as well understood, when to advance, and when to retire, when to attack, and when to stand on the defensive. In short, the Foot on both Sides observed the same Method in Fighting.

THE *Volsci* for a long time courageously sustained the first Onset of the *Romans*. The Inequality of the Ground sometimes gave the Advantage to one, and sometimes to the other: And whilst the Victory thus continued in Suspence, the dismounted Horse divided themselves into two Companies. One attacked the Enemy's Right Wing in Flank; whilst the other, after marching a great way round, came by the help of an Hill, to surprize it in the Rear. The latter first poured down their Darts upon the Enemy, and then attacked them closely with long Swords, and endeavoured to stab them in their Shoulders, Hips, and Legs. By this means, they threw down headlong many of the *Volsci*, who had climbed up upon Eminences, to fight from thence. On the other Side, the dismounted Horse, which had taken the Enemy in Flank, pressed upon them with Bravery. So that the Right Wing of the *Volsci* was surrounded on all Sides. It is true, they fought with all possible Art and Resolution; but were forced to give way to so vigorous an Attack. And when the Right Wing was once defeated, the main Body, and the Left Wing could hold out no longer. They widened their Ranks, retreated fighting, and endeavoured to recover their Camp. The *Romans* pursued them, and were there as soon as they. The Ardor of the *Roman Knights* prompted them even to attack the Entrenchments. Here therefore the Battel became more furious. The *Consul* ordered his Infantry to advance, to relieve the *Knights*, who were engaged in a dangerous Action; and they began with filling up the Ditch of the Camp. Then *Sicinius* himself advanced quite up to the principal Gate of it, followed by the bravest of his Horse. He first dispersed those who defended it, broke down the Barricades, mounted the Rampart, and rallied his Infantry upon it. Then *Attius Tullus* signalized his Courage against the *Romans*; and made extraordinary Efforts to repulse them: But after many incredible Exploits, he sunk under his Fatigues and Wounds. He deserved greater Commendations as a brave Soldier, than as a great Commander; but was inferior to his Rival *Coriolanus*, both as to Courage and Conduct. The Death of the General was followed by the taking of the Camp. All that made any Resistance were put to the Sword, and they who laid down their Arms were loaded with Irons. Few returned to the Country of the *Volsci*, to carry the News of their entire Defeat.

THIS remarkable Advantage revived Joy and Gladness in *Rome*. All the Temples were opened, and the Altars loaded with Victims, by way of Thanksgiving. Both Senate and People were very earnest, that *Sicinius* should triumph: and a new Decoration was added to the Pomp of the Conqueror in the Procession. The Chariot in which he entered the City, was drawn by Horses in Harnesses adorned with Gold. His Collegue had only an *Ovation* granted him. And indeed it must be allowed, that the Victory over the *Volsci* was more important, and every way more complete than that of *Aquilius*. Even the General of the Enemy had lost his Life, in the Sight of *Sicinius*. So that, it is not to be imagined, but his Glory must eclipse his Collegue's. The latter would have obtained a Triumph, if it had not been necessary to make a Distinction between the two Conquerors. Thus ended the memorable Year of two *Consuls*, who repaired all the Disadvantages *Rome* had received from *Coriolanus*.

§. III. THE happy Successes of the last Year, led the *Romans* to take delight in bestowing their Magistracy only on brave Warriors, and Men of Merit. So that the *Censors* pitched upon *Sp. Cassius*<sup>1</sup>, who had been twice *Consul* already, and had enjoyed the Honours of a Triumph; and gave him *Proculus*<sup>2</sup> *Virginus* for his Collegue. The *Volsci* and *Hernici*, though conquered by the last *Consuls*, yet were not out of a Condition of contending with the *Romans*. Besides, the *Aequi* had again declared them-

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R O M E  
CCLXVI.

AQUILIUS  
TUSCUS, and  
SICINIUS SA-  
BINUS, Con-  
suls.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXVII.

SP. CASSIUS,  
and PROCU-  
LUS VIRGINI-  
US, Consuls.  
Dion. Hal.

<sup>1</sup> The Greek Tables, and those of *Cuspinian*, give *Spurius Cassius* the Surname of *Viscellinus*.

<sup>2</sup> The *Consular Annals* call *Proculus Virginus* by

the Surname of *Rutilus*. *Diodorus Siculus* adds to it, that of *Tricostus*.

B. 8. p. 536.



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SP. CASSIUS,  
and PROCULUS VIRGINI-  
US, Consuls.

selves against the Republick, and were to make a Diversion with their Troops. It fell to *Virginus's* Lot to march against the *Æqui*; and to *Cassius's*, to make War with the *Volsci*, and their Confederates the *Hernici*. *Virginus's* Expedition against the *Æqui* was soon ended. He found nothing in their Country, but bare Fields and deserted Cottages. Upon the first Rumor of the advancing of the *Roman* Army, they had carried all their Effects into their Cities. The *Consul* therefore, who was not in a Condition to undertake Sieges, marched back to *Rome*. All the Glory of the Campaign was reserved for *Sp. Cassius*. He was an ambitious Man, and carried his Views farther than his Predecessors. He thought a third *Consulate*, and a Triumph, would be such Steps, as might raise him to an arbitrary Power in the Republick: Which being his main Point in view, he wholly turned his Thoughts to procure a new Honour, which might pave the Way for his Advancement. He at first judged, by the Conduct of the *Volsci*, and *Hernici*, that the Campaign would pass with only plundering the Lands of the Enemy. These two Nations had imitated the *Æqui*, *i. e.* had fortified themselves in their Cities, and appeared no more in the Plain: And whilst the *Consul* was preparing to burn the Country, and put it out of a Condition of being cultivated for a great while, the *Volsci* took a very prudential Step. They determined to come to a Reconciliation with the *Romans*. Besides, they did not think their Cities, Barriers strong enough to preserve them from Death or Slavery. They therefore were beforehand with the *Hernici*, and sent a Deputation to the *Consul*, to divert the Storm which threatened them. Their Offers were accepted; they paid the Sum required of them, furnished the *Roman* Army with all Necessaries, and swore never to dispute the Right of Superiority with the Republick any more. But the *Hernici*, who did not think of having recourse to the *Romans*, till they found themselves deserted, were not received upon so easy Terms. The *Consul* would not treat with them, till such time as they should acknowledge themselves overcome, and make their Submissions at *Rome*. Their Answer was, that they would accept all the reasonable Conditions which should be required: and in the mean time they furnished the *Romans* with a Month's Provision, and paid them all the Expence of the Campaign.

THE Truce made with the *Hernici* was no sooner expired, but their Deputies came to the *Consul's* Camp, to conclude their Alliance with *Rome*. *Cassius* received them graciously; but had so much Deference for the Senate, that he would not settle the Conditions of the Alliance, till they had first obtained a Decree from the *Conscript Fathers*, for their Admission into the Friendship of the *Romans*. And now the Senators, in their turn, acted a polite Part with the *Consul*. They passed the Decree, empowering *Cassius* to draw up the Conditions of the Treaty himself: And this first Mark of Distinction, which the ambitious *Consul* received, made him hope for a second. He ventured to demand the Honours of a Triumph. It is certain they were not due to him; and strictly speaking, the Senate were very indulgent in granting them. He had neither taken any Towns, nor gained one Battel. But they thought themselves at liberty to shew him Favour, in consideration of the Submission of those two Nations to him. Besides, his Triumph was a very plain one. There were no Representations of Cities carried in Procession on Biers, nor any of those long Trains of Captives, which were what chiefly graced a Triumph. However, this Honour, which *Cassius* had rather gained by Favour than Merit, discovered such a Fund of Pride in him, as made his Designs suspected from that time. Many were immediately jealous of him; and we shall soon see him sinking under the Envy of his Rivals, and his own ambitious Projects.

§. IV. *SP. CASSIUS* had no sooner been honoured with a second Triumph, but he set about drawing up the Conditions of the Treaty of Peace with the *Hernici*. He indeed did no more, properly speaking, than copy those which had been formerly granted the *Latins*, when they were received into Alliance with *Rome*. But this Condescension was suspected by the most sensible and most penetrating Republicans. They could not bear that a foreign Nation, but just reconciled to *Rome*, should be raised all on a sudden to equal Honours and Privileges with the *Latin* Nation, who had been long attached to the *Romans*. So that it was enacted, that two thirds of the Lands belonging to the *Hernici* should be taken from them. The Difficulty was, how these conquered Lands should be distributed. The two *Consuls* differed in Opinion about it. *Cassius* had his private Views: Hoping to be able some time or other to usurp a tyrannical Power in *Rome*, he thought to have attached the Allies of the Republick to himself, in order to find a Support, or a Refuge among them. He therefore did his utmost to get the Law passed which he had drawn up, and which was the first of those Laws, which the

*Romans*



*Romans* afterwards called *Leges Agrariae*. It is observed, that this Sort of Laws was scarce ever passed, in any Age, without Murmurs and Revolts. *Cassius* contended, that the Lands taken from the *Hernici* should be divided, in equal Portions, between the People of *Rome* and the *Latins*; and desired, that a certain Quantity of other Lands, which, according to him, had a great while belonged to the Publick, and had been usurped by some rich *Patricians*, might be divided among the poor Inhabitants of *Rome* and *Latium*. *Cassius* had indeed assembled the People the Day after his Triumph, and harangued them. After he had thanked them for the new Marks of Esteem he had just received from them, he promised them, that the Favours he had in Reserve for them, should exceed any the most popular Magistrates had ever shewn them. This Harangue was therefore enough of it self to offend the *Patricians*; and they were really enraged at him, when they heard him, the next Day, propose a Law to the Senate, about dividing both the antient Lands of the Publick, and those which were newly taken from the *Hernici*, equally between the *Latins* and *Romans*. Besides, the private Interest some of the Senators had, in not giving up Lands they were in Possession of, they considered this artful Liberality of *Cassius* as a thing prejudicial to the Republick in general. They foresaw, the *Consul's* Design in it was thereby to gain such an Ascendant over the *Roman* People and their Allies, as might render him the Master and Tyrant of *Rome*. They therefore made use of all their Power to stop the *Consul* in his Career, and prevent the passing of his Law. *Virginus* opposed it with Vigour, and gained all the Senators to his Side. He inveighed bitterly against the secret Designs of his Colleague, and represented all his Proceedings in the most odious Light. *Appius Claudius*, that austere Republican, assisted *Virginus* with his Advice, his Eloquence, and his Interest. So that *Rome* was divided into two Factions; one of which favoured the Law *Cassius* proposed, the other *Virginus*, who opposed it. The first *Consul* was always attended with a numerous Mob of *Romans* and *Latins*, who guarded him; the second, with the substantial Citizens and young *Patricians*. And it was happy that the *Tribunes of the People* chose the better Side. They, either out of Jealousy to see a *Consul* Author of a Law which favoured the People, or out of Zeal for the publick Good, were for *Virginus*. Or perhaps, they were afraid of aggrandizing a Man, who would have it in his Power to subdue them, when he became Master of the Republick. But be that as it will, they opposed *Cassius's* Law, in all the Assemblies. Nay, they had Address enough to bring over a good Part of the People to their Side of the Question. *It is a Shame*, said they, *to suffer Lands, which you have acquired by the Sweat of your Brows, and by your Blood, to be profusely distributed among Allies, who had no Share in your Conquests. Why are the Hernici to have one third of their Lands restored to them, since, as conquered, they ought to be entirely deprived of them? There is in this, Romans, a Design upon your Liberty; your Slavery will be the consequence of this fatal Division of Lands, which the artful Consul would make between you and Foreigners.* The common People are ever wavering and inconsistent. After *Cassius* had made his Harangue, they were inclined to approve of the Law; and blamed both *Tribunes* and *Patricians*, as betraying their Interests. But in a little time after, they changed their Minds, upon what the *Tribunes* said, and considered the Distribution of a Country which was to be divided among so many Claimants, as a Trifle. One Day then, as *Cassius* was endeavouring to persuade the assembled *Romans*, that it was, after all, better for them to enjoy each a small Piece of Land, than to suffer so large a Country to belong to the Publick; and as *Virginus* was labouring to divert them from accepting so mean a Present, one of the *Tribunes*, named *Rabuleius*, ascended *The Tribune*, and spoke. He was a Man of Wit, understood both the Interests of the People, and of the Republick; and promised to put an End to the Contests between the two *Consuls* in an Instant. Upon this, the People were very silent and attentive; and he addressed himself both to *Cassius* and *Virginus*, in these Words: *Is not your Dispute, at the Bottom, really this, Whether the Romans ought to take Possession of the conquered Lands themselves, or share them with the Hernici and the Latins? Both Consuls agree it is. As for you, Virginus, adds he, do you pretend that no Presents at all ought to be made to the Romans, or do you only contend, that the Latins and Hernici ought not to be admitted to any Shares in the Distribution of these Lands? Answer me sincerely, what is your real Opinion? I don't pretend*, answered *Virginus*, *to any thing more than to exclude the Latins and the Hernici, from an Advantage which of Right belongs only to the Romans. That's enough*, replied the *Tribune*: And turning about immediately to the Assembly, he said,

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and PROCU-  
LUS VIRGINI-  
US, Consuls.

*Dion. Hal.*  
B. 8. p. 537.

*Dion. Hal.*  
B. 8. p. 539.

*Livy, B. 2.*  
*ibid.*



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SP. CASSIUS,  
and PROCU-  
LUS VIRGINI-  
US, Consuls.

said, *Our two Consuls agree, as to the main Point; which is, Romans, that you take Possession of one Part of the Lands in Dispute. Lose no Time then in seizing what is unanimously granted you. And as for the rest, let it continue in Suspence, till Matters are brought to some further Determination.*

AN Advice of such Advantage to them was received with the Acclamations of the People. They demanded that that Clause of the Law which was favourable to Foreigners should be dropped. But *Cassius*<sup>3</sup>, who persisted in giving a Sanction to his whole Scheme, and saw what Opposition the *Tribunes* made to his Designs, dismissed the Assembly, and brought nothing to a Conclusion. As then the People were all inclined to favour *Virginus*, his Collegue did not appear in publick, and pretended to be indisposed. But he was contriving how to force them to accept a Law, which he had not Interest enough to get passed by fair Means. To this End, he brought as many *Latins* to *Rome* as he could. But *Virginus*, who perceived his Design, published a Decree, commanding all such as were not Inhabitants of *Rome*, to leave it immediately. *Cassius*, on the other hand, made a contrary Edict, and declared it lawful for any *Roman* Citizen to continue in the City, till after the Law had been accepted. It is well known the *Latins*<sup>4</sup> had then the Privileges of *Roman* Citizens. In the present State of Affairs therefore, the Republick was threatened with a popular Sedition, and it was to be feared it would end in Blows. So that the Senate assembled to prevent these publick Calamities. *Appius Claudius* declared his Opinion first; and his natural Severity led him to oppose *Cassius's* Law, in both its Parts. He declared himself for not distributing any of the conquered Lands among the *Romans*, and much less among Foreigners. His Discourse was interspersed with bitter Invectives against *Virginus*, who had run into too great an Indulgence of the People of *Rome*, and the *Tribunes*. He contended for continuing the Right of all the Lands lately conquered, to the Publick; for having a Part of them sold to private Persons; for putting the Produce of it into the publick Treasury, for defraying the Expences of the Army; and for farming out the Remainder for five Years, for the Benefit of the State. As to the old Lands usurped by the Nobility, he proposed, That they should be sold, as well as the rest; and, That the Purchasers should have Power to bring Actions against the Possessors, and oblige them to produce their Titles. And lastly, he moved, That some Men of Probity might be chosen by the Senate, to go and measure these Lands; to settle the Boundaries of them; and to judge of the Disputes which might arise, concerning their Limits and Appurtenances. *The People*, added he, *are indeed more nearly concerned in Interest, to see the new Lands added to the publick Demesnes, than to possess them, in small Parcels, as their own Property. The richer the Treasury is, the less Occasion there will be for Taxes. Our Citizens will, in this case, enjoy Peace and Tranquillity in their native City, without either running the Hazards of an uncertain Crop, or being obliged to defend these Lands against the Incursions of Enemies.* This Advice of *Appius* was thought reasonable. He was a Man very ready at Expedients; but the Soveraignty of his Temper, and the Austerity of his Virtue, always led him to mix something very harsh with them, which it was necessary to qualify. *Sempronius Atratinus* spoke next, made a good Use of the Light *Appius Claudius* had given him, and reformed his Scheme. He agreed, that in the Distribution of Lands the Interests of the publick Treasury were not to be entirely sacrificed to those of private Men: And voted for retaining a Part of those Lands to the Publick. He added, that it was also necessary to make Presents, in the first place, to the poor People in *Rome*; and in the next, to such of the Allies as were in Want, both *Latins* and *Hernici*. His Method of

<sup>3</sup> *Livy* adds, that *Cassius* proposed at the same time, that the Money arising from the Sale of the Corn lately brought from *Sicily*, should be divided among the common People. By this, he pretended to make the *Roman* People amends for the Lands, which his *Agrarian* Law granted to Foreigners. By thus courting the Favour of both Allies and Citizens, he thought to have got himself the Suffrages of both, and depended, that all would unite in promoting his ambitious Designs.

<sup>4</sup> The *Latins* then enjoyed the Rights of *Roman* Citizens, by virtue of the Treaty of Alliance *Sp. Cassius* had concluded between them and the *Romans*. *Cassius* himself glories, (in the Speech *D. Hal.* makes him pronounce to the People) in having re-united the two Nations, and established the *Latins* in the Possession of the Privileges of *Roman* Citizens. Since that time, adds

*Cassius*, *Rome* is become the common Country of both Nations, who were before jealous of one another. Nevertheless, it is certain, the Privileges granted the *Latins*, were very much limited. They were not enrolled in the *Tribes*. If they sometimes voted, it was only in extraordinary Cases, and with the Consent of the chief Magistrates, who summoned them to the Assemblies. They were not incorporated into the *Legions*. And lastly, they could not stand for publick Posts. So that, the Right of Citizenship which was granted them, was little more than a bare Title of Honour; which nevertheless they might make use of to Advantage on some Occasions. Besides, they had their own Laws, and their own peculiar Immunities, which we shall give a particular Account of, when we come to speak of the Rights of *Latinity*.



making the Distribution was this: He observed, that there were two Sorts of Lands to be divided; some which were formerly conquered by the *Romans* alone, without the Assistance of the Allies; and some which had been lately conquered from the *Hernici*, by the Assistance of the *Latins*. As to the former, he thought they ought only to be divided between the publick Treasury and the indigent *Romans*. The latter, he was of Opinion, ought to be shared between the Publick, the *Romans*, the *Latins*, and the *Hernici*. This he thought would be to every Body's Satisfaction; to that of the *Romans*, inasmuch as they would have the greatest Share; of the *Latins*, inasmuch as they would be admitted to partake of the Lands they had helped to conquer; and of the *Hernici*, inasmuch as they would hereby find that they had not stripped themselves of all their Possessions, upon becoming subject to the *Romans*. He added, that he was of *Appius's* Opinion, as to the Creation of a College of ten Senators, under the Name of *Decemviri*, whose Office it should be, to divide these Lands, to regulate the Distribution of them, and to determine the Differences which would infallibly arise about their Limits.

*SEMPRONIUS's* Opinion was received with universal Applause, and drawn up into a Decree of the Senate, which had the Force of a Law. It enacted, That ten of the *Fathers*, who had been *Consuls*, should be appointed to divide the Lands between the Treasury, the *Romans*, and their Allies; That for the future, all the Lands the *Romans* conquered with the Assistance of their Allies, should be divided between the publick Treasury, the Citizens of *Rome*, and those Allies; and lastly, That the Choice of the first *Decemviri* should be left to the *Consuls* of the ensuing Year. This wise Law re-established Peace in *Rome*. The ambitious *Cassius* did not draw the Advantage he expected, from those engaging Liberalities he would fain have had the sole Merit of granting, both to the *Romans* and their Confederates. And at length, the Disputes between him and his Colleague ended with their *Consulship*.

§. V. THE People, being assembled in the *Campus Martius*, chose *Q. Fabius*, and *S. Cornelius*, to be the next *Consuls*. The *Quæstors* which the Republick appointed at the same time, were two young *Patricians* of great Distinction. One of them, *Cæso Fabius*, was Brother to one of the *Consuls*. The other, whose Name was *L. Valerius*, was the Son of *M. Valerius*, Brother to the famous *Poplicola*. The Nobleness of their Extraction, their great Riches, the Multitude of their Clients, the new Office they were invested with, and their personal Merit, made them venture to begin a Prosecution against *Sp. Cassius*, as soon as he was out of his *Consulship*. The *Quæstorship* gave them a Right<sup>6</sup> of assembling the People, and consulting with them about the Affairs of the Finances. They therefore summoned the old *Consul* to appear before their Tribunal, and answer for his endeavouring to rob the publick Treasury of its Effects, in order to distribute them in Bounties to Foreigners. They accused him of being an ambitious Man, who aim'd at usurping a tyrannical Power in *Rome*, by means of liberal Donations, at the Expence of the Publick. The Accusation was heavy; and the Conviction of the Criminal must involve many Men in Office in the same Ruin with *Sp. Cassius*. On the Day appointed, the People came in very great Crowds, to give their Suffrages in the Trial of an old *Consul*, who was cited to appear in Person. When the Assembly was formed, the *Quæstors* ascended *The Tribune*, and laid the chief Articles of their Charge against *Cassius* before the People. The first was, That he would willingly have robbed the publick Treasury of the Right it had to a Share of the conquered Lands. The second, That he would have distributed them equally among Foreigners and *Romans*. The third, That he had drawn up a Law for that Purpose, without the Consent of the Senate, and in direct Opposition to the Remonstrances of the

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SP. CASSIUS,  
and PROCULUS VIRGINIUS,  
Consuls.

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Q. FABIUS, and  
SERVIUS CORNELIUS,  
Consuls.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 8. p. 544.

<sup>5</sup> We cannot help contradicting *D. Hal.* when he makes the new *Quæstor*, *Lucius Valerius*, own Brother to the great *Poplicola*. The latter died in a very advanced Age. *M. Valerius*, his third Brother, was 70 Years old, when advanced to the *Dictatorship*, as *D. Hal.* himself observes. It must then surely be far from very probable, that *Lucius*, who was yet very young, according to the same Author, was Brother to both. It is difficult to give Credit to the Historian, if we ever so little consider the great Disproportion there was between the Age of a young *Roman*, who now first appeared in the Magistracy of the Republick, and that of an old Magistrate, such as *Manius Valerius* was, who would have been in this Year, near fourscore Years of Age. We must therefore say, that the Father of *Poplicola* mar-

ried again when very old, and that *L. Valerius* was born of this second Marriage. Or else we cannot but be of Opinion that one of *Poplicola's* Brothers was the Father of *Lucius*. We have chosen the latter Opinion, and made *M. Valerius*, who was killed at the Battle of *Regillus*, his Father. So that instead of ἀδελφεός, as the Greek Text now has it, we ought probably to read ἀδελφόνειος, which signifies a Nephew, or Brother's Son.

<sup>6</sup> The *Quæstors* had the Care of the Finances, and the keeping of the publick Treasury, of which they were to give an Account to the People, after their Office was expired. They had therefore a Right to take Care of recovering alienated Sums, and proceeding against those who applied the Money of the Republick to their own private Use.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXVIII.

Q FABIUS, and  
SERVIUS COR-  
NELIUS, Con-  
suls.

Val. Max. B. 6.

c. 3.  
Zonar. and  
Diod. Sic. B.  
12.

Livy, ibid.  
Dion. Hal.  
B. 8. p. 546.  
Val. Max.  
B. 5. § 6.

*Tribunes of the People.* And the fourth Article was, That he would have forced the People to pass this Law; and had for this Purpose put the *Latins* and *Hernici* in Motion, caused them to take up Arms, and disturbed the publick Tranquillity. The *Quæstors* proved all these Particulars, by the Testimony of the People assembled, the publick Notoriety of the Facts, and the Depositions of the *Latins* and *Hernici* themselves.

AN unexpected Incident, during the Prosecution of the Accused, shewed him to be yet more criminal. *Mutius Scævola* the *Tribune*, is said to have impeached nine of his Collegues, of having entered into a Plot with *Sp. Cassius*, then *Consul*, to the Detriment of the Republick. And it is added, that he found Means to obtain such a Decree against them all, as nine *Tribunes* would have had great Difficulty to obtain against one. He convicted them of having joined with *Cassius* in endeavouring to hinder a Change of Magistrates, after their Time was 7 expired, by raising Factions. Had then *Mucius* the *Tribune* Interest enough to get his nine Collegues condemned to the Flames, by the Suffrages of the People? Or is it not more probable, that *Cassius*, who was as guilty as they, would have drawn all the Resentments of the Commons upon him? It is a Point contested by Historians, whether he died by a publick Sentence, or by the just Severity of his Father. Some Writers say his own Father actually condemned and put him to Death. It is well known, that the Love which the *Romans* had for their Country at this time, was equal to their Authority over their Children; both were without Bounds. *Cassius* being therefore suspected of a criminal Design upon the publick Liberty, found both a Judge and an Avenger in his own Family. *Cassius* the Father, as soon as he knew what his Son had done, is said to have condemned him to Death. According to some, he brought him to the Senate himself, obtained his Condemnation, and beat him to Death in his own House. According to others, the Father was both his Judge and Executioner. To which they add, that the Family of the *Cassii* refused to mix the acquired Estate of the Deceased with their paternal one; caused his House to be razed; consecrated his Money to *Ceres*, and with it erected a Statue of that Goddess, with this Inscription, *The Gift of the Cassian Family*. This is the most general Tradition, tho' *D. Hal.* judges<sup>s</sup> it to be the least probable. His Account of the Death of the ambitious *Consul*, is as follows.

§. VI. As soon as the Crimes with which *Cassius* was charged by the *Quæstors*, had been made out; as soon as Evidence was given of his secret Plots, in order to usurp a tyrannical Power; as soon as it appeared that he had taken Money of the *Hernici* and the *Latins*, to make an unusual Law in their Favour, and get it passed by the help of their Arms, the People of *Rome* made no Scruple of condemning him. They had not so much Regard for the three *Consulships* and two Triumphs with which he had been honoured, as for the Preservation of the publick Liberty. In vain did his Relations, Friends, and Clients, intreat the People for him. In vain did he shew his three Sons to the *Curie*, to soften them. The Citizens of *Rome* were inexorable. But they

<sup>7</sup> This Fact, which *Livy* and *D. Hal.* say nothing of, is related by *Val. Max. B. 6 c. 3.* upon the Credit of some *Annals*, which falsely suppose, that the College of the *Tribunes* then consisted of ten Persons. For it is certain, the Senate did not consent to have the Number of the *Tribunes* doubled, till about 29 Years after this present Year 268, i. e. till the Year of *Rome* 297. So that the Falseness of the Account, in one of its principal Circumstances, gives us room to suspect the Whole, tho' *Zonaras* has adopted it upon the Credit of *V. Maximus*. *Diod. Siculus* indeed, speaks of a Law, which condemned the *Tribunes* to be burned, who had not taken Care to provide themselves Successors after their Office expired. But he says this Law was not made till after the Office of the *Decemviri* was abolished, when the *Plebeians* separated themselves from the *Patricians* a second time. So true is it, that most of the *Annals* of that Time differ from one another, both in the Date and Circumstances of Facts. So that an Author, who is in the midst of these Variations, runs the Hazard of stumbling at every Step, and rambling in unknown Paths, if Criticism does not come in to his Assistance, and direct him in the Choice of his Materials.

<sup>8</sup> *D. Hal.* gives these Reasons for rejecting this Tradition. First, says he, *Cassius's* House was demolished, and the Place where it stood continues empty

to this Day. This Place is yet to be seen, adds he, on the Out-side of the Temple consecrated to the Goddess *Terrâ*, which the *Romans* afterwards built upon a Part of this Ground, which is in the Street that leads to the *Carinae*. In the second place, the Criminal's Estate was confiscated, and sold for the Benefit of the Publick, and the Money arising from it, expended in adorning several Temples, and chiefly in erecting Statues of Brass to *Ceres*, the Inscriptions of which prove, that they were bought at the Criminal's Expence. Now, adds *D. Hal.* if *Cassius's* Father had been his own Son's Accuser and Judge, is it probable his House would have been pulled down, and his Estate put up to publick Sale? The *Romans* had no Property of their own, while their Fathers were alive. How then can it be imagined, that the People of *Rome* would have confiscated *Cassius's* Estate, for his Son's Crime, if he himself had been his Accuser? *Livy* agrees with *D. Hal.* in this Case. *Propius fides est, a Quæstoribus Cæsone Fabio & Lucio Valerio, diem dictam perduellionis, damnatumque populi judicio.* Nevertheless, it is easy to answer *D. Hal.'s* Difficulty, with *Livy's* own Words, who mentions the controverted Opinion. He says, that *Cassius*, after he had beaten his Son with Rods, killed him with his own Hands, and consecrated all the Wealth he had acquired, to *Ceres*.

did



did not think it proper to condemn him to Banishment. They knew his Correspondence with the *Latins* and the *Hernici*. He would have found a Retreat among them, and, like another *Coriolanus*, would have turned their Arms against *Rome*. The People therefore passed Sentence of Death upon him. Nay, they even carried their Resentments against the Criminal too far. They would have involved his three innocent Sons in the same Punishment with their guilty Father, that there might not be one Shoot left of so dangerous a Stock. It was to that time customary <sup>9</sup> in *Rome*, to extend the Punishment of great Offenders to their Posterity: But the Senate thought so ill-judged a Custom ought to be abolished. They made a Decree, that the Punishment of Crimes should be personal, and that the Children of Parricides, Tyrants, and Traitors to their Country, should, if innocent of the Crime, be no longer subject to the Punishment of their Fathers. So that the Sons of the guilty *Consul* were not included in the Condemnation the People passed upon him. As for *Cassius* himself, his Sentence was put in Execution. He was, at the Desire of the *Quæstors*, led up to the *Capitol*, and thrown down headlong from the Top of the *Tarpeian* Rock, into the *Forum Romanum*. Thus died an ambitious Man, whose insatiable Thirst after Honours ruined him; who was too much elated with those he already had, and sunk under the Weight of his own good Fortune.

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§. VII. BUT the Sentence the *Roman* People passed upon *Cassius*, soon turned to their own Disadvantage. By the Pride of the *Patricians*, and the Contempt they shewed for the Commons, the Citizens of *Rome* found they had deprived themselves of their most zealous Defender. The meanest of the Populace especially regretted their having given their Suffrages, to rob themselves of a Man, who had a real Affection for them. The Cause of these Murmurs, was the Delay of the *Consuls*, in nominating *Decemviri*, for the Distribution of the Lands which had been promised them. They indeed continually put off their making any Report about it to the Senate, from one Day to another. From Complaints therefore the People came to seditious Assemblies. The *Tribunes of the People* often presented Petitions for completing the Law, which directed the Distribution of the Lands; and in the Assemblies of the People they sowed the Minds of the most Factious with their Harangues. Every thing seemed to tend to a Revolt, when the *Consuls* had recourse to the old Expedient of amusing the People with a War. They set up Standards on the *Capitol*, as the Signals of an Expedition, which was only to be undertaken by the Citizens of *Rome*. The Pretence for these tumultuary Levies, was the Mischief some Robbers had done in the *Roman* Territory; But the *Consuls* did not concern themselves about assembling an Army in a lawful manner, according to the usual Forms. They were afraid the *Tribunes* would oppose any Decree the Senate should pass, for that Purpose; and chose to raise an Army of Volunteers: But none, except the most inferior *Classes*, would serve under *Consuls*, so little inclined to favour their Pretensions; and what was worse, the *Consuls* could not force any to take Arms. The *Tribunes* would have protested against any Punishments, decreed against those who would not serve. The *Consuls* therefore made use of a new Artifice to bring them to Obedience. They spread a Report, That they were going to create a *Dictator*, whose Sovereign Power would put an end to the Authority of the *Tribunes* in *Rome*; and That *Appius Claudius* should be this formidable *Dictator*. The very Name of a Man so severe, and so much dreaded by the Multitude, made surprizing Impressions upon the People. They entered themselves in the Troops without delay, and the *Consuls* divided the two Armies they raised between them. *Cornelius* first took the Field; entered the Country of the *Veientes*, carried thence all the Inhabitants had left there, and made some Slaves without any Opposition from the Enemy. In short, the *Veientes* sent him Ransoms for the Redemption of their Captives, and by the help of Money, obtained a Truce for a Year. *Fabius*, on the other hand, first fell upon the *Æqui*, and then entered the Territory of the *Volsci*. These left their Country open to be a Prey to the Enemy for some Days; but when the *Roman* Forces had penetrated into the Territory of the *Antiates*, the *Volsci* marched out against them, to put a stop to the Inundation. And the *Antiates* would certainly have given the Republick a violent Blow, had their Attack been as sudden, as their March was unexpected. They would have found the *Romans* dispersed in several

Dion. Hal.  
B. 8. p. 546.

<sup>9</sup> According to *D. Hal. B. 8.* and *Aristotle, Rhetor. B. 1, § 2.* the *Greeks* extended the Punishment of Criminals to their Posterity. Nor were they more indulgent as to their Enemies, whose Children they

sacrificed to their Revenge. *Aristotle* has given us this Verse, on this Subject:

Νήπιον ἔς πατέρα κτείνας, παῖδας καταλείπει,

Places,



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and ÆMILIUS  
MAMERCI-  
NUS, Consuls.

Places, and their Army scattered about the Country in small Parties, to pillage it. But they let slip this favourable Opportunity, and gave the *Romans* time to draw their Troops together. The *Volsci* therefore, who came negligently on, to fight an Handful of Men, which remained with the *Consul*, were surprized to find a great Army ready to receive them; and the Fright put them into Confusion. They dispersed, and returned to *Antium*, where the greatest Part of them took Refuge. There only remained one little Company of brave Men in the Field, who encamped upon a steep Hill, and passed the Night there. At Break of Day, *Fabius* invested them, and so closely shut up all Passages, whereby they might escape, or receive Succours, that they were forced to surrender at Discretion. It may easily be imagined, the *Roman* Army got a good Booty, in Spoils and Slaves: But the *Consul* did not love the People well enough, to give the least Part of it to his Soldiers. He sold all the Spoils of the *Volsci*, and the Slaves which had been taken from them, solely for the Use of the publick Treasury: and brought the Money to *Rome*, and put it into the Hands of the *Quæstors*. However, he did not lead back his Army into the City, till his Year was near expiring. It may be observed of the two *Fabii*, the *Consul*, and *Quæstor*, that in their Administrations, they gave the *Patricians* a great Ascendant over the People. The *Consul* artfully eluded the Execution of the Law, about the Distribution of the Lands among the Commons. The *Quæstor* had been *Cassius's* Accuser, and got this Man, who was servilely devoted to the Interests of the People, condemned to Death. The two Brothers were zealous Partizans of the Senate and the Nobility: and their whole View was to raise them, by destroying the Authority of the Commons. Nevertheless, *Cæso* <sup>10</sup> *Fabius*, this *Quæstor*, who was so odious to the People, stood for the *Consulship* after his Brother, and obtained it. He got a Majority of Voices in the *Comitia* assembled by *Centuries*, which gave him *Æmilius Mamercinus* for his Collegue. That the *Centuries* should chuse *Fabius*, notwithstanding the Hatred the People had to him, is not to be wondered at: His Election <sup>11</sup> was made by the first *Classes*, before the inferior *Classes*, which consisted of *Fabius's* Enemies, gave their Suffrages.

<sup>10</sup> According to *Pliny*, B. 7. and *Festus*, and *Val. Maximus*, de *Prænomine*, the *Romans* gave the *Prænomen* of *Cæso*, to a Child who could not be brought into the World, without cutting open his Mother. This *Prænomen* is signified by the Letter *K*, to distinguish it from that of *Caius*, which is written with a *C*.

<sup>11</sup> It is manifest from the manner of Proceeding in *Fabius's* Election, that the People of *Rome* yet gave their Suffrages, according to the Order of the *Classes* and *Centuries*, agreeably to the Laws *Servius Tullius* had established. In consequence whereof, the most considerable Citizens had then the chief Power in the Election of the chief Magistrates. Afterwards, the *Plebeians* shared this Power with the Nobles in *Rome*, from the time that the *Comitia* by *Centuries* changed their Form. But it is hard to say exactly, when that was done. Antient Authors say nothing of it, and modern ones only give us their Conjectures, which determine nothing. What is certain, is, that by some sudden Revolution, the *Comitia* of the People were assembled by *Tribes*, even when they were to vote by *Centuries* in the Creation of *Consuls*, *Prætors*, and *Censors*, and important Deliberations relating to Peace and War. That is to say, that in the general *Comitia* of all the *Roman* Citizens, the People were first divided into *Tribes*, and then each *Tribe* subdivided into *Centuries*. Our Authorities for this Custom, are, *Livy*, B. 1. and *Tully*, in his 2<sup>d</sup> *Philippick*. The *Latin* Historian declares, that the Order established by *Tullius* in the *Comitia* by *Centuries*, was not observed in his time. *Nec mirari oportet, hunc ordinem qui nunc est, post expletas quinque & triginta tribus, duplicato earum numero, Centuriis juniorum seniorumque, ad summam ab Servio Tullio institutam non convenire.* *Tully* expressly declares, the People first assembled by *Tribes*, and then were divided into *Centuries*. *Per singulas Tribus, Centuriæ quæ primæ Classis erant, suffragium inibant.* 'Tis probable this new Way of Proceeding was introduced at the Request of the Commons. They were concerned to see the *Patrician* Faction almost always prevail in the general Assemblies. It is well known, that the Consequence of *S. Tullius's*

Regulation was, that Affairs were generally determined according to the Inclination of the first *Class*, which had more *Centuries* in it, than all the inferior ones together. Whence it came to pass, that in the *Comitia*, where the Suffrages were reckoned by *Centuries*, the Nobles had always the strongest Party. As they voted first, the Question was determined, without calling the inferior *Classes* to vote. If the first *Class* were divided in their Suffrages, the Magistrates called the second, third, and fourth. The fifth and sixth, whose voting would have signified nothing, were seldom called upon to vote on either Side. Probably therefore, the *Plebeians*, being jealous of this Preference, and of the Advantages annexed to the superior *Classes*, got the *Classes* at last to be reduced to an Equality. So that it was ordered, that the People should first be distributed into *Tribes*, and then the *Prærogative Right* be determined by Lot. This *Right* belonged to the *Tribe* whose Name the Magistrate took first out of the Urn. This *Tribe* voted before all the rest, and was therefore called *Tribus Prærogativa*. The same Method was observed as to the *Centuries* of which the *Tribe* consisted. Hence the Name of *Centuria Prærogativa* to the *Century* to whom the Lot fell to vote first. Being called by the Officer, it entered first into the Voting-place to give its Suffrage either *viva voce*, or by writing on little Tables, according to the different Customs, at different Times, as we have already observed, p. 148. Not. 32. Besides, the Suffrages of the *Prærogative Tribe* prejudiced the rest so much in the Candidate's Favour, that it was generally confirmed by the other *Tribes*, who were called by the Officer in their natural Order; *Jure-vocatæ Tribus*. They were so called, to distinguish them from the *Prærogative Tribe*. *Una Centuria Prærogativa tantum habet autoritatis*, says *Tully*, in his *Oration* for *Plancus*, *ut nemo unquam prior eam tulerit, quin renunciatus sit.* People were so well assured, that the Suffrage of the first *Tribe* would be confirmed, that the Magistrate declared the Candidate who had it, elected, even before he had gathered the Votes of the other *Tribes*. They scarce ever failed following the first. After which



§. VIII. It was happy for the new *Consuls*, that Foreign Wars did not give the Populace time to raise Disturbances at home. The *Volsci* depended upon the Seditions in the City: and indeed, judging of them only by the Aversion the People had to the Governors of the Republick, they might well expect to see the *Romans* sufficiently employed with their domestick Quarrels. But their Preparations for making War with the Republick, reunited the several Parts of it, and put an end to Dissentions. The *Consuls* raised two Armies without difficulty; one of which was to march into the Enemy's Country, and the other to guard the Country of the Allies, against the Incursions of the *Volsci*. It is here to be observed, that both the *Latins*, and the *Hernici*, were now become *Romans*; and it is just Matter of Surprize, that *Rome*, since its changing the Monarchical into a Republican Government, had yet added only so small a Tract of Land to its Dominions, after so many Battels fought, and Victories won. But indeed the *Volsci*, who were Neighbours to the *Latins* and *Hernici*, were a fierce People, and as difficult to be subdued, as the *Romans* were desirous of subduing them. They first took the Field, and a part of their Troops over-run the Country which belonged to the Allies of *Rome*. Their Armies were numerous, and consisted of the bravest Youth of their Country. They were piqued at the Check they had received the last Year, and at the shameful Retreat of the *Antiates*, whom the *Consul Fabius* had seen fly before him. They expected to retaliate upon the *Romans*, the Misfortunes they had suffered by them, and repair the Glory of their Nation. There seems then to have been an Emulation for military Glory between the two Republicks. The *Roman Consuls* drew Lots, to determine their respective Commands; and the Army which was to march into the Country of the *Volsci*, fell to the *Consul Æmilius*; that which was appointed to protect the Allies, to *Fabius*.

*ÆMILIUS*, at his Arrival, finding the Enemy encamped in the Mountains, posted himself likewise upon an Eminence, and watched the Motions of the *Volsci*. He saw them leave the Mountains by degrees, and come down and spread themselves in the Plain: which he thought was only a Bravadoe, and therefore was not in haste to give Battel. But when he judged it proper to engage, he encouraged his Troops, drew them up in Battalia, and founded a Charge. The Battalions on both Sides kept in close Order, and advanced with equal Pace. The *Volsci* had learned the Art of War under *Coriolanus* so well, that their Army might have been taken for a *Roman* one. The two Armies first fought at a little distance with their Darts, after making great Shouts, the usual Signal for beginning a Battel. When all their Darts were spent, they drew near each other, Sword in hand, to come to a closer Fight: And tho' the Attack was vigorous on both Sides, neither at first gave way. But at length the *Volsci* retreated a little, still keeping their Ranks, and making Head against the *Romans*. This was a Stratagem of theirs to gain an Eminence behind them; but the *Romans* continued pursuing them in good Order, and pushed them almost to their Camp. When the *Volsci* saw themselves within reach of it, they broke their Ranks on purpose, and ran in great haste to their Entrenchments. Then the *Romans* likewise broke theirs, to follow them: and the last *Century* especially, that is, the vilest Part of all the *Roman* Soldiery, fell to stripping the Dead, for the sake of the Plunder. Upon this, the *Volsci* rallied very near the Camp, as they had agreed to do, and fell upon the *Romans*, who were in Disorder; at the same time making a Sally out of all the Gates of their Camp, with a *Corps-de-reserve*, which they had concealed there. Then the Fortune of the Battel was changed. The Fugitives became Aggressors; and the *Romans*, who had been almost Conquerors, were pursued and worsted. The Enemy made a great Slaughter of them, especially of the last *Century*, who were wholly intent upon plundering. Only the Horse covered some Battalions, and conducted them back to the Camp. Nor had even they, or the rest of the *Roman* Army escaped, had not a sudden Tempest arose. A black Cloud covered both Armies, so that they could not distinguish one another. Besides, the Rain and Hail fell in such abundance, as discouraged the *Volsci* from pursuing the *Romans*. The latter recovered their Camp in small Numbers, and continued in it only the Night after their Defeat. They decamped the next Morning at Break of Day, and posted themselves upon an Hill near

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MAMERCIVS,  
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the *Consul* who presided in the *Comitia*, declared the Candidate elected, in these Words, QUOD BONUM, FAUSTUM, FORTUNATUMQUE SIT MIHI, MAGISTRATUIQUE MEO, POPULO PLEBI QUE ROMANÆ, ÆMILIUM CONSULEM, &c. RENUNTIO; that is, I

declare Æmilius, for instance, elected Consul or Prætor, &c. and may his Election turn to my Advantage, in the Administration of my Office, and to the Happiness of the Roman People and Republick.

R r r r

Longula,



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MAMERCINUS. Consuls.

*Longula*, in *Latium*. *Æmilius* halted there, to dress the Wounded; and did his utmost to comfort and encourage his disheartened Troops.

HAD the *Volsci* contented themselves with their first Victory, they would have gained a Superiority over the *Romans*, which the latter would have found it difficult to recover. But they run the hazard of a second Battel, in which they had not equal Success. Having learned from the *Roman* Deserters, that *Æmilius's* Army was reduced to a very small Number of Fighting-Men, and that the Dead, the Deserters, and the Wounded, had exceedingly weakened it; they ran on without any Caution, and some without their Arms, either to give the *Consul* the finishing Stroke, or to be Spectators of his Defeat. They arrived at the Hill, on which the *Romans* were encamped, and invested it on all Sides. They made their Approaches to it, without Difficulty, and without Loss. The *Romans* wanted Darts. The Battel was fought at the Foot of the Entrenchments, with which the *Romans* had covered themselves. The *Volsci* had already filled up the Ditch; They were already upon the *Fausse-Brays*, which surrounded the Rampart; They were hard at work in breaking through it, in order to penetrate into the Camp, when the *Roman Knights*, then fighting on Foot, and the *Triarii*, who were always reserved for desperate Occasions, sustained the first Fury of the *Volsci* with invincible Courage. The *Romans* made the best use of their Advantage, and by fighting from the Tops of their Ramparts, dispersed the Enemy, and forced them back into the Plain. There the *Volsci* encamped, and dared the *Romans* to come to an Engagement in the open Field: But *Æmilius* was too wise to run the hazard of a general Battel. Then the *Volsci* drew all the Militia in their Country to their Camp, with design to make a second Attempt upon the *Roman* Camp; and in the mean time, blocked it up, and promised themselves nothing less than to force the *Consul* to surrender, by Famine. But *Æmilius* received Succours in due time. His Collegue *Fabius* did not indeed come himself to the invested Camp. The *Auguries*, and Entrails of Victims prognosticated nothing but Disasters, if he went to deliver *Æmilius*. So that he contented himself with sending a Detachment of his best Troops, which came before the Reinforcements of the *Volsci*, and revived the Courage of the *Romans*. They now thought themselves not inferior in Strength, to the innumerable Multitude which surrounded them. They suffered the Enemy to climb up the Rock, which overlooked their Camp, and to get up to the *Fausse-braye*, where they had before been, to no purpose. Then the *Romans* instantly made great Openings in their Ramparts, sallied out through them upon the Besiegers, attacked them with the Darts they had received, and as the *Volsci* were streightened in their Posts, made a terrible Slaughter of them, partly with Stones, which were thrown upon them from above, and partly with the Sword. It was with difficulty, that they were able to retire to their Camp, leaving the *Romans* Masters of the Field. And the latter being now in great Want of Provisions, spread themselves all over the Enemy's Country, and pillaged it. Whereby they revenged themselves for the first Check they had received from the *Volsci*.

Livy, B. 2.  
ch. 42.

§. IX. During the Absence of the *Consuls*, the Discontents of the People about the Distribution of the Lands, began a little to revive. But the Senate pacified them for the present Year. Besides, the *Conscript Fathers*, in order to amuse the City, ordered the Consecration of the Temple of *Castor*<sup>12</sup> and *Pollux*. The famous *Posthumius* at the time of the Battel of *Regillus*, had made a Vow to build it. It was finished in the *Consulship* of *Æmilius* and *Fabius*; and it was necessary it should be dedicated. This Honour was usually conferred on the *Consuls*. But Occasion was taken from their Absence, to bestow it upon *Posthumius* the Son of the *Dictator*, who had made the Vow. In the mean while, the time for changing the *Consuls* drew near: But *Æmilius* durst not return to *Rome* to hold the Assembly. It was so unusual for the *Romans* to be beaten by their Enemies, that the *Consul* was full of Confusion at his having been overcome. Only *Fabius* left his Camp, and came to preside in the *Comitia*. The People would have had some of the old *Consuls* chosen, who had shewn an Affection for them: Whilst the Senate proposed to elect such Persons as were not very agreeable to the Commons; and their Party prevailed. The *Centuries* chose *M. Fabius*, Brother of the *Consuls* of the two preceding Years, and that *L. Valerius*, who had gotten *Sp. Cassius* condemned, in his *Quæstorship*.

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M. FABIUS,  
and L. VALE-  
RIUS, Consuls.

As the old *Consuls* had left their Troops in the Camp, their Successors had nothing

<sup>12</sup> This Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux* was built in the *Forum Romanum*, at the Foot of the Hill *Palatinus*, as *Donatus* conjectures. It was dedicated on the *Ides of July*, i. e. the 13<sup>th</sup> Day of that Month.



to do but to review and recruit them. But they found an Opposition made even to this, on the Part of the People and their *Tribunes*. The Populace made loud Complaints of the little Regard the Senate and *Consuls* had shewn for the Law, which enacted the Distribution of the Lands in their Favour. *This Law is not indeed repealed*, said they, *but the Execution of it is eluded by affected Delays*. The People filled Rome with these Murmurs, and brought their Complaints to the *Tribunes*, whom they accused of betraying the Interests which it was their Business to defend. So that it was to little purpose, that the Senate published an Edict, and the *Consuls* appointed a Day for making new Levies: *Manius* the *Tribune* opposed both the Edict of the Senate, and the Order of the *Consuls*. In the mean time, a new Enemy appeared; and Rome not only had a War to maintain with the *Volsci*, in the East, but had likewise the *Veientes* to engage with in the West; who were a Part of the formidable Body of the *Hetrurians*. But the two Armies, which were to act in these different Parts, could not be got ready soon enough. Their March was retarded by the Obstinacy of *Manius* the *Tribune*. He persisted in not suffering any Levies to be made, till *Decemviri* were first created, for the Distribution of the Lands. And these frequent Disputes between the *Tribunes of the People* and the *Consuls*, made the latter invent numberless Expedients to free themselves from the Oppositions of the former. At present, *Valerius* and *Fabius* agreed together, to remove their *Consular* Tribunal out of the City, and there summons the People to come and enlist themselves. This was a sure Way, not to be troubled with the importunate Protests of the *Tribunes*. It is well known, their Jurisdiction did not extend beyond the Gates of Rome, and that they were even forbidden to go out of the City, unless on the *Feriae Latinae*, to assist at the Sacrifice, which was annually offered up to *Jupiter*, on the Hill of *Alba*, by both *Romans* and *Latins* jointly. The People were therefore called out of Rome, to be enrolled in the Soldiery. Here, being no longer supported by the Authority of the *Tribunes*, they became more tractable. If any Person refused to appear, and give in his Name, the Lands he had in the Country were pillaged; and if he was only a Renter, all his Instruments of Husbandry were taken away from him. After these good Orders were settled, there soon appeared two Armies ready to march, the one against the *Veientes*, the other against the *Volsci*. It fell to *Fabius's* Lot to command the former, and to *Valerius's* to be at the Head of the latter.

BEFORE they parted, the two *Consuls* agreed to observe one uniform Conduct, throughout the whole Campaign: Which was, to keep themselves shut up in their Camps, and not attack the Enemy; but to defend themselves, in case they were attacked. It is probable, they had but little Dependance on their Troops, which consisted of Men ill affected to the *Consuls*, and for the most part enlisted against their Wills. *Fabius* observed the Agreement punctually. He did not attack the *Veientes*; nor was he attacked by them. *Valerius* first penetrated into the Country of the *Volsci*, near *Antium*: and then encamped in sight of the Enemy. The *Volsci* likewise fortified themselves in their Camp, and kept within their Entrenchments. But this Inaction did not suit the Temper of the *Volsci*, or the *Romans*. They were both active Nations, warlike, Enemies to Repose, and thirsty after Glory. So that, as oft as any Party was sent out from either Camp, to forrage, or guard a Convoy; the *Romans* sent out Detachments to attack the *Volsci*, and the *Volsci* to attack the *Romans*. And both Generals observed, that they lost more Men in these little Skirmishes, than in a general Action. The *Volsci* were the first who quitted their Tents, and drew up their Troops in Order of Battel. They had one Advantage over the *Romans*, which was, that they were near enough home, to receive fresh Soldiers to supply their Losses. Nevertheless, the *Roman* Army could not well brook the Defiance which was given them: So that the *Consul*, in his turn, marched out his *Legions*, and drew them up in Battalia. Never perhaps was Action more bloody, or Success more equal. The Horse, the Foot, the Darters, the Slingers, on both Sides, all engaged at once. *Volsci* and *Romans* both stood their Ground. In the mean time, the Plain was strewed with dead Bodies, and the Dying who were mixed with the Dead, filled the Air with their Groans. The Slaughter was so great, that neither Army was sensible, either of the Fatigue, or excessive Heat of the Day, till their Swords were blunted or broken, and their Bucklers so loaded with Darts, that they could carry them no longer. Then both Armies, exhausted with Fatigue, left off fighting, as it were, by common Consent, and retired to their respective Camps; neither Side having reason to boast of any Advantage.

THIS

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXX.  
M. FABIVS,  
and L. VALE-  
RIUS, Consuls.

Livy, B. 2.  
ibid.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXX.

M. FABIVS,  
and L. VALE-  
RIUS, Consuls.  
Dion. Hal.  
B. 8. p. 556.

Livy and Dion.  
Hal. *ibid.*

THIS Battel, which was far from being decisive, was not followed by any other; the two Camps quietly watched each other. Upon the News of the Battel fought by *Valerius*, it was said at *Rome*, That it was the Fault of the Soldiers, that a complete Victory was not gained; and That they spared the Enemy, out of Hatred to their General, and for fear they should procure him the Honours of a Triumph. But in all the Letters the Soldiers sent to their Friends, they accused their Leader of Incapacity in military Affairs. In this manner, the Troops revenged themselves on *Valerius*, that Enemy to *Cassius*, and who had so strenuously opposed the Distribution of the Lands.

THE little Success of the *Roman* Arms, was also imputed to the Vengeance of Heaven. Nothing was talked of at *Rome*, but frightful Prodigies, ill *Auguries*, Spectres, and miraculous Voices, which were heard to threaten the State. But, whether the *Pontifices* spread these Reports, because they were privately informed of the Amours of a *Vestal*; or whether Mens Imaginations then took a phanatical Turn; great Enquiries were made after the Cause of these wonderful Events. It was thought, the Gods were provoked at being served by impure Hands; and the Cause was brought before the *Pontifices*. They declared, *Opimia* <sup>13</sup> the *Vestal* had polluted her Consecration by her Incontinence, and had prophaned the Sanctuary. After Proof had been made of the Fact <sup>14</sup>, she was degraded, by having her Crowns and Sacerdotal Veil taken off; and then was led through the *Forum* to a Place without the Walls, where she was buried alive. Two young *Romans*, her Companions in Guilt, were whipped with Rods, and put to death. In short, the Ceremony ended with an expiatory Sacrifice; and *Rome* thought the Gods reconciled to her.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXXI.

Interregnum.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 8. p. 557.

§. X. WHEN the *Consuls* Year was expired, the Difficulties about the Election of new ones encreased. The People were for electing two old *Consuls*, (as they had been the Year before) who were well affected to their Interest. On the other hand, the Senate caballed to confer the *Consulate* on two young Senators, who were very hot for the *Patrician* Party, and Enemies to the *Tribunes*. The Person whom the *Patricians* were most inclined to promote, was young *Ap. Claudius*, Son of the famous *Claudius* who had so often and so signally shewn his Aversion to the People. The Son had the same Inclinations with his Father, and even exceeded him in Moroseness. Besides, he had many Friends, and a great Number of Clients, who supported his Faction. Which was the very thing that made the People oppose him. They were afraid of the Government of an inflexible Man, who had great Interest. As oft therefore as the old *Consuls* ordered the *Centuries* to assemble, in order to proceed to an Election, the *Tribunes* opposed it. This they had a Right to do: So that every one returned home without voting. On the other hand, the *Consuls* opposed the several *Comitia* the *Tribunes* summoned. This likewise they had a Right to do: So that the People dispersed without doing any thing. But these Disputes scarce ever ended without Blows, and there were always many Men wounded on these Occasions. At last, the Senators consulted what Means would be proper to put an End to Quarrels, which would soon grow up into Sedition. But the *Conscript Fathers* were divided in Opinion. The most rigid were for creating a *Dictator*, only for the Time of the *Comitia*, who would, by the supreme Power annexed to his Office, drive away the Faction from the Assemblies, reform the Abuses of the Magistracy, and establish wise *Consuls* by his own Authority. However, they chose to act a wiser Part; which was to reduce the Republick to an *Interregnum*, for some time, and commit the Administration of it to some venerable old Men, who should govern by turns, and take care to provide new *Consuls*. *Sem. Atratinus* was the first who took upon him the care of publick Affairs, according to this Scheme, for a few Days; and from that time all other Authority ceased in *Rome*. To him succeeded *Sp. Lartius*; and all was peaceable during their transient Administrations. *Lartius*, in his, ordered the *Centuries* to assemble in the *Campus Martius*, where they came to an Election without Disorder, and to the liking of both the *Patrician* and *Plebeian* Parties. One *C. Julius* was chosen, who was well affected to the People, and one *Q. Fabius*, who had already been *Consul* once before. Tho' the latter inclined towards the Nobility, he was no violent Man; and besides, his Collegue seemed to be a proper Person to counterbalance his Authority. The People triumphed at being delivered from young *Ap. Claudius*, from whom no Moderation at all was to be expected, and gave publick

ATRATINUS.

SP. LARTIUS.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXXI.

C. JULIUS, and  
Q. FABIVS,  
Consuls.

<sup>13</sup> *Livy* gives her the Name of *Oppia*.

<sup>14</sup> *D. Hal.* says the Accomplies in her Guilt

were put to the Rack, and discovered the *Vestal's* Shame.



Proofs of their Joy. As the Sedition had been begun out of Fear of having him Consul, it ceased as soon as he was excluded from that Office.

THE *Æqui* and *Veientes* took Advantage of the Disturbances in the Republick, and committed Devastations in the Territories of the *Romans*, and those of their Allies. The former entered into the Country of the *Hernici*, carried off their Cattle, and committed other Hostilities. *Rome* delayed revenging it, till a more favourable Opportunity offered; and the *Æqui* were emboldened by the Absence of their Enemies. They appeared in a Body, and thought themselves strong enough to invest *Artema*<sup>15</sup>, or *Hortona*, a City of the *Latins*. The Siege was long; however, they took it by Storm: And it does not appear that it was taken again from the *Æqui*, till the succeeding Consulship. As for the *Veientes*, they by their Behaviour brought a rising Quarrel to an open War. The *Romans* had sent an Embassy to them to demand Satisfaction for the Plunders they had committed upon them. To which the *Veientes* had answered, that this ought not so much to be ascribed to their *Lucumony* only, as to the whole Body of the *Hetrurians*. Nay, the *Roman* Ambassadors themselves had fallen into an Ambuscade of these Robbers, who had detained them. This Answer, and this Breach of the Law of Nations, convinced the *Romans* that a War with the *Veientes*, tho' formidable, was necessary. The Senate therefore dispatched the two Consuls, with a convenient Number of Forces: But not without Opposition, on the Part of the *Tribunes of the People*. They opposed the Decree of the Senate, and alleged, as a Pretence for it, the Breach of the Consuls Promise, who had now delayed the Division of the Lands for five Years: To which they added, the Danger there was of drawing all the *Hetrurian Lucumonies* upon them. But *Sp. Lartius* appeased them. The *Roman* Army divided into two Bodies, began their March under the Command of the Consuls, and the Approach of the *Romans* made the Enemy retire into their Forts. So that the Consuls, being left Masters of the Country, plundered it, without having gained any considerable Victory.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXXI.  
C. JULIUS, and  
Q. FABIUS,  
Consuls.

§. XI. WHEN the Time came for a new Election of Consuls, *Rome* was sensible what a Wound the Party-Zeal of the People and *Patricians* had given to the ancient Form, and original Liberty, of Elections. As the Commons obstinately insisted upon choosing *Patricians* of their own Party (for some of them were well-affected to the People;) and as the Senate would have none made Heads of the Republick, but such as were of the *Patrician* Faction, one of each was chosen. The Senate, on their Parts, named *Caso Fabius*, who had been Consul before, and who, when *Quæstor*, had caused *Cassius* to be condemned. The People, on theirs, chose *Sp. Furius*<sup>16</sup>, a zealous Partizan of the *Plebeians*. The *Tribunes*, who managed the Interests of the Commons, by this means artfully maintained Division among the *Patricians*. As the Consuls were then chosen out of their Body, those who aspired at this Office, sided some with the People, to get their Nomination, and some with the Nobility, to obtain theirs. The two Consuls were no sooner entered upon their Office, but they were forced to set out for the War. On one hand, the *Æqui*, whose Progress had been neglected, had possessed themselves of *Hortona*, which they had taken by Assault. On the other, the *Hetrurians* had held a general Assembly of their whole Nation, and without uniting in a Body against the *Romans*, in Favour of the *Veientes*, had given Leave to as many *Lucumonies* as would, to furnish them with Men and Necessaries: So that the Forces of the *Veientes* were considerably increased. The Danger of the Allies, and even of *Rome* it self, which was threatened by the *Hetrurians* with a Siege, called for a speedy Defence. Nevertheless, when two Armies came to be raised,  *Icilius*<sup>17</sup> the *Tribune* revived the old Quarrels about the Division of Lands. He hoped

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXXII.  
C. CASEO FABIUS,  
and SPURIUS  
FURIUS, Con-  
suls.  
*Dion. Hal.*  
*B. 9. p. 559.*

*Liv. B. 2. c. 43.*  
*Dion. Hal. ib.*

<sup>15</sup> Ancient Authors place *Hortona*, or, according to *Livy*, *Artona*, in the Neighbourhood of *Lavia* and *Prænestæ*, beyond the Hill and City of *Algidus*, which was then dependent on the *Latins*. In several Editions of *D. Hal.* we read *ἄρτων*. The *Vatican MS.* has *ἄρτων*, instead of *ἄρτων*, which ought to be the reading. *Hollstenius* conjectures, that *Hortona*, or *Artona*, was not far from *Monte Fortino*. *Pliny* and *Strabo* mention another City of *Ortona*, in the Territory of the *Frentani*, which is now a Part of the *Hither Abruzzo*, and *Capitanata*, on the Coasts of the *Adriatick* Sea. *Pliny*, *B. 3.* speaks of a City *Hortana* in *Hetruria*. This is thought to be the present *Orti*, or *Orta*, which stands in the Place where the *Tyber* and *Nar* join. To avoid Mistakes from a Resemblance of Names, we

must distinguish *Ortona*, from the City of *Artena*, which formerly stood upon the Confines of the Territories of the *Hernici*, the *Æqui*, and the *Volscei*. It is difficult to fix its ancient Situation exactly. Some have confounded this City with another of the same Name, situated between *Veii*, and *Cære*: But the latter was, according to *Livy*, *B. 4.* entirely destroyed in the Time of the *Kings*, and never was rebuilt.

<sup>16</sup> *Sp. Furius* is surnamed *Fusus*, in the *Consular Annals*. *Diodorus* gives him the Surname of *Medullinus*, which was common in the *Furian* Family.

<sup>17</sup> *Livy* calls this *Tribune of the People*, *Sp. Licinius*. *D. Hal.* calls him *Icilius*. We prefer the Reading of the *Greek* Historian to that of the *Latin*. First, because the *Icili* were then sworn Enemies to the Nobility.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXXII.  
CÆSO FABIVS,  
and SPURIUS  
FURIUS, Con-  
suls.

the great Extremity the Republick was in, would force the Senate to keep the Promises they had made the People, and name those *Decemviri* who had been so long expected. It was the Business of the Senate to determine a Point of such Importance which was so hotly pursued by the *Tribunes*; and the Opinion of the most antient Senators was therefore asked. *Ap. Claudius* the Father, spoke first. His Age and Experience helped him to an Expedient, which, for some time at least, gave great Advantage to the *Patrician* Faction. He advised the *Consuls* to sow Division among the *Tribunes of the People*, and always to get one at least of this formidable College over to their Side. Their Authority was equal, and of no weight, unless they were unanimous: So that the Opposition of any one of them was sufficient to render ineffectual the Proceedings of all the rest of the College. This was thought wise Advice; and from that time the *Patricians* made it their Business to draw off four of the *Tribunes* from the *Plebeian* Party: And the Design succeeded. At first, the four *Tribunes* who were gained over to the Senate, endeavoured to work upon  *Icilius* their Collegue, the only *Tribune* who insisted on the Execution of the *Cassian* Law. But at length, the Affair was brought before the People assembled in their *Comitia*. Four of the *Tribunes* were for deferring to put the Law in Practice, till the Wars which threatened *Rome* were ended. *Icilius* alone contended warmly, that it was high time to hasten the Execution of it. And when it was represented to him, how dangerous it might prove to *Rome*, to be left undefended against the threatened Attacks of the *Hetrurians*, for the sake of a little private Interest: He cried out, *Let Rome perish, rather than the People be disappointed of their just Pretensions*. These unguarded Words, which escaped the *Tribune* in the Heat of his too fiery Zeal, gave an Handle to his Collegues. They exaggerated the Madness of them, and shewed the People the fatal Consequences of so furious an Obstinacy. By this means, they gained their Point against *Icilius*, without Difficulty, and brought upon the inconsiderate *Tribune* the Dislike and Aversion even of the People.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 9. p. 560.

THE Obstacle *Icilius* threw in the way was no sooner removed, but the two Armies were easily raised; and supported by the publick Treasure, and the Liberality of private Persons. That<sup>18</sup> which was to act against the *Æqui*, fell by Lot to *Furius*; that which was to march against the *Hetrurians*, to *Fabius*. In the former, the *Consul* being beloved by his Men, found nothing but Obedience and Courage. They only wanted an Opportunity to signalize themselves. But it unluckily happened, that the *Æqui* did not appear in the Field. However, *Furius* plundered their Lands; carried off their Slaves and Cattel; divided all the Spoil which he took in this fruitful Country, among his Soldiers; and his Troops, who had gained more Plunder than Honour in the Campaign, continued to have a great Affection for him. But this was not the Case with *Fabius*. He had been made *Consul* by the Senate, and the *Patrician* Party: and could never overcome the Prejudices of his Soldiers. He never found them

bility. Secondly, because we don't find that any of the *Licinian* Family had the *Prænomen* of *Spurius*; whereas it was very common in the *Icilian* Family. Whether this *Icilius*, who was now *Tribune of the People*, was the same Man, who had been *Tribune* ten Years before, *i. e.* in the Year of *Rome* 261, is uncertain.

<sup>18</sup> According to the Text of *Livy*, in most Editions, the Troops which the Republick sent against the *Æqui* fell to *Fabius*: And the Army which marched against the *Hetrurians*, was commanded by *Furius*. Whereas, according to *D. Hal.* the *Hetrurian* Army was commanded by *Fabius*; and *Furius* led the Troops which marched against the *Æqui*. But some Commentators think the Text of *Livy* ought to be corrected. Instead of the Words *ducendus Fabio in Veientes, Furio in Æquos, exercitus datur*; they read, *Fabio in Æquos, in Veientes Furio, datur*. By this Correction they pretend to avoid an Inconsistency in *Livy's* Narration. He says that nothing memorable happened against the *Hetrurians*, but that it fared otherwise with *Fabius*, who had much Opposition to struggle with from his Soldiers. Here you see that *Fabius* had no Dispute with the *Hetrurians*. Nor is this all; after he had said that *Fabius* was deserted by his Men, at the Approach of the Enemy, he adds, in another Place, that the *Roman* Army gave up the Victory to the *Æqui*, in the Heat of the Action, after they had beaten them;

and returned to the Camp, without paying any Regard to the Orders of the General. And some Lines after, *Livy* says, that the *Veientes* and *Hetrurians* received with Disdain the Desiance of the *Romans*, who made ready to engage them, out of a Persuasion that they would give up the Victory to them, as they had done to the *Æqui*, in the last Campaign. Now these are the very Terms *Livy* uses, when he speaks of the Army the *Romans* had committed to the Conduct of *Fabius*. This *Consul* therefore commanded the Army which marched against the *Æqui*. And consequently, *Livy* is not consistent with himself, when he puts *Fabius* at the Head of the Troops who were to fight with the *Hetrurians*. To avoid these Inconsistencies, Interpreters have chosen rather to make him contradict *D. Hal.* than to acknowledge that he contradicts himself. But besides that we don't meet with these Blunders in the Account the *Greek* Historian gives us of these two Expeditions; his Opinion is more agreeable to the Dispositions of the *Romans*, with respect to *Furius* and *Fabius*. *Furius* was grown popular, by his Regard for the People. *Fabius* was become odious to the Commonalty, ever since the tragical End of *Cassius*, whom he had caused to be condemned to die. The Troops would not therefore have abandoned *Furius* in the Battle with the *Æqui*. All their Hatred and Revenge was levelled at *Fabius*.

ready



ready to put his Orders in Execution, whether they were to seize a Camp, or secretly take Possession of any Post. However, the General had Constancy of Mind enough to despise their Murmurs and abusive Expressions. The Republick suffered little Damage by them: but what brought the State in danger, was the mad Part the Soldiers acted on an important Occasion. A Battle had been fought in a Plain between two Hills, on which the *Veientes* and *Romans* had encamped. The latter fought like brave Men, as long as they thought their Lives in danger. They kept their Ranks perfectly well, and followed the Example of their General, who gave wonderful Proofs, both of Valour and Conduct. The Enemy was put into Disorder, and nothing was wanting to gain a complete Victory, but to pursue them, and take Possession of their Camp. The Horse were ordered to pursue the *Veientes*, who yet preserved some Order in their Retreat; and obeyed. The *Roman Knights* were deemed a Part of the Nobility, and were well-affected to the General. But the Infantry were not to be persuaded by Exhortations or Intreaties. It was not possible to prevail on them to march to the Assistance of the Cavalry, who were worsted, and routed by the Enemy. In short, the *Plbeian* Soldiers chose rather to lose their own Glory, and that of the Republick, than to gain any for an hated *Consul*, who would have deserved a Triumph. They returned to their Camp, without completing their Victory: and there the Seditious turned their Imprecations against their General. They ascribed the ill Success of the Cavalry to his Incapacity; and in their licentious Discourses ran out into cruel Invectives against *Fabius*. In vain did some of the Soldiers, who had more Justice than the rest, venture to say, he was a great Man, and a brave Commander; these Praises only increased the Clamours and Curses of the Multitude. The General's only Fault, was an Excess of Goodness. He had not Resolution enough to suppress the Insolence of these Mutineers; and shewed, that a brave Man can with less Difficulty conquer an Enemy, than an ungovernable Populace. But even this was not all. The Seditious made Complaints in the Camp, of the tedious Stay of the Army in an Enemy's Country. They demanded leave to return to *Rome*, and declared, that they were not in a Condition to fight, if the Enemy offered Battel. And then even the Threatenings of the *Consul* were ineffectual. He had lost all Authority over these Mutineers. The Night following, they carried their Insolence, and Contempt of their Leader, to a yet greater length. About Midnight, they struck their Tents without any Orders, took up their Arms, and marched out of the Camp in as much haste, as if they had fled from an Enemy; but took the Wounded along with them. Upon this, the *Consul* had Condescension enough to sound a March, and retired with the Troops whom he could not govern. There was a new Scene, when this Army of Deserters came near *Rome*, where they arrived before Day. The Centinels who watched at the Gates of the City, and upon the Ramparts, long thought, that the Army of some Enemy was come to attempt to surprize the Walls: And when it was known, that the Troops which surrounded them were *Romans*, it was thought *Fabius's* Army must at least have received some violent Blow. But the Return of the Light undeceived *Rome*. Nevertheless, these Madmen were not suffered to enter the City, till it was broad Day, and then they were reproached with their inconsiderate Behaviour, and the Danger to which they had exposed themselves. If indeed the *Veientes* had known of their precipitate Departure, nothing could have been more easy than for them to have cut these Rebels in Pieces in their Disorder. But the Enemy first plundered the deserted Camp, where they had left their Provisions for the rest of the Campaign; and then made IncurSIONS into the *Roman* Territory, and pillaged it without Opposition. As for *Fabius* he brought back nothing with him to *Rome*, but the Hatred of his Soldiers, and some small Addition of Esteem, in the Minds of a few reasonable Men.

§.XII. It was now becoming a Custom in the Republick, to have one of the two *Consuls* chosen according to the Inclinations of the People, and the other according to those of the Senate. The *Patricians* cast their Eyes again upon the *Fabian* Family, and nominated *M. Fabius*<sup>19</sup> to the *Consulate*, notwithstanding that his Brother had been disagreeable to the Army the last Year: And the People gave him *Cn.*<sup>20</sup> *Manlius*, named *Cincinnatus*, for his Collegue. This was the second time this *Fabius* was

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXXII.  
CÆSO FABIVS,  
and SPURIUS  
FURIUS, Con-  
suls.

*Liv. B. 2. c. 43.*

*Dion. Hal.  
B. 9. p. 561.*

*Livy, ibid.*

*Dion. Hal. ib.*

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXXIII.  
MARCUS FA-  
BIUS, and Cn.  
MANLIUS.  
Consuls.

<sup>19</sup> This was the second time *M. Fabius*, surnamed *Planus*, was *Consul*, according to *D. Hal.*  
<sup>20</sup> This *Cneius Manlius*, surnamed *Cincinnatus*, the Father of *A. Manlius*, whom the *Fasli* Con-

*fulares* make a *Decemvir*. The Surname of this *Consul*, as well as that of his Collegue, have been taken from the *Greek* Tables, and those of *Cuspinian*.



Year of  
ROM E  
CCLXXIII.

MARCUS FA-  
BIUS, and CN.  
MANLIUS,  
Consuls.  
Liv. B. 2. c. 44.

honoured with the *Consulate*. In this Year, the War with the *Veientes* appeared more formidable than ever; their Army having been newly increased, by a prodigious Concurrence of Men from all the Cantons of *Hetruria*. The Princes of this great Nation were of opinion, that the critical Minute for the Destruction of the Romans was now come. *This Republick*, said they, *would have been invincible, if domestick Divisions had not broken the Bands, which united the several Parts of it together. Such is the Fate of the most powerful States. Tho' out of the reach of being destroyed by their weak Neighbours, they have at least such Seeds of Destruction in themselves, as bring them to Ruin. The Seditious within them, do what no Foreigners dare to undertake. Such is the present Condition of this formidable Republick. The ill Effects of its growing Dissentions have been for some time suspended, by the Wisdom of its Senate, and the Patience of the People. But it is now arrived gradually at the Crisis of its Decline. There are in Effect two different Cities, governed by different Magistrates, within the Walls of Rome. Each Party makes its own Laws, and the opposite one abrogates them at pleasure. Tho' the Romans have always found some Difficulties in raising their Troops; yet their Forces have all along hitherto been obedient to their General; by which means, Rome has supported her self, notwithstanding her domestick Divisions. But now, the Quarrels at Rome spread themselves abroad, and are got even into the Roman Camps. Obedience is no longer paid to their Leaders; no Regard is now shewn to their Commands. The Soldiers refuse to fight, tho' the Victory be certain; and decamp of their own accord, without waiting for the Orders of the Consuls. How sure Presages are these of an approaching Destruction! It is now no longer necessary to overcome the Romans in Battel, in order to destroy the Republick; it is enough to declare War with them. They will destroy themselves with their own Weapons; let them therefore do so. Let us only declare ourselves their Enemies, and we shall be Conquerors of course.*

THE spreading of these Discourses throughout all *Hetruria*, brought great Numbers to the *Veientes*. People ran to their Assistance, not so much out of Affection to them, as to give the finishing Stroke to the imperious Republick; and it is probable, that the *Aequi* joined their Forces to those of *Hetruria*. Nevertheless, Rome did not grow wiser for the Dangers which threatened her. When it became necessary to raise Forces to oppose the prodigious Armies of the *Hetrurians*, *Pontificius* the Tribune renewed the Complaints of the People, about the *Cassian* Law, and the Creation of the *Decemviri*. Nay, the poor Citizens would have absolutely refused to serve in the Armies, if *Claudius's* Artifice had not been repeated. But the Senate gained over some Tribunes to them, and thereby rendered the Protests of *Pontificius* ineffectual, as those of the Tribune  *Icilius* had been the last Year: So that Levies were ordered to be raised, and were made without any Opposition. The only remaining Difficulty was, how to keep the malcontent Soldiers under Discipline, and excite them to fight; since the ill Example, and Impunity of the Troops the last Year, did in some sort authorize Disobedience. All the Hopes of Rome were founded in the Wisdom and Unanimity of her Consuls. They were of different Parties; but the publick Interest united their Hearts, both having the same thing in View.

THE Armies of the two Consuls were perfectly equal. Each contained two Legions, which had been raised in the City alone, and about as many Men as amounted to two more, raised among the Allies, and in the Territory of Rome. To which were added some auxiliary Troops sent from different Places. By this, it may be judged, that the two Consular Armies might very well amount to 20000 Men, and something better. Care had likewise been taken to raise two Legions of young Citizens, to encamp round Rome, to keep off the *Hetrurian* Parties from the Roman Territory. But we don't include in this Number the Garrison of the City, which consisted of old Soldiers, who were not able to bear the Fatigues of a Campaign. With these Forces, the Republick would have subdued all the rest of Italy, if the Unanimity of her Citizens had been equal to their Valour. The Consuls, each at the Head of his Army, passed the Tyber, and encamped near *Veii*. This City, which gave Name to the *Lucumony* of the *Veientes*, was but nine Miles from Rome: So little Progress had the Republick made beyond the River. *Manlius* seized an advantageous Post, and *Fabius* his Colleague encamped near him, that they might be within reach of mutually defending one another. The Romans had the terrible Army of the *Hetrurians* facing them, it being posted at the bottom of the Rock, on which *Veii* stood. The Number of the *Veientes*, and their Allies, infinitely exceeded that of the Romans, and the Brightness of their Arms dazzled their Eyes. But this would not have affrighted the Consuls, if they could have depended

Val. Max.  
B. 5. c. 5.



depended on the Affection of their Troops. However, their Distrusts on this account were of great Service to them, by making them take such Precautions as procured them one of the most memorable Victories *Rome* ever gained. They at first kept themselves within their Camps, and continued unactive; which was very unusual with the *Romans*. At this, the *Hetrurians* triumphed, and imputed the Caution of their Enemies to their Fears. The *Hetrurian* Cavalry were continually fluttering round the Camps of the *Romans*, and to their Reproach, bid defiance to their Troops, which were strictly commanded not to stir out of their Entrenchments.

§. XIII. At this time an Accident happened, which greatly employed the Divination of the *Hetrurians*, who were so learned in the Art of *Auguries*. Whilst *Manlius* continued in his Camp, Lightning fell upon it, struck through his Tent, and shattered it to pieces. The Pan of burning Coals in his Tent was thrown down, his Arms partly damaged, and partly destroyed; and in short his War-Horse, and some of his Servants were struck dead with it. The *Augurs*, who always attended the *Roman* Generals in their Expeditions, declared to the *Consul*, that this Camp would be taken by the Enemy: And an Accident afterwards verified their Prediction. On the Credit of these Diviners, *Manlius* decamped the very same Night, and went and joined his Army to that of *Fabius*, that both might for the future make but one Body, and encamp within the same Entrenchments. The *Hetrurians*, on their Parts, interpreted the Pre-sage in their own favour, and promised themselves Victory. They philosophized much upon the Part of the Heavens from which the Lightning came, the Place where it disappeared, and the Divinity who was the Author of the Prodigy. According to them, the taking of the Camp of the two *Consuls* was certain; and *Manlius* had carried thither his own ill Fate with him: whereas if he had continued in his first Camp, the Misfortune would have reached no further. Being therefore full of this vain Confidence, the *Hetrurians* first seized the Camp *Manlius* had quitted; which was the Change the *Roman* Diviners thought was the whole Import of the Prognostick of the Lightning, which fell in it; and afterwards insulted the *Romans*, who hid themselves in their Entrenchments. Then the *Roman* Soldiers began to grow impatient at the Bravadoes of the Enemy, which made them very desirous of fighting; and though the *Consuls* received such Pleasure from it, as partly dispelled their Distrusts; they wisely restrained the Impetuosity of their Troops, in order to increase it thereby. The *Hetrurians* came again, and reproaching the *Romans*: *These<sup>21</sup> are a Parcel of Women,* said they, *which the Romans have sent hither against us, to rid their City of them. If the Republick has no better Defenders, she ought to abate much of her Pride.* Upon which, the *Romans*, no longer Masters of their Resentments, came in a Crowd to the *Consul's* Quarters, which was called *Prætorium*, and demanded that the Signal might be given for the Battel. The Generals seemed to consult with one another, whether it were proper to engage the Enemy; tho' they were at bottom agreed to increase the Eagerness of their Soldiers yet more, by further Delays: Till at length, it had like to have come even to a sort of Sedition, which gave the *Consuls* great Pleasure. How strangely inconsistent are the Multitude! These same Soldiers, who a little time before, plotted together not to come to a Battel, now murmur, and mutiny against their Commanders, for deferring to lead them on. The Fearfulness they had been reproached with, had more effect upon them, than their own truest Interests, and their Love of their Country. Yet still, the *Consuls* were not very ready to hearken to their Supplications. On the contrary, they forbade them stirring out of the Camp, or committing the least Act of Hostility against the *Hetrurians*, (who rambled round them, to exasperate them) under very severe Penalties. Nevertheless, the Soldiers resolved to fall upon the Enemy, in spite of the *Consuls*; and therefore their Arms were taken from them. But a Report being spread in the Camp, That the *Hetrurians* were coming to besiege it; That they made Preparations to force it; and That their Insolence was grown to so great a height, as to become intolerable; the Soldiers would no longer send their Demands to the *Consuls* by their *Centurions*, but came themselves in Crowds round the Generals Tents, and shewed their Impatience by their Clamours. Their Desires of Revenge were painted on every Face; and the *Consuls* seized the Op-

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Dion. Hal.  
B. 9. p. 563.

Livy, B. 2.  
ch. 45.

<sup>21</sup> *Livy* adds, that the *Hetrurians* reproached the *Romans* with the Baseness of their Origin, according to the Tradition spread among the Nations which were Enemies to *Rome*, that this City owed its Rise to a confused Mixture of Herdsmen, and Profligates; who came thither to screen themselves from the Severity of

the Law. *Ad hæc in novitatem generis, originisque, quæ falsa, quæ vera jacere.* This Tradition was the Foundation of the two following Lines in the first Book of *Horace's Satyrs*. Sat. 8.

*Primus Majorum quisquis fuit ille tuorum,  
Aut Pastor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.*



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Dion. Hal.  
B. 9. p. 565.  
Livy, B. 2.  
ibid.

portunity for which they had so long waited. After Silence had been commanded, by Sound of Trumpet, *Fabius* addressed himself to *Manlius* his Collegue, thus.

*I am very sensible our Troops are in themselves invincible; but who can assure me, that they have not formed a Design to suffer themselves to be overcome? Their past Conduct makes me suspicious of their future Fidelity. Romans, your Ardor for fighting comes a little too late: I wish it proceeded more from the Love of Glory, than your personal Resentments. We might then ascribe your Valour rather to Duty, than an Indignation raised by the Enemy's Insults. You would fight more out of a Sense of your Obligations, than a Desire of Revenge. Under your present Dispositions, you may indeed have Success; but you will never gain a Battel with complete Honour. Nevertheless, dear Fellow-Soldiers, your Intentions, tho' not entirely pure, yet proceed from real Valour. You blush at having been exposed to the Insults of the Enemy; and this is a plain Proof of Roman Magnanimity. I wish it equally possessed the Breasts of all. But who knows, whether some don't demand leave to march out of the Camp to fight, and others to desert? Who can assure us, that what happened last Year, will not be renewed under our Administration? Are your Desires of the Distribution of Lands abated? Shall not our Country fall a Sacrifice to Trifles? Who can promise me, that I shall not meet with the same Fate my Brother *Cæso* did? and that I shall on the contrary find an Obedience in the Army, which he could not obtain? Our Apprehensions have all proceeded from the Untractableness of some Mutineers. This has made us check the Zeal, which otherwise prompted us ourselves to come to a Battel. But what am I saying? In this instant, all Hearts are united. All shew a general Alacrity by their Wishes, and joint Acclamations. You are all in general earnestly desirous of mending past Faults. Come on then, let us fly to the Victory of which our own Hearts give us an Assurance! Only remember, that few brave Men fall in Battel. Death seldom mows down any there, but the cowardly, and those that fly.*

THE Consul, in saying this, shed many Tears, and to his Exhortations added Promises. He called upon those, who had signalized themselves in former Wars, by Name; and in short, made all the Army sensible, what Advantage it would be to them, if they could subdue so rich and extensive a Nation. His Discourse was followed with universal Acclamations; and the Soldiers cried out, *Let him lead us on, and lay aside his Suspicions of us.* And then one *Flavoleius* appeared on the Stage. He was a well-made Man, had a martial Air, and held a considerable Post in the Army. Tho' only the Son of an Artificer, his Merit had raised him <sup>22</sup> to be the first Centurion in one of the Legions. The Esteem he was in among the Troops, gained him their Attention; and getting upon an Eminence, he thus addressed himself to the Generals. Consuls, *I plainly see, you have not quite laid aside your Distrusts of us; and indeed you have Reason to fear, we shall not act answerably to our Promises. But for my part, at least, I declare I will behave myself in the Battel, like a true Roman. Fellow-Soldiers, says he, do you take the same Oath, I am now going to do.* At which Words, he drew his Sword, and lifting it up towards Heaven, cried out, *O Great Jupiter, Mars, and thou God, whosoever thou art, who punishest Breach of Faith, I call you to witness, that I will never return to Rome, till I have conquered.* Then the Consuls <sup>23</sup>, the Lieutenant-Generals, the inferior Officers, and all the Soldiers, took the same Oath with Joy; and the Air resounded with the Name of *Flavoleius*. When the Assembly broke up, the Cavalry got their Horses ready; the Foot sharpened their Weapons, and polished their Bucklers: and were all soon ready to appear in the Plain. But before they set out, the Consuls offered Sacrifices, to confirm the Vows of

<sup>22</sup> We have already observed, that there were three sorts of Soldiers in every Legion, the *Triarii*, the *Hastati*, and the *Principes*. Now as the *Triarii* were the strongest of these, and the chief Dependance of the Roman Armies, therefore the first Centurion, who was the Commander of this fine Body of Men, held a very considerable Rank, and his Authority extended over all the Officers of every Manipulus, and every Century, in the Legion. For this Reason, he was called *Primo-pilus*, *Primi-pilus*, or *Primi-pili-Centurio*. The second was called *Centurio Secundi Triarii*, and so on. The first Centurion of the *Hastati* had the Name of *Primus Hastatus*. The Titles of the Centurions who commanded the *Principes*, ran thus; *Primus Centurio Principum*, *Secundus*, &c.

<sup>23</sup> It is very true, according to *Livy*, that all the Army took the same Oath; but he says nothing of the

Generals. On the contrary, he seems to except them, in the Discourse *M. Fabius* the Consul makes to the Romans, who began to lose Ground. *Hoc jurastis, Milites, vos in castra redituros: at ego injuratus, aut Victor revertar, aut prope te hic, Quinte Fabi, dimicans cadam.* That is, Soldiers, have you then forgot your Oaths, and the Performance of your Promises? Will they end in a precipitate Flight to your Camp? As for me, though I have entered into none of those Engagements, yet I will either come off victorious, or have the Glory, *Quintus Fabius*, of dying near you fighting. But is it probable, that the Consuls should refuse to follow the Example of the whole Army, which bound themselves by so solemn an Oath? especially the Moment they were going to begin a decisive Battel, in which it was their proper Business to rouse the Courage of their Soldiers?



their Army, by Religion. Then the *Romans* marched out of their Camp in Silence, and in good Order, to take Possession of an advantageous Ground.

ON the other hand, the *Hetrurians* were surprized to see these cowardly *Romans* come down from their Entrenchments, and offer them Battel. As this was a thing they did not expect, they had not brought the Soldiers of their two Camps together. Nevertheless, the Army with which they opposed the *Romans*, was considerably more numerous than theirs. Besides, it was said in all the Ranks of the *Veientes*, that the *Roman* Troops would betray their Generals, and desert them in the midst of Danger. Being therefore full of these Hopes, they sounded a Charge. Their Ranks<sup>24</sup> were drawn up so close, that the Soldiers had not room enough to extend their Arms, and throw their Darts with Vigour: So that, in the first Onset, they did little Execution. But that was not the Case with the *Romans*; who, to make their Front the larger, for fear of being surrounded, had widened their Ranks. The *Consul Manlius* commanded the Right Wing, *Q. Fabius* the Left, and *M. Fabius* the main Body. Both Armies advanced, made great Shouts, and came to a close Engagement, Battalion against Battalion, and Squadron against Squadron. The Front of the *Hetrurian* Right Wing was much larger than that of the *Roman* Left Wing; so that *Fabius* had much ado to withstand the Multitude of Enemies which faced him. Nevertheless, he made his Way through a great Body of *Veientes*, which he had broken into, when an *Hetrurian* of a gigantick Stature came up to him with his Lance, and plunged it into his Breast. *Fabius* drew it out of his Body, but losing Blood, fell from his Horse: and his Left Wing was instantly surrounded. Upon News of this, the *Consul Fabius* quitted his Post, and flew to assist his Brother, and his *Romans*. He took his other Brother *Cæso* with him, and some Troops in which he could confide. As soon as he came to the Place, where the *Romans* began to give way, after they had lost their Leader, he cried out; *Fellow-Soldiers, is this the Effect of your Oaths? Will you shamefully fly back to the Camp? Are you more afraid of a small Number of Veientes, than of Mars and Jupiter? Come on then*, replied *Cæso*, *let us alone fall upon the Enemy, and not imagine that our Intreaties will have a greater Effect upon Cowards, than the fear of the Gods!* At which words, the two *Fabii* threw themselves into the midst of the Enemy; and their Example renewed the Courage of the *Romans*. They beat down every thing that opposed their Valour; the foremost of the *Hetrurians* covered the Ground, the hindmost fled. Then the two *Fabii* returned to the Place where their Brother *Quintus* was fallen; found him out among the Dead, and perceived that he yet breathed: but scarce had they taken him up, before he expired. The Desire of Revenge gave the two *Fabii* new Strength. They returned to their own main Body, and attacked that of the Enemy, which could not stand against them. They raised Heaps of Dead; all Opposition fell before them: Valour and Skill prevailed over Numbers. In the Right Wing, commanded by *Manlius*, the Enemy continually lost Ground, as long as that brave *Consul* was in a Condition to fight. But a Lance unfortunately lighting upon his Knee, and penetrating into his Thigh; he was instantly taken up, carried out of the Battel, and brought into the Camp. His Absence, and the false Report of his Death, made a great Alteration on that Side where he commanded; the *Romans* were there repulsed, and lost all the Ground they had gained. However, the *Fabii* instantly fled to their Relief; and then the *Hetrurians* halted, and left off pursuing the *Romans*, who had begun to fly; but recovered their Courage at the Presence of the *Consul*. *I have conquered*, said he to them, *in the right Wing, and in the main Body, and my Colleague is alive*: And indeed *Manlius* appeared again among his Troops, for some little Time. The *Romans* in the right Wing recovered their Spirits; returned to the Battle, with the Fury Shame always gives brave Men, after a Repulse; broke thro' the Enemy's Ranks; and would have routed them, if a new Battle had not begun in another Place.

THOSE *Veientes* who had taken Possession of the Camp *Manlius* had deserted, did not continue idle, during the Action. Their Commanders led them to attack the other *Roman* Camp; where only some Veterans<sup>25</sup> were left to defend it. These were

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Livy, B. 2.  
ch. 46. and  
Dion. Hal.  
B. 9. p. 568.

<sup>24</sup> This is our Construction of these Words of *Livy*, viz *explicandi ordinis spatium fuit*. The Reason why the Ranks in the *Hetrurian* Army were so closed, was, because they did not give themselves time to draw in Order of Battel; or, if you will, because they had not Ground enough to extend themselves.

<sup>25</sup> According to the Regulation of *Ser. Tullius*, it

was the Business of the young Soldiers to take the Field in the Pursuit of the Enemy: whilst the Veterans had nothing to do but to guard the City, and defend it from Insults within and without. *Seniores ad urbis custodiam ut præsto essent; juvenes, ut bella foris gererent*. But it appears from the Sequel of this History, that this Custom was afterwards changed. The old Troops,



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indeed the best Soldiers in the *Consular* Troops: But what can a small Number of Men do against a whole Army? Their only Remedy was to inform the *Consuls* of the Danger to which their Camp was exposed; and *Manlius* being carried thither, wounded as he was, his Presence raised the Spirits of his Men. As if all the *Romans* were to have had their Share in the Glory of so great a Day; the Merchants, the Victuallers, the Artificers, and the very Boys in the Camp fought to defend it. *Manlius* caused the Entrances into it to be shut up, and guarded all the Approaches to it, as well as he could: But the *Hetrurians*, who were very strong in Number, came at last to one of the Gates, and broke thro' it. Thither therefore *Manlius* flew, with some Brigades of Horse; and whilst he was fighting in this narrow Passage, with a Courage which made him forget his Wound, his Strength was at last exhausted, and being covered with new Wounds, he fell down and died. Great Slaughter was made of the *Romans* round him; and the Death of the *Consul*, was followed by the taking of the Camp. Some brave Veterans indeed entrenched themselves in the Place where the Arms were kept, before the *Consul's* Tents; but the Love of Plunder, of which the *Hetrurians* were very greedy, was what alone preserved them from Destruction. Whilst they were stripping the Dead, and plundering the Camp, *Fabius* left the Battle, and came upon them with a Part of his Army; the rest continuing fighting and conquering. Upon the *Consul's* Arrival, the *Hetrurians*, who were Masters of the Camp, mounted the Rampart, and lined it every where, to defend it. They began a furious Battle, with Men already fatigued with a long Engagement, and who fought to a Disadvantage: But *T. Siccus*, one of the Lieutenant Generals of the *Consular* Army, found out an Expedient, for re-conquering the invaded Camp. This was to draw all the *Roman* Forces to a Part of the Entrenchments which he knew to be weak; and on this Side a general Attack was made. *Siccus* left the Avenues to the Camp open; that the Enemy might march out of it with the more Ease: And his Project succeeded. The *Hetrurians*, who could not long withstand the Ardour of the *Romans*, opened all the Gates, and retired without being pursued: And the Camp was no sooner retaken, but *Fabius* hastened back to his Troops, who were yet fighting in the Plain; and his Presence gave the finishing Stroke to the Defeat of the Enemy, the *Hetrurians* retiring into their Entrenchments in Disorder. Such was the Success of the Battle of *Veii*, which began at Noon, and did not end till Sun-set: not but it cost the *Romans* a great deal of Blood; a *Consul* and a Lieutenant-General fell in it; and, in short, more *Tribunes* and *Centurions* were killed, than in any former Action. *Fabius*, the surviving *Consul*, was so sensibly affected with the Loss of his Brother *Quintus*, that he seemed inconsolable. That illustrious Man had been twice *Consul*, and by his Probity, as well as Valour, shewed himself worthy of the illustrious House from which he descended. So many Losses, would have in a manner made the Victory dubious, if the *Hetrurians* had not declared themselves overcome. They quitted their Camps the Night following, and left the *Romans* Masters of the Field of Battle, and of the Country. Then the Conqueror distributed among the brave Men of his Army, the Rewards they had deserved. *Cæso Fabius* was first named, and none disputed with him the Honour his Brother did him: *Siccus* was second; he had done the *Romans* important Services in the Recovery of their Camp: And lastly, *Flavoleius* was not forgotten. The General did him Honour for his Zeal for his Country's Service, and the Exploits by which he had signalized himself in the Battle. But the *Fabian* Family may be said to have borne away the chief Glory of the Action; and their remarkable Exploits reconciled the *Roman* People to them. They were, from this time, ever thought one of those *Patrician* Families, which were called *Popular*, because the Friends of the People; and on the other hand, the People's Affection for them was not gained by any mean Arts of Ambition, to the Detriment of the Publick, but was only owing to their Virtue.

THE victorious *Consul* was yet in his Camp, when the Honours of a Triumph were decreed him at *Rome*. His Wisdom was much magnified, in his carrying on so ex-

Troops, who had completely fulfilled the Time of their Service, often voluntarily offered to carry the War into the Enemy's Country. They were incorporated in the *Legions*, among the choicest of the Soldiers, under the Name of *Triarii*. In general Actions, this Body, consisting of Soldiers inured to War, was posted in the third Line, where they waited for the General's Commands. They were a sort of *Corps-de-re-*

*serve*, and never engaged till the Advance-Guard had been forced to give way. Then they marched into the first Rank, and renewed the Fight, with a Fury and Constancy which generally determined the Victory in favour of the *Romans*. The oldest of these Soldiers were employed in guarding the Camp, whilst the others were in the Field, or actually engaged with the Enemy.

ceeding



ceeding difficult a Campaign, and gaining the Affections of his Soldiers, who were prejudiced against him, and all the *Patrician* Party. He was much extolled for that Activity in the Battle, which made him seem to be in many different Places at once; and for that Valour which had made him victorious in the two Wings, the main Body, and at re-taking of his Camp. The *Romans* expected to see him enter the City in a magnificent Chariot, at the Head of a pompous Procession, and attended by the many Prisoners he had taken in the Battle; and were much surprized to see him enter *Rome* in Mourning, and bringing with him the Bodies of *Manlius* his Collegue, and his Brother *Quintus*. As for the Triumph, he declined all the Honours of it on this mournful Occasion. He ascended *The Tribune*, and there made a Panegyrick on these illustrious Men, who fell in the Battle; but said nothing of his own Exploits. So much Modesty therefore, joined with so much Merit, entirely won him the Hearts of all the People. He certainly did himself more Honour by refusing a Triumph, than he could have gained by it. Nor was this all: As he was now the sole Governor of the Republick, he seemed afraid of countenancing even the least Appearance of Monarchy: And therefore abdicated his *Consulship*, tho' it did not expire till two Months afterwards. Thus leaving the Government in an *Interregnum*, he retired to his own House, there to dress the Wounds he had received in the Battle.

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Dion. Hal.  
B. 9. p. 550.

§. XIV. DURING the *Interregnum*, the *Roman* People assembled in the *Campus Martius* to choose *Consuls*. It was then extraordinary to continue the *Consulship* long in the same Family. Nevertheless, the Glory of the *Fabii* was too great, their Exploits too fresh in every one's Memory, and the Affection of the *Romans* for them was too warm, to suffer them to be forgotten, at a Time proper for the People to shew their Gratitude. *Cæso Fabius*<sup>15</sup> was therefore chosen *Consul* the third time. So that now three Brothers of the same Name had enjoyed that Office for seven Years successively. The Collegue the *Centuries* gave *Fabius*, was *T. Virginus*. The new Magistrates were no sooner in their Office, but *Fabius*, actuated by his new Affection for the People, laboured to reconcile them with the Senate. The Demands of the People, about the Distribution of the conquered Lands, and the Refusal of the *Patricians*, had been too long a Source of Divisions in the Republick. The *Consul* therefore, before the *Tribunes* had presented any Petition upon that Head, which they did every Year, exhorted the Senators, to prevent the Complaints of the People, to make the Distribution themselves, and thereby put an End to the Mutinies of the Commons for ever. But *Fabius* was not heard; some rallied, others murmured, at the new Zeal of a *Fabius* for the Interests of the Populace: and some even accused him of Pride, and suspected him of Ambition. There were now no new Levies to be raised; the last Year's Troops were sufficient; and *Rome* enjoyed Peace at home. The Armies were divided between the *Consuls*. *Fabius* marched against the *Æqui*, and *Virginus* against the *Veientes*. These two Nations had been for some time the declared Enemies of the Republick. The *Æqui* had lately committed Ravages in the *Latin* Plains: But *Fabius's* Presence dispersed them. As for the *Veientes*, they at first pretended to be afraid of the *Romans*, continued shut up in their Cities, and seemed not to dare to appear in the Field. But soon after, they attacked the *Romans* who were dispersed abroad in several Places for Plunder, took away their Booty from them, and made a great Slaughter of them. *Siccius*, however, came up very seasonably, and to him alone it was owing that *Virginus's* Army was not entirely defeated. He assembled a small Body of the Remains of his Troops, which he posted on an Eminence, only to pass the Night there; upon which, the *Veientes* immediately formed a greater Camp, within Reach of the Enemy, brought fresh Troops, and surrounded the *Romans* and their *Consul* on all Sides. But *Fabius* had timely Notice of the Extremity to which his Collegue was reduced; and decamping without Delay, marched his Troops, which were then of no Use against the *Æqui*, to the Deliverance of *Virginus*. Had he arrived a Day later, the *Consul* and his *Romans* must have been forced to surrender at Discretion, or have been all cut in pieces. They were already engaged with the Enemy, when they saw *Fabius's* Army advance in good Order; and tho' exhausted with Hunger and Thirst, the Courage of the *Romans* revived, at the Sight of their Friends. The *Hetrurians*, on the contrary, discouraged at the unexpected Arrival of *Fabius*, dispersed, and returned to their Cities. But the Deliverance of *Virginus* was not the only Advantage the Republick

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXXIV.  
CÆSO FABIVS,  
and T. VIRGI-  
NIUS, Consuls.

Liv. B. 2. c. 48.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 9. p. 571.

<sup>15</sup> Zonaras, upon the Credit of bad Memoirs, time,) and T. Virg. Tricostus Rutilus, in the Consulship places one *Manlius*, (who he says was chosen the third for this Year.



Year of  
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CÆSO FABIVS,  
and T. VIRGI-  
NIUS, Consuls.  
Liv. B. 2. c. 48.  
Dion. Hal.  
B. 9. p. 572.

drew from the *Consul's* Expedition. The *Roman* Territory was already become a Prey to the *Hetrurians*; (for Robbing was that Way of making War which they best understood;) and *Fabius's* coming preserved the Corn and Cattle in the Country, at least for the present. But they did not continue safe long. The *Roman* Husbandmen, and Herdsmen, were come down from the Mountain into the Plain, when (after the *Consuls* were departed, and their Troops disbanded,) the *Veientes* again entered the *Roman* Territory, and made Incursions even to the Foot of the Hill <sup>26</sup> *Janiculum*. This was insulting *Rome* it self. She therefore sought means to put a Stop to the Rapines of a Nation, who now made War only by robbing; and the Senate assembled, to consider how they should oppose the Incursions of the *Hetrurians*. The Armies were disbanded, and the Soldiers had served the legal Time. It would then be difficult to raise new Forces; and Mutinies were apprehended. The only Remedy left was, to build Forts upon the Frontiers, and place Garrisons in them; but this seemed impracticable. The publick Treasure was exhausted by so many Wars; the Maintenance of these Garrisons would be expensive; no Volunteers offered themselves to defend the Frontiers; nor were the People able to contribute any thing more towards these new Expences. So that the Senate came to no Conclusion, but adjourned the Consideration of the Affair to the next Day.

§. XV. THEN the *Consul Fabius* formed a Design worthy of his Affection for his Country. He assembled together his own Family, and represented to them the Mischief the *Hetrurians* did in the *Roman* Territory. He informed them how difficult the Senate found it to put an End to these troublesome Incursions which were so dishonourable to the Republick; and, in short, proposed it to them to charge themselves alone, and at their own Expence, with a Commission equally important and glorious. The *Fabii* consented, and resolved to get so seasonable an Offer of devoting themselves to the Service of their Country, accepted by the Senate; and the next Day all the illustrious *Patricians* who bore the Name of *Fabius*, came to the Door of the Senate-house. It was not known, what Petition this numerous Family came to present; and the Surprise of the Senators was extremely great, when they heard the *Consul Fabius* speak in this manner: *You are not ignorant, Conscrip Fathers, of the present Distress of the Republick. Nothing but a Garrison of active vigilant Men, who continually reside upon the Frontiers, can guard you against the Robberies of the Veientes. It is in vain, and it would be expensive, to send out great Armies against them. A small Number of Men, advantageously posted, will be sufficient to preserve your Lands. Let other Wars then be carried on at the Expence of the Publick; but in this, we only desire you to give your Consent that the Fabian Family may run all the Hazards, and it self bear all the Expences, of defending your Frontiers. Let the Veientes, for the future, be considered as the Enemies of the Fabii only. They promise you, that they alone will maintain the Dignity of the Roman Name. We undertake it as a Family-War. The Republick shall neither furnish Men nor Money for this necessary Expedition.*

THE *Consul's* Proposal being received with Applause, and unanimously approved; *Fabius* instantly went out of the Senate, and brought his Relations, who waited for him, the News of their having Leave to depart for the Frontiers: And early the next Day, these illustrious *Patricians* appeared under Arms at *Cæso Fabius's* Door. They were 306 in <sup>27</sup> Number, descended from different Branches, but all originally derived from the same Stock, and all of the Name of *Fabius*. The Report was spread all over *Rome*, that one single Family took upon it the Weight of an useful and burdensome War. The People ran together in Crowds, to see these brave Men set out, whose Valour and Liberality charmed them. *Had we, said they, but two other such Families in Rome, we should be out of the Reach of all our Enemies! The Æqui and the Volsci would make no more Incursions on our Lands.* These illustrious Relations all drew up in Order of Battle, dressed in their military Habits: And there was not one of these Heroes, but was worthy to command an Army. The same *M. Fabius*, who had won the Battle of *Veii*, and was now cured of the Wounds he had received the last

<sup>27</sup> This Hill, which is now called *Montorio*, was then without the *Pomerium* of *Rome*. *Ancus Martius* had made it the chief Bulwark of the City, by surrounding it with Walls, for the Defence of *Rome*, against the Incursions of the *Hetrurians*.

<sup>28</sup> *Livy*, it's true, reckons but 306 Men, who engaged in this Expedition, *sex & trecenti Milites*. But it is easy to reconcile his Account with that of *D. Hal.* It is evident he includes none in this 306 Soldiers, but

those who were descended from the *Fabian* Family, and bore the Name of *Fabius*. This appears from the following Words, *Omnes Patricii, omnes unius Gentis*, i. e. they were all of the *Patrician* Race, and all descended from the same Stock. 4000 Men, says *D. Hal.* of their Relations and Clients, were willing to share the Dangers of the Enterprize with them. This *Livy* sufficiently intimates, when he adds, *Sequebatur turba propria cognatorum sodaliumque*.



Year, commanded the Troop. He carried with him about 4000 Men, partly the Vassals, and partly the Clients of his Family: And the Admiration of the Romans was as great, as their Expectations of Success in the Enterprize. They followed these Warriors with Vows, and said, *Go, and be as successful as you are brave! May your good Fortune be answerable to your Virtues! The Consulship and other publick Honours shall always be the Reward of your Merit.* As they passed by the 2<sup>d</sup> Capitol, the People offered up Prayers to all the Gods for them: But the Event shewed that their Vows were in vain. At length, the *Fabii* and their Company arrived at the Banks of a little River, then called the *Cremera*<sup>29</sup>, but now the *Baccano*. There they built a Fort, in a steep Place, surrounded it with a double Ditch, and erected Towers at certain Distances. Whilst they were making this Sort of Camp, or Castle, *Cæso Fabius* the Consul, who had gathered some Troops together to cover the Workmen, entered the Country of the *Hetrurians*, and pillaged it. He brought great Quantities of Corn, and numberless Cattle to the new Fort; and all the Booty he took from the Enemy, was for the new Garrison. When the Works were finished, so as to be past Danger from the Insults of the Enemy, the Consul led his Troops back to *Rome*. The Family of the *Fabii* did an incredible deal of Mischief to the *Veientes*, and to all the *Hetrurians* in general. No Husbandmen durst appear any more in their Plains, or bring any Cattle into their Pastures. The very Provisions which were carrying to *Veii*, were often surprized by the *Fabii*. Their manner of making War was to divide their Men into four little Bodies. One was left to guard the Camp, the other three marched into three several Parts of the Country; and nothing was ever more successful than their first Expeditions. The Enemy attempted in vain to surprize the Fort, or draw them into Ambuscades. They were always repulsed or beaten.

§. XVI. IN the mean time, new Consuls were chosen at *Rome*, which were 30<sup>o</sup> *L. Æmilius*, and *C. Servilius*. As for *Cæso Fabius*, he had no sooner laid down the Consulship, but he desired the Senate's Permission to go and join his Family on the Frontiers. Leave was accordingly given him to go to the Banks of the *Cremera*, but in Favour to him, and to gain him the more Respect, the Republick created a new Office, which afterwards became very common. He went to make War with the *Veientes* with the Title of 31<sup>o</sup> *Proconsul*, which was, till then, unknown in *Rome*.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXXIV.

CÆSO FABIVS,  
and T. VIRGINIVS, Consuls.  
Dion. Hal.  
B. 9. p. 573.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXXV.

L. ÆMILIIVS,  
and C. SERVIIVS, Consuls.

<sup>29</sup> Livy observes that the *Fabii* went out of the City at the *Porta Carmentalis*, and that all the Company passed by on the right Side of the Temple of *Janus*. *Infelici viâ, dextro Jano, portæ Carmentalis profecti.* Ever after the unfortunate Battle of the *Cremera*, this Gate was thought accursed, and the Romans gave it the Name of *Porta Scelerata*, or, the accursed Gate. *Porta Carmentalis quæ dicitur, quod ei proximum Carmentis sacellum fuit, appellatur a quibusdam scelerata, quod per eam sex & trecenti Fabii cum clientium milibus quinque egressi adversus Etruscos, ad annem Cremeram omnes sunt interfecti: Qua de causa factum est, ut ea porta intrare egredive omen habeatur.* Festus. Ovid, in his 2<sup>d</sup> Book of *Fæsti*, speaks of the Departure of the *Fabii*, of the Curse annexed to the Gate *Carmentalis*, and of the Temple of *Janus*.

*Carmentis portæ dextra est via proxima Jano, Ire per hanc noli quisquis es, omen habet.*

*Mâ Fama refert Fabios exisse trecentos.*

*Porta vacat culpa, sed tamen omen habet.*

Festus adds, that the Senate made it Matter of Religion, never to assemble in the Temple of *Janus*. So superstitious were the first Romans!

<sup>31</sup> According to *Volaterranus*, B. 5. Geogr. ch. 20. the River of *Cremera*, after it had watered a Part of the Country, which reaches from *Veii* to *Rome*, discharged it self into the *Tyber*, near a Village, which he calls *Prima Porta*, six Miles from *Rome*. But *Cluverius* does not think this an exact Account of it. He thinks it agrees better with another River, which he calls *La Fossa*, which falls into the *Tyber* in the Neighbourhood of *Scrofano*, where the antient City of *Veii* formerly stood, according to this Geographer. He is therefore of Opinion, that the River of *Cremera* is the same that now runs out of the Lake *Baccano*, and falls into the *Tyber*, five Miles from *Rome*. The Natives call it the *Varca*, or the *Valca*. Upon this Supposition, adds *Cluverius*, what *Livy* says, viz. that there was a vast Plain between *Veii*, and the Fort built near

the *Cremera*, is true. *Ad conspecta procul a Cremera magno campi intervallo pecora decurrerunt.*

<sup>30</sup> Neither *Livy*, *D. Hal.* nor *Cassiodorus*, distinguish the two Consuls for this Year by their Surnames. Nevertheless, it is certain from the *Fæsti Capitolini*, that *Æmilius*, who was now Consul the second time, had the Surname of *Mamercus Mamercinus*. *Diodorus* confirms the same thing. According to the *Capitoline Marbles*, *C. Serv. Struclius Abala*, either died before his Office expired, or actually abdicated it; since we learn from these antient Monuments, that one *Esquilinus* was chosen in his room: whether he was the same with *T. Herminius*, as some conjecture, or with *Corn. Lentulus*, whom *Diod. Siculus* makes *L. Æmilius*'s Collegue, is uncertain. But neither *Livy* nor *D. Hal.* say any thing of this Promotion, in order to fill *Servilius*'s Place. The *Greek Tables* leave us some Footsteps of the Consul *Esquilinus*. We there read *αἰμιλίου καὶ ἑρκυλίου*, instead of *ἑσσυλίου*. As to the *Prænomen* of *Mamercus*, given to *Æmilius*, *Plutarch* in his *Lives of Numa* and *P. Æmilius*, speaks of one *Mamercus*, the Son of *Pythagoras*, whose Name, he says, *Numa* borrowed, to give it to one of his Children, who was the Stock of the *Æmilian* Family. But this Origin is as fabulous as the Arrival of *Pythagoras* in *Italy*, in the Time of that second King of *Rome*; as we have shewn, B. II. Festus will have it, that the *Prænomen* of *Mamercus* was used by the *Oscei*, to signify the God *Mars*; and he gives us two Conjectures about the Name of *Æmilius*. Some derive it from the Son of *Pythagoras*, whose Surname was *Æmilos*, on account of his sweet Temper. Others carry up the Origin of it as high as *Ascanius*, the Son of *Æneas*, who had two Sons, one named *Æmilius*, and the other *Ilus*.

<sup>32</sup> *Livy* does not mention the Creation of a *Proconsul*, till the Year 289. He then speaks of *T. Quintus Barbatius* as such, who commanded the Army of the Republick against the *Æqui*, in that Quality. His

Dignity;



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L. ÆMILIUS,  
and C. SERVI-  
LIUS, Consuls.  
Dion. Hal.  
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This was not at first one of those Offices, which were conferred by the *Centuries* in the *Campus Martius*. Sometimes the Senate alone, at other times the People assembled only by *Tribes*, or <sup>32</sup> by *Curia*, honoured some private Person with this Title, which gave him no Authority, but over the Army he commanded. As for the Troops, the *Proconsul* had indeed the same Power over them, as if he had been *Consul*. It was then, in Quality of *Proconsul*, that *Cæso Fabius* set out to carry on the War with the *Veientes*, in the same manner as his Relations had so happily begun it. It was surprising to see one single Family cope with a large *Lucumony*, and gain the Ascendant over it. Indeed, while the *Fabii* had none to contend with but the *Veientes*, they entirely worsted them. But the latter soon got all *Hetruria* to engage in their Quarrel. They represented in a general Diet, That their Canton was a Barrier against the *Romans*; That if that was suffered to be broken through, the Enemy would penetrate into the most distant *Lucumonies*; and lastly, That considerable Succours were therefore necessary, to demolish a Fort, on the Destruction of which, the Safety of all the *Hetrurians* in general depended. And upon this, they were promised as many Troops as they desired.

THE Report of the Renewal of a serious War with all *Hetruria*, was no sooner brought to *Rome*, but News likewise came, that the *Æqui* on one Side, and the *Volsci* on the other, were ravaging the Country of the *Latins*. The *Consuls* therefore made all haste to raise three Armies, to engage these three troublesome Nations, whose Losses had not disheartened them. Each Army consisted of two *Legions*, that is, of above 16000 Men, including the Auxiliaries sent by the *Latins*, the *Hernici*, and the other Allies, to the Republick. *Servilius*, one of the *Consuls*, led one Army against the *Volsci*; another was appointed to act against the *Hetrurians*, under the Command of his Colleague *L. Æmilius*; and the Republick made *S. Furius* General of the third, with the Title likewise of *Proconsul*. These three Commanders had different Success. The *Proconsul Furius* only shewed himself to the *Æqui*, and they were seized with Terror, and immediately dispersed. But this was not the Case with the *Volsci*. Their Armies were inured to War, and their Troops brave. The *Consul Servilius* was not cautious enough in the hasty Defiance he gave them. He found he had intrepid Men to deal with, who resisted him with Vigour, drove him back into his Camp, and forced him to continue there, without stirring. As to the *Consul Æmilius*, he behaved himself better against the *Hetrurians*. He found an Army of *Veientes* strengthened with Reinforcements from the other *Lucumonies*: and would not give himself any more time than was necessary to fix his Post. He marched against the Enemy early the next Day. The Success of the Battel was long equal <sup>33</sup> on both Sides, but the Cavalry made the Victory incline to the *Romans*. They first fell upon the Right Wing, fighting sometimes on Horseback, and sometimes on Foot, as the Ground would permit. From thence they came to the Left Wing, and put both into Disorder: And after the Wings were routed, the main Body gave way. All the *Hetrurian* Army fled towards their Camp; and the *Consul* pursued them thither, and besieged them in it all the rest of the Day, and the Night following. The *Romans* were already Masters of the Rampart, when the *Hetrurians*, wounded, and spent with Fatigue, quitted their Entrenchments, and retired partly to *Veii*, and partly to the Hills then called *The Red* <sup>34</sup> *Rocks*. The Plunder of the *Hetrurian* Camp, which was gi-

Dignity, if I may so speak, being yet in its Infancy, was solely confined to the Command of the *Roman* Troops, in Conjunctions when the Presence of the *Consul* was necessary at *Rome*, or when the Republick, being attacked by several different Nations at once, was forced to send several Armies into the Field, and consequently to increase the Number of her Generals. When the Expedition was ended, the *Proconsulate* expired. But that was not the Case, when *Rome* became Mistress of *Italy*, and gave Law to almost all the Nations in *Europe*; she then appointed Governours over the conquered Provinces, in Quality of *Proconsuls*, and *Proprators*. These Offices, which were not common till long after this time, had great Privileges annexed to them, as we shall observe in its proper Place.

<sup>33</sup> The *Roman* Historians are not express enough to make it clear, whether the *Proconsulship* was disposed of by the Senate, or People, at this time. Nevertheless, as this was then but a transient Dignity, and only took place on these extraordinary Occasions, it is natural to believe, that the People depended on the

Care and Vigilance of the Senate, and chief Magistrates, for the Election of a *Proconsul*; or that, in an urgent Necessity, the Senate and People joined in proclaiming him whom they thought most worthy of that Office. But when the *Proconsulate* became a common Office in the Republick, the People assembled by *Tribes*, sometimes by *Curia*, and, more rarely, by *Centuries*, had their Share in this Election; of which we shall find many Instances in this History.

<sup>34</sup> According to *Livy*, the *Hetrurians* were seized with Fear, upon the first Motion of the *Romans*, in order to fight. He adds, that they wanted Ground to widen their Ranks, and draw up in order of Battle. In this Perplexity, continues the Historian, the *Roman* Cavalry took them in Flank, and gave them such a Shock, that they were forced to give way, and fly, before they had come to an Engagement.

<sup>35</sup> *Cluverius* places these *Red Rocks*, or *Saxa Rubra*, in the Neighbourhood of *Borghetto*, nine Miles from *Rome*. *Holstenius* fixes them in the Place now called *Monte Tevere*.



ren up as free Booty to the Soldiers, enriched them for a great while. The *Hetrurians* were a rich Nation, and their Luxury followed them into their Camps. This considerable Defeat discouraged the *Veientes* for the present from continuing the War; and they sent an humble Embassy to *Æmilius* to beg a Peace. But the *Consul* shewed his Respect to the Senate; referred the Embassadors to the *Conscript Fathers*, to treat with them at *Rome*; and they, in their turn, referred it to the *Consul*, to settle the Conditions of the Treaty.

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L. ÆMILIUS,  
and C. SERVI-  
LIUS, Consuls.  
Dion. Hal.  
B. 9. p. 576.  
Liv. B. 2.  
ibid.

NOTHING could be more convenient for *Rome*, than the Subjection of the *Veientes*. In the Condition to which they were reduced, the *Romans* might have put this flourishing *Lucumony* on the Foot of the *Hernici*, and the *Latins*; a Part of their Lands might have been taken from them; and one of those Treaties of Alliance settled with them, which made Nations subject to the Republick. But the *Consul* treated the Conquered with Indulgence; and granted them a Peace, without demanding Hostages as Securities for their Fidelity, and without requiring any thing more of them, than Corn for the Soldiers for two Months, and Money for the Expence of the War for six. A Triumph seems to have been due to the brave *Æmilius*, after gaining a Victory, the Consequence of which was, the Humiliation of a most troublesome Canton of *Hetruria*: But the Senate and People opposed *Æmilius's* Attempt to obtain it. He was accused of having affected an Independence, because he had given the Enemy such advantageous Terms, without communicating them to the Publick. Nevertheless, as he was a Man of Merit, he was invited to employ his Troops and Skill, in relieving his Colleague, who was embarrassed with the War against the *Volschi*: and upon this Condition, the Senate promised to receive him into Favour. But *Æmilius* being exceedingly piqued at the Refusal he had met with, returned to *Rome*, and complained to the People of the Proceedings of the Senate. According to him, the only Reason, why the *Patricians* were dissatisfied with his having expedited the Peace with the *Veientes*, was their political Views, which always tended to the Disadvantage of the People. *They labour*, says he, *to prolong the Wars abroad, only to delay the Execution of the Cassian Law, and the Distribution of the conquered Lands*. Nay, he went further. To shew his Resentment, he was so far from marching to assist *Servilius* against the *Volschi*, that he disbanded his own Army, and recalled that which *Furius* led against the *Æqui*. The latter, who, as *Proconsul*, was only *Æmilius's* Vicegerent, was obliged to obey; and by this means the enraged *Consul* conveyed his own Resentments into the Minds of the People. From that time, the *Tribunes* took occasion again to inveigh against the Senate, and renew the Pretensions of the Commodity to the Division of the Lands.

§. XVII. Such was the Situation of Affairs at *Rome*, when the new *Consuls* entered upon their Office. *C. Horatius* <sup>36</sup> was one, and *T. Menenius* the other; whose *Consulship* was not happy, but abounded with Misfortunes. Tho' Peace was concluded with the *Veientes*, the Family of the *Fabii* did not quit their Post, but continued on the Frontiers; which was a wise Precaution: for the Inconstancy of the *Veientes*, and their Inclination to break Treaties, was well known. However, the Nation of the *Hetrurians* was offended at the separate Peace the *Veian Lucumony* had made with *Rome*, without the Consent of a General Diet; and cited the *Veientes* to appear in an Assembly; and declared their Precipitation, in reconciling themselves to *Rome*, criminal. So that the other eleven *Lucumonies* reduced them to the Dilemma, either of hazarding a War with them, or breaking the Treaty they had made with the *Romans*; which put them into great Perplexity. *How*, said they, *can we break the new Treaty we have made, with Honour?* But an *Hetrurian* in the Assembly removed their Scruple, and started an Expedient, to do it without Dishonour. *Demand of the Romans*, said he, *the Demolition of their Fort, and insist upon their recalling the Garrison, which is a Restraint upon you. You may urge, that the Peace makes it useless. These Demands the Pride of Rome will never suffer her to grant; and her Refusal will be a fair Pretence for renewing the War.* This Advice was approved; all *Hetruria* immediately took up Arms; and the *Veientes* sent to give the *Fabii* notice, to quit the Frontiers, and their Fort. But the Family were too wise, and too tender in Point of

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXXVI.  
C. HORATIUS;  
and T. MENE-  
NIUS, Consuls:

<sup>36</sup> Diodorus, as usual, dignifies the Names of the *Consuls* for this Year. It is probable, the first was Uncle to the two *Horatii*, who were *Consuls*, one in the Year of *Rome* 296, according to the *Fasti Capitolini*, and the other in the Year 304. What is sure, that this *C. Horatius* was the Son of *M. Horatius*,

who was made *Consul* with *M. Val. Poplicola*, the first Year after the Expulsion of the *Tarquins*, and who dedicated the *Capitol*. As for *T. Menenius*, he was the Son of that *T. Menenius*, who reconciled the *Patricians* and *Plebeians* by his Fable.



Year of  
ROM E  
CCLXXVI.  
C. HORATIUS,  
and T. MENE-  
NIUS, Consuls.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 9 p. 578.

Honour, to comply with the Proposal of the *Veientes*. They looked upon it as an Insult: and instantly resolved upon War. Neither Party now confined themselves entirely to robbing: they often fought Battels in the open Plain. The *Veientes* were provoked to see themselves frequently beaten by an handful of Men, and surprized at the Resistance one single Family made against a whole Nation. What therefore they could not do by Force, they attempted to accomplish by Artifice. The *Fabii* had gained such frequent Advantages over the Enemy, that they thought nothing impossible to their Valour: and the Enemy endeavoured to make this Valour the Means of their Destruction. They laid Snares for them, which brave Men were not able to avoid. They for some time caused several Herds of Cattel to appear, between while, in the Plain, with their Herdsmen governing them, and guarded by a small Number of Soldiers. When the *Fabii* saw this, they came down from the Fort of the *Cremera*, to carry off the Cattel, and disperse their Guard. Another time they played the same Game up higher in the Country. Still the brave *Romans* readily went wherever there was any Spoil to be had, or any Opportunity of fighting. Till at length, the Time was come for laying an Ambuscade for them, in which the most intrepid Courage should not be able to withstand the Multitude of the Enemy. The *Veientes* lodged a whole Army of *Hetrurians* in a Wood; and posted Centinels on all the Eminencies, to give notice to the Men laying in Ambush, when they should sally out. Then they brought out all their Cattel, and all their Horses, into a Valley, as it were to feed them: and the Guard that attended them appeared not to be great. This was enough<sup>37</sup> to tempt the *Fabii*; who marched out of their Fort in a great Body, and left no more Men in it, than were necessary to defend it from a Surprise. They advanced in good Order; and upon their Approach, the Herdsmen and their Guard fled. Whilst some of the *Fabii* pursued the Fugitives, to take them Prisoners, others seized the Cattel; and a small Number of them continued drawn up in Order of Battel. Immediately the *Hetrurians* came out of their Ambush, surrounded the *Romans* on all Sides, and cut in pieces all those who were in pursuit of the Booty. As for those who kept their Ranks, and formed a Body, they quitted the Plain in good Order, and gained an Eminence, with full Resolution to sell their Lives very dear. They arrived there out of Breath, by continually fighting the Enemy, who followed them; and when they were half way up the Ascent, they fell into greater Danger, than in the Plain. The *Hetrurians* had had the Precaution to lodge Troops in a Wood, near this Hill. These fell suddenly on the *Fabii*, who were now surrounded with Enemies on all Sides: and then followed a furious Battel, in which the *Romans* performed prodigious Feats of Valour. They covered the Earth with the dead Bodies of many *Hetrurians*, disengaged themselves from others, and gained the Top of the Hill. There they passed the Night without any Provisions, and were still beset by an Army of *Hetrurians*. The next Day, the *Fabii*, who were left to guard the Fort, were informed of the Danger of their Relations and Masters; and instantly flying to their Relief, the Camp was almost deserted. As soon then as the *Hetrurians* perceived them in the Plain, they sent out Detachment to cut them off. Indeed these *Romans* from the Fort made a brave Resistance, but i

<sup>37</sup> D. Hal.'s Account is as above: which he gives as the most authentick Relation, and most agreeable to the Testimony of a great Number of credible Authors. Nevertheless, others are said by the same Historian, to relate the Circumstances of the unfortunate Defeat of the *Fabii*, in a different manner. Their Account is this. The Time was come, when the Family of the *Fabii* were to offer up a Sacrifice, and celebrate a Family-Feast together. In order to discharge this religious Duty, the *Fabii* marched out of the Fort of the *Cremera*, guarded by a small Number of their Clients. Without using the Precautions, of sending out Men to reconnoitre, and of marching in Order of Battel, they passed thro' the Enemy's Country, with as much Confidence, as if they had been at Peace with them, and had had nothing to fear from the Hostilities of the *Hetrurians*. But they being informed of the Departure of the *Fabii*, did not fail to make their Advantage of it. The *Veientes* posted a Part of their Troops in an Ambuscade, in the Road the *Romans* were to take, whilst a small Body of an Army marched to meet the Guard, and prepared to attack it. And the *Fabii*, who suspected nothing, fell into the Snare which had been laid for them. The Enemies, who lay in Ambush,

came out suddenly, and attacked them with Vigour, some in Front, others in Flank; whilst a Troop of *Veientes*, who followed close after them, attacked them in the Rear. Being therefore surrounded on all Sides, they at last fell; being overpowered with the Multitude, who continually poured upon them, Showers of Stones, Darts, and Javelins. D. Hal. himself owns, he cannot give any Credit to this Account, which has not the least Shadow of Probability. Is credible, says he, that so many *Romans* in a Part should abandon their Post, without an express Order from the Senate, and should dare appear at Rome, under Pretence of a Sacrifice; the Care of which might have been committed to several others of their Family and Name, whose great Age was a Dispensation to their not bearing Arms? And if we suppose, that of the *Fabii*, not one excepted, had shut themselves up in the Fort of the *Cremera*, it would have been sufficient for them to have dispatched three or four of the Family to discharge their Obligations in the Name of all the rest. It must have been very imprudent to leave a Fort defenceless, and at the Enemy's Mercy, which was of such Consequence, with respect to the Safety of the *Romans*.



was in vain: They were surrounded with Enemies, and all destroyed, not a Man of them escaping. In the mean time, as soon as Day appeared, those who were on the top of the Hill, being more oppressed with Hunger and Thirst, than by the Enemy, came down with the Rapidity of a Torrent, to break their Way through the Enemy's Swords; and the Slaughter they made of the *Hetrurians*, is not to be expressed. The Heaps of the Dead were often a Barrier between them and the Enemy, and hindered them from reaching one another. At length, the *Hetrurians*, surprized at their Losses, suspended the Heat of the Action for some Hours, and promised these brave Men to let them pass, if they would throw down their Arms, and give their Words, that they would abandon the Fort. But this was deemed a shameful Proposal by Men thirsty of Blood, and warmed with strong Desires of Success; and they chose rather to run the hazard of dying all together with Glory, than to save their Lives, by a mean Action, which would reflect Dishonour on their Family. They renewed the Attack; upon which the *Hetrurians* immediately changed their Way of fighting; and did not come to a close Fight with their Swords; but kept at a distance, and overwhelmed these illustrious Warriors with Darts and Stones. The latter held out some time against the unexpected Storm, and pushed forwards, like Lions, on the Enemy, who durst not come near them. But at length the *Hetrurians* perceived, that the Swords of the *Romans* were most of them broken, and their Bucklers split in pieces; and then, tho' not till then, they ventured to attack them, Man to Man. What cannot Men in Despair do! The *Fabii* threw themselves with Fury into the midst of the Battalions, and snatched away the Arms of their Enemies, to fight them with their own Weapons. Some of them who lay upon the Ground half dead, rose up, and came to yield their last Breath in the midst of the Battel. In short, their Fury made the *Romans* so formidable, that the *Hetrurians* were forced to have recourse again to Javelins and Stones: and then these brave Relations were overwhelmed with them. But tho' they were all slain, they left a deep Impression of *Roman* Valour on the Minds of the *Veientes*. The Heads of all these brave Men were cut off; the *Hetrurians* stuck them upon the Tops of their Lances; carrying them towards the Fort, to hasten the Reduction of it. The small Remains of the *Fabii* gave themselves up to Despair, at the Sight of so many dear Heads; and Prudence was utterly neglected by Men under so great a Provocation to Rage. They did not stay to fight from the Ramparts; but went to meet the Enemy without observing any Order in fighting. They aimed at nothing but to sell their own Lives dear; Vengeance, and not Victory, was what they sought. The Shame of surviving their Relations, and an Emulation of equalling their Glory, made them prodigal of their Lives. So that all the Men of this antient, numerous, and most illustrious Family, were cut off, and not one of them escaped. Indeed, if we may give Credit to the *Latin* Historians, we should add, That only one Youth of about fourteen Years of Age<sup>38</sup>, was saved, of all the 306 *Fabii*; and That he afterwards repaired his Family, and perpetuated it. But according to the *Greek* Historian this is a mere Fable, invented on purpose to give something of a miraculous Air to this tragical Event. It is true, that after the Defeat

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C. HORATIUS,  
and T. MENE-  
NIUS, Consuls.

Livy, B. 2.  
ch. 50. Val.  
Max. Florus,  
Aurel. Victor.  
Aulus Gellius,  
&c.

<sup>38</sup> In this Sense Ovid says, *Fast.* B. 2.

*Una dies Fabios ad bellum miserat omnes,  
Ad bellum missos perdidit una dies.  
Ut tamen Herculeæ superessent semina gentis,  
Credibile est ipsos consuluisse Deos.  
Nam puer impubes & adhuc non utilis armis,  
Unius de Fabia gente relictus erat.*

Livy, A. Victor, Silius, Festus, and Val. Maximus, authorize the same Tradition. But D. Hal. rejects it as a Fable, which has not the least Appearance of Truth. No Man can think, says he, that of all the *Fabii*, who perished at the *Cremera*, not one was married, or left any Children. Besides, there was an old Law in *Rome*, which forbade Celibacy, and all the Citizens were obliged to marry, after a certain Age, otherwise the *Censors* had a Power of punishing the Offenders, by Fine, Degradation, or otherwise. According to *Cicero*, B. 2. de *Legib.* it was one of the principal Duties of these Magistrates to enquire out those who lived unmarried. CÆLIBES ESSE PROHIBITO. To make them the more contemptible, they lost a Part of the Privileges of *Roman* Citizens. Their Testimony was not admitted in Courts of Jus-

tice, and they were not suffered to make a Will. So that, the Judge, before he admitted the Oath or Deposition of any Witness, always asked him, whether he was married? EX ANIMI TUI SENTENTIA . . . . . UXOREM HABES, i. e. Tell me sincerely; Have you a Wife? Nor was this all. A single Life was thought by the Pagans an enormous Crime, which the Gods would punish in Hell. Now is it credible, that the *Fabii* should conspire together to violate a Law which had been religiously observed by their Ancestors? Nay, supposing that they were dispensed from it, is it not natural to believe, that they had younger Brothers, who might support the Hopes of the Family, and perpetuate the Name of the *Fabii*? This is so groundless a Supposition, continues D. Hal. that it is beneath the Dignity of an Historian to mention it. But these Reasons have not hindered *Perizonius* from declaring himself for *Livy*, and the other antient Authors, against D. Hal. But all he urges, in Defence of this Fact, does not amount to more than Conjecture. Presumption and Probability are on the Side of the *Greek* Historian. You will find *Perizonius's* Reflexions on this Subject in the fifth Chapter of his *Animadversiones Historice*, or *Historical Remarks*.



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of the *Fabii* at the *Cremera*, there appeared only one *Fabius* in the Republick for a long time, whose Merit equalled the Reputation of his Ancestors; and perhaps we ought thus to understand this figurative Expression of the antient *Roman* Writers, *That there was but one Fabius left in their Family.* *Livy*, and those who have copied him, have perhaps understood it too literally. But be that as it will, *Rome* suffered a considerable Loss, and shewed all the Concern at it that Gratitude could express. She gave the Name of *Porta Scelerata*, or, *The Accursed Gate*, to the *Gate Carmentalis*, thro' which they passed, when they went out of the City. The Day of their Defeat was reckoned among the unlucky Days, and it was forbidden to begin any thing of Consequence upon it.

§. XVIII. WHEN the *Veientes* first began to renew their Hostilities against the *Fabii*, News was brought to *Rome*, that the *Volsci* likewise were preparing for a War, which their Advantages the last Year, and their Experience in military Affairs, made formidable to the *Romans*. It was therefore necessary to raise Troops to oppose both these Nations; and then the *Tribunes of the People* made the same Opposition to the Levies as formerly. They again demanded, in favour of the Commonalty, That the Lands should be distributed. And the very dangerous Situation of the publick Affairs, was their only Motive to desist from pursuing their Demands for a time. Two Armies were raised; one committed to the Conduct of the *Consul Menenius*, to act against the *Hetrurians*; and the other to his Colleague *Horatius*, to act against the *Volsci*. Had *Menenius* made the Dispatch which was necessary, he had arrived soon enough to have delivered the *Fabii* out of their Danger. He was but 30 *Stadia* from the Field of Battle, when they were cut in Pieces; and his Slowness, which seemed affected, created a Suspicion that he had designedly given them up to Destruction. His Jealousy of the *Fabian* Family was well known, and he might perhaps be afraid that all the Honour of the Campaign he was going to make, would be given to these brave Defenders of their Country. When he came into the Territory of the *Veientes*, he found the *Hetrurians* puffed up with their Victory. The Place where he encamped, was very unlucky to him; and the Enemy took occasion from thence to despise him. He placed himself on the Declivity of an Hill, without enclosing the Top of it within his Entrenchments: And from thence therefore the *Hetrurians* attacked him. They marched some Horse up the Back-side of the Hill, and got to the very Top of it, and by help of the Horsemen, the *Hetrurian* Foot likewise climbed up, and there formed a Camp above that of the *Romans*. But still, *Menenius's* Fault had been pardonable, if he would have acknowledged it: Whereas he chose rather to continue in so disadvantageous a Post, than to own he had made a bad Choice; and his Imprudence and Obstinacy were both punished. For some Days, nothing passed between the *Hetrurians* and *Romans* but little Skirmishes, in which the former always had the Advantage. They fought from above, with Men posted below them. Besides, as their Country was the Seat of the War, the Inhabitants often intercepted the Convoys of Corn and Water which were coming to the *Romans*. The *Consul* had not had Precaution enough to place himself within Reach of a River or Spring. In short, *Menenius* was reduced to a Necessity, either of giving Battle, or of perishing in his Camp, and to increase the Misfortune, he was not in a Condition to choose an advantageous Piece of Ground to fight in. He was under a Necessity of drawing up his Troops, in a Sort of Trench or Hollow, where there was not room to extend them. Thus one false Step in War draws a Man necessarily into many others, in consequence of it. The *Hetrurians*, who promised themselves all imaginable Success, from the Incapacity of the *Roman* General, were ready to accept the Offer he made them of a Battle; they drew up on the Brow of the Hill, and from thence fell upon the *Consul*, with an Army twice as numerous as his. Besides the Advantage of the Ground, they had the likewise, that their foremost Ranks were so driven on by those behind them, that they could not retreat. Being therefore under a Necessity of fighting, and utterly unable to draw back, the *Hetrurians* drove the *Romans* before them, and tumbled them down the Hill. It is not easy to say, how great a Number of *Centurions* and brave Soldiers fell in this unequal Engagement. The *Consul's* Army was so warmly pushed, that they were obliged to seek for Refuge in their Camp. But the *Hetrurians* pursued them to it, and besieged them there. It was taken that very Night, after the *Romans* had shamefully deserted it; and the *Hetrurians* chose rather to plunder than pursue the Enemy in their Flight. Had they followed the *Romans* closely, their whole Army must have been cut off. However, the *Hetrurians* did not lose



the Advantages of their Victory. Their Army passed the *Cremera*, and spread it self over the *Roman* Territory. They came even to the Hill *Janiculus*, and posted themselves upon the Top of it; from whence they could see all that passed in *Rome*, and observe what Motions were made in the City, by way of Preparation against a Siege. The safest Way was to recall the *Consul Horatius* immediately, and with him, the Army which was appointed to act against the *Volsci*. As soon as that appeared, the Affairs of the Republick had a quite different Aspect. The Enemy had already passed the *Tyber*, and in a manner blocked up *Rome*. But the brave *Horatius* delivered his distressed Country. The Success of the first of the two Battles he fought with the Enemy, was pretty equal on both Sides, but the last was decisive. The former was fought near the Gate *Collina*, the latter near the Temple <sup>39</sup> of *Hope*. The Valour of the brave *Consul* revived the Courage of the *Roman* Soldiers, and secured the City. Thus ended a *Consulship* which brought nothing but Glory to *Horatius*; nothing to *Menenius* but Contempt and the Hatred of the People, which did not die with his Office.

§. XIX. THE Reason why the Deposition of the preceding *Consuls* was hastened, in order to a more speedy Choice of Successors, is to me unknown. *A. Virginus* <sup>40</sup>, and *P. Servilius*, had the Reputation of being great Commanders; and they were invested with this Office on the Summer <sup>41</sup> Solstice, tho' it had formerly been the Custom not to choose *Consuls* till towards the Autumnal Equinox. Indeed the Danger to which the City was exposed called for speedy Relief: The *Hetrurians*, tho' fatigued with the two Battles *Horatius* had fought with them, yet had not entirely laid aside their Design of besieging *Rome*. They kept it blocked up, and did not decamp from the *Janiculus*, on which they had fortified themselves. The Famine began now to be sensibly felt in the City, which had been occasioned by the Incursions of the *Hetrurians*. The Lands had been left unsown the last Year, for fear of their Ravages; all the Barns in the Country had been burnt or plundered; and Provisions could not now be brought to *Rome* without Difficulty, either by Land or Water. Nevertheless, the Number of the Inhabitants was considerably increased. To the 110000 Men, all *Roman* Citizens, and fit to bear Arms, which were reckoned up in the last *Census*, we must now add, the Countrymen who were fled into the City for Refuge, as well as the Women, Children, and Slaves, and that vast Number of Foreigners, who exercised the meanest Trades in *Rome*. It is known, that the *Roman* Citizens were forbidden to debase themselves by practising mechanical Arts. This Multitude of People, who were useless in War, were at least three times as many in Number as the Soldiery; and the meanest of the People were also most earnest in demanding Bread from the Senate. They gathered together in Companies, to go and plunder the Granaries of the Rich; and their Clamours and Mutinies were encouraged by the *Triunes*, who threw all the Hatred of the publick Want upon the *Conscript Fathers*. Nevertheless, the Senators gave good Orders for the Relief of the People. They sent out Merchants to buy Corn, in those Provinces where it was most plenty. They made a Regulation, that the Citizens should keep no more in their Granaries, than was necessary for the bare Subsistence of their Families. And lastly, they fixed the Price of Corn at a moderate Rate, considering the Scarcity. But these wise Precautions were only serviceable for a time. The *Romans* found themselves at last under a Necessity either of being starved to Death, or of marching out of the City in Arms, and driving the Enemy, which was the Cause of their Misery, farther off. The two

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C. HORATIUS,  
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NIUS, Consuls.  
*Liv. B. 2. c. 51.*  
*Dion. Hal.*  
*B. 9. p. 582.*

Year of  
R O M E  
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A. VIRGINIUS,  
and P. SERVI-  
LIUS, Consuls.

<sup>39</sup> This Temple of *Hope*, was about eight *Stadia*, that is, somewhat more than 900 Geometrical Paces, from *Rome*, according to *D. Hal.*

<sup>40</sup> *A. Virginus* is surnamed *Tricostus* and *Rutilus*, in the *Fasti Consulares*. *Servilius* has the Surname of *Strutius*, which was pretty common in the *Servilian* Family. He was the Son of *P. Serv. Priscus*, who was *Consul*, with *M. Claudius Sabinus*, in the Year of *Rome* 258.

<sup>41</sup> *D. Hal.* says, the *Consuls* for this Year entered upon their Office in the Month of *August*, near the Summer Solstice, *πρὶ τὰς θέριας μάλιστα τροπῆς Σεπτεμβρίου*. Why the *Greek* Historian thus carries back the Office about two Months, is not to be conceived. *Livian* finding it impossible to reconcile two such compatible Things, as the Summer Solstice and the Month of *August*, has Recourse to a Correction. In- stead therefore of the former Reading, he substitutes

this, *πρὶ τὰς χειμερινὰς τροπῆς Δεκεμβρίου μηνός*, i. e. about the Winter Solstice, in the Month of December. But this is too forced an Emendation, to be agreeable to Men of Judgment, who are scrupulous in admitting Corrections. Besides, since the MSS. agree with the printed Copies, there is no room to suppose a Mistake in the Copyists. It is therefore more natural to believe that *D. Hal.* added the Words, *in the Summer Solstice*, of his own Head. He might probably have confounded the Month of *August* with that of *June*. Each was indeed the sixth Month, according to the different Order of the Months of the old *Roman* Year, and to that of the *Julian* Calendar. The Month of *August* was the sixth, reckoning from *March*, with which *Romulus's* Year began: And it was therefore called *Sextilis*. The Month of *June* is likewise the sixth Month in the Calendar of *Julius Caesar*, reckoning from *January*, which is the first Month of the *Julian* Year.



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*Consuls* therefore led all the *Roman* Forces into the Field; passed the *Tyber* in Barks, at Midnight; and in the Morning encamped within Reach of the *Fanículus*, near the *Hetrurians*. Hunger will admit of no Delays. As soon as it was Day, they offered Battle. *Virginus* commanded the right Wing, and *Servilius* the left. As for the *Hetrurians*, they looked upon the Ruin of the Republick as certain; and thought that the gaining this single Battle would hasten it more than the Famine it self which exhausted its Strength. Their Hopes therefore of overcoming a famished People, made them also in haste to engage; but the Advantage they had gained over *Menenius* was no sure Pledge of their having the same over the new *Consuls*. The Battle was long fought with Courage and Obstinacy on both Sides: But the Loss of the *Hetrurians* was much greater than that of the *Romans*. The routed Enemy had already recovered their Camp, when *Virginus* wisely put a Stop to the Impetuosity of his right Wing: But *Servilius*, in the left, had not the same Command of his own Valour. He repulsed the Enemy to the Foot of the *Fanículus*. There the *Hetrurians* rallied; and taking the Advantage of the Ground, and of some fresh Succours they received from their Camp, gave the *Romans* a more shameful Repulse than they had receiv'd. Then *Virginus* made a Motion with the Body he commanded, so as to bring the *Hetrurians* between the two Armies. He fell upon them in the Rear, as they were pursuing his Collegue; and this Step revived the Courage of *Servilius's* Troops. They changed their Flight into a vigorous Attack; and then the *Romans*, who surrounded the *Hetrurians*, abundantly repaid them the Blow they had receiv'd from them at the *Cremera*. Nevertheless, the *Consuls* lost so many Men in the first Onset, that they thought the Victory doubtful; but the Departure of the Enemy removed their Doubts. They retired by Night to *Veii*, and deserted their Camp on the *Fanículus*. This made the *Romans* sensible how great an Overthrow they had given the *Hetrurians*; especially when they found all the Road from *Rome* to *Veii* strewed with the dead Bodies of the wounded and weak of the *Hetrurian* Army, who being spent with Pain and Fatigue, died before they could get into their own Country. At *Rome*, a Triumph was decreed the two *Consuls*; but they, when they saw the great Number of *Romans* who perished in the Battle, and were brought into the City to be burnt, declined it.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 9. p. 584.

THE Departure of the *Hetrurians* restored Tranquillity and Plenty to the City; and Provisions arrived from all the Countries in *Italy*. But the Famine and War were succeeded by another Scourge, which was the Consequence of Idleness and Peace. The *Romans* were an unquiet People, who were always entering into domestick Factions, as soon as they were at Rest, from the Attacks of a foreign Enemy. The Complaints about the Distribution of the Lands were renewed. But the Senate set *Tribunes* against *Tribunes*, and by the Divisions they sowed among them, diverted the Storm with which they were threatened. Nevertheless, the People of *Rome* must have something to amuse them, during their Inaction; and this the *Tribunes* supplied them with, in their Prosecution of one of the *Consuls* for the last Year. *Menenius* had brought the Indignation of the Commons upon himself, by his Behaviour with regard to the *Fabii*, whom he had not relieved; and by his Obstinacy in continuing in an ill-chosen Camp. The *Tribunes* took a Pleasure in bringing this noble *Patrician* before the People, who was the Son of the famous *Menenius Agrippa*. Thus they confirmed the Right of the Commons to judge the most distinguish'd Citizens of *Rome*, by trying an old *Consul* at their Tribunal. The Nobility thought themselves injured by this new Proceeding against a venerable *Patrician*: And to avoid the Blow, with which they were all threatened, in the Person of *Menenius*, practised all the same Arts they had formerly done in the Affair of *Coriolanus*. But the *Tribunes* were obstinate, and their Obstinacy prevailed. So that *Q. Considius*<sup>42</sup>, and *T. Genucius* summoned *Menenius* to appear before the People. The principal Crime laid to his Charge, was his having lost the *Romans* the Fort of the *Cremera*, by his Dilatoriness, and his personal Resentments. To which was added, the imprudent Operations of an ill-managed Campaign, all the Misfortunes of which were imputed to him. His Accusers made his Male-Administration a capital Crime, and the enraged People thirsted after his Blood. They were assembled, not by<sup>43</sup> *Curia*, but by *Tribes*, as at the Trial of *Co-*

Liv. B. 2. c. 52.

<sup>42</sup> Instead of *Quintus Considius*, we read *Quintilius*, in the printed Copies of *D. Hal.* The *Vatican* MS. has *Quintinus*. But *Sigonius* has very well observed, that *Quintilius* was the proper Name of a *Patrician* Family, and consequently could not belong to a *Tribune of the People*, whose Employment shews

him to have been of a *Plebeian* Family. We have therefore, with *Livy*, given him the Name of *Considius*.

<sup>43</sup> Ever since the Division of the People into six Classes, in the Reign of *S. Tullius*, the Assemblies by *Curia*, which till then had the chief Authority, grew less and less frequent. The Elections of the chief Magistrates



*riolanus*. The Commons seemed to have forgotten the Services which had been done them by *Menenius Agrippa*, the Father of the Accused. They were indebted to him for their Reconciliation with the Senate; but their passionate Desires of making themselves formidable, even to the *Consuls*, prevailed over all Considerations of Gratitude. The Criminal was almost unanimously condemned. It's true, the *Tribunes* changed the Sentence <sup>44</sup> of Death into a Fine; and *Menenius* was sentenced to pay 2000 *Asses* <sup>45</sup> of Brass to the publick Treasury. A moderate Sum, if we judge of it by the immense Riches the Republick afterwards acquired: But it was then a considerable one for Men who, tho' *Patricians*, had yet nothing to live upon but the Product of a little Farm, which they often cultivated with their own Hands. Nay, this Fine was an excessive one for *Menenius*, who was not rich, and reduced him to Want. Being therefore strongly affected with so sensible an Injury, he became morose and sullen. In vain did his Friends offer to pay his Fine; he opposed their Liberality. So true is it, that the *Romans* had a quicker Sense of what touched their Honour in the Times of Indigence, than when they grew wealthy. *Menenius* pined away with Want, and died; and his Death affected even those who had condemned him. This melancholy Accident greatly augmented the Animosity between the People and the *Patricians*; and the latter no longer kept any Measures with the former. They disputed every thing with them, and the Commons had no more Favours to hope for from them. The Distribution of the Lands especially, seemed farther off than ever.

§.XX. SUCH was the Situation of Affairs in the Republick, when *P. Valerius* <sup>46</sup> *Poplicola*, and *C. Nautius*, the new *Consuls*, took upon them the Government of it. The *Tribunes* were grown fond of humbling the Nobility, by getting them condemned by the People. They, above all, took a particular Delight in summoning the *Consuls* to appear before that Tribunal, as soon as they had laid down their Office, if there was ever so little room for an Accusation. *Servilius* had been guilty of Rashness, in the last

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A. VIRGINIUS,  
and T. SERVI-  
LIUS, Consuls.  
*Livy*, ibid.  
*Dion. Hal. B. 9.*  
p. 585, 586.

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Magistrates, and the Decision of important Affairs, were referred to the Tribunal of the People assembled by *Centuries*. Nevertheless, the *Comitia by Curia*, continued still to be of some Use, till the Year 281, when *Volero* the *Tribune of the People*, caused a Law to be made, which referred the Election of Magistrates of the second Order, to the *Comitia by Tribes*. Indeed it appears, in the Course of this History, that this latter Sort of *Comitia* had a great Share of the Government in their Hands, from the Year of Rome 262, when the *Tribunes of the People*, enraged at *Coriolanus*, first assumed the Right of citing *Patricians* to appear before the *Tribes*. From this time, the *Comitia by Curia* scarce assembled any more, unless for Form's sake, and out of Respect to antient Customs. Nevertheless, the *Curia* had still the Right of creating the *Flamines*, and the chief *Curio*, i. e. the Head of the 30 inferior *Curiones*, which each *Curia* had a Right to choose. As to other Things, they had no Power, but to confirm the Magistrates chosen by the *Centuries*, to ratify Adoptions and Wills, and to confer the Command of Armies, on *Dictators*, *Consuls*, *Prætors*, *Proconsuls*, and even *Vice-prætors*, and *Vice-quæstors*, but still in Subordination to him who commanded in chief. For the *Romans* distinguished the civil Power from the military, in the same Magistrates. The one was conferred by the *Centuries* and *Tribes*, the other by the *Curia*. But it is nevertheless true, that the Authority of the *Comitia by Curia* diminished insensibly, in proportion as the *Tribunes of the People* grew more powerful. Besides, as long as the *Curia* had any Authority in Rome, they were always assembled by the Magistrates of the first Order, except in the Election of the *Flamines*. Then the *Pontifices* presided in them. The *Comitium* was the Place where they used to assemble; and as to the Forms they observed, antient Authors have given us this Account of them. 1. It belonged to the Magistrate to appoint the Day of the Assembly. 2. The *Centors* took each his Share of the 30 *Curia*, and summoned them all in the Name of the *Consul*, or his Vicegerent. 3. Before any Affair was brought upon the Carpet, the President and *Augurs* consulted the *Auguries*. 4. If the Omens were favourable, the Magistrate put the Question. 5. He ordered the People to divide themselves, according to the Order of the *Curia*. SI ITA VOBIS VIDETUR, QUIRITES, DISCI-

DITE IN CURIAS, ET SUFFRAGIUM INITE, was the Form then used. 6. The Order in which the *Curia* were to vote, was determined by Lot. Above all, great Care was taken, that the *Curia* which appeared to give its Suffrage first, should have a fortunate and auspicious Name. Otherwise the Assembly was put off to another Day. 7. The Decrees made by the *Curia* were, in the first Ages, referred to the Senate, who confirmed or disannulled them, as they thought most proper for the publick Good. But it was otherwise in later Times. According to *D. Hal.* the Senate heard no more Causes but in the first Instance; and the *Curia* assumed a Right of determining the Affairs which belonged to their Tribunal, without Appeal. Their Decisions had the Force of Laws: and were therefore called *Leges Curiatæ*. Antient *Latin* Authors have preserved the Footsteps of these Usages, and Prerogatives, ascribed to the *Curia*, as this History will give us frequent Occasions of making particular Mention of them.

44 Thus the *Tribunes* made an ill Use of their Interest in the Commons to attempt the Lives of the most famous *Patricians*. But this Impudence was suppressed by a Law of the 12 *Tables*, which referred all capital Cases wherein the Life of a *Roman* Citizen was in question, to the Judgment of all the People assembled by *Centuries*.

45 We are here told by *D. Hal.* what the Weight of the *Talent* was. A *Fine*, says he, of 2000 *Asses*, was laid upon *Menenius*. Now the *As*, continued he, was a Piece of Copper Money of a Pound weight; so that the whole Sum amounted to 16 *Talents* of Brass. Whence we must conclude, that the 2000 *Asses* weighed 2000 Pounds, which, when reduced to *Talents*, made sixteen; and consequently, the Weight of each *Talent* was 125 Pounds. *Hesychius* and *Suidas* give us the same Estimation.

46 *P. Valerius Poplicola*, who enjoyed the *Consulate* this Year, was the Son of him of the same Name, who was substituted in the room of *Collatinus*, after the Expulsion of the *Tarquins*. *C. Nautius Rutilus* was the Son of *Sp. Nautius*, who had been *Consul* with *Sextus Furius*, in the Year of Rome 264. *Diodorus* and the *Fasts of Cuspinian*, give *Nautius* the Surname of *Rufus*.



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*Livy, ibid.*

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Campaign, in pursuing the Enemy to their Camp on the *Janiculus*: and he had lost a great many Men in the Repulse the *Hetrurians* gave him. This was enough to have him brought before the People as a criminal. The chief Cause of the Hatred of the *Tribunes* to this brave Man, was his Attachment to the Senate, and his Aversion to the Distribution of the Lands among the Populace. With a View therefore to destroy him by an unjust Judgment, two of the *Tribunes*, *Cæditi* and *Stati*, summoned him to appear before the Assembly of the *Curia*. *Servilius* was a Man of a steady Mind, and intrepid Courage. He did not so far debase himself, as to beg the Senators to intercede with the People on his behalf. Or he might perhaps be of opinion, that the Mediation of the *Patricians* would turn to his Ruin. But be that as it will, he put his whole Confidence in the Goodness of his Cause, and that lively Eloquence, which distinguished him as much as his Courage. In the mean time, all the *Romans* who had any true Affection for their Country, foresaw the Consequences of so unreasonable a Prosecution. *Which of our Generals, said they, will undertake the Command of our Armies, if we make them responsible for all the uncertain Events of War? Will not the Fear of being accused before the People, lessen their Courage? Which of them will dare venture to make any of those bold Strokes, which often decide the Fate of Battels? Who will run the hazard of those dangerous Stratagems which often secure the Victory? This is the Way to reduce our Officers to a cold and fearful Conduct, and make them take their Measures from the Approbation of the Tribunes, who are usually Men little experienced in the Art of War.* These were favourable Prepossessions for the Accused; who appeared in the *Comitia*, with the Intrepidity of a brave Man, who had often despised Death. His Accusers did not indeed charge him with having betrayed his Country, by exposing his Troops to the Mercy of the Enemy: they only reproached him with having been rash enough to pursue the latter in their Flight, to an unsurmountable Hill. They described, in an affecting manner, the Heaps of dead Bodies, which had been brought to *Rome*, to be burnt. They exaggerated the Circumstances of an Action which, they said, had not been carried on by the Rules of Prudence. And lastly, in order to sharpen the Resentments of the People, they inveighed against the Hatred of the *Patricians*, who had so long obstinately refused to put the *Cassian* Law in Execution, and create *Decemviri* for the Distribution of the Lands. But tho' these artful Discourses made some Impression on the Commons, *Servilius* removed them, as soon as he had spoken.

*Dion. Hal.*  
B. 9. p. 587.

Romans, said he, *you have been assembled, either to hear my Justification, or with a Determination to put me to Death. If you have resolved on my Destruction, I submit to your Rage, without saying any thing more. You will be less to blame to condemn me without a Hearing, than to destroy me after my Vindication. But if you are sincerely willing to be rightly informed concerning the Crime laid to my Charge, shew it by your Silence. I shall look upon Tumult and Clamors as a sure Sign of your Prejudices, and of a formed Design to take away my Life.*

THIS judicious Preamble caused a great Silence; and some in the Assembly were even heard to say, *Take Courage, and say whatever you think proper in your own Vindication.* Emboldened therefore by these Words, *Servilius* went on in this manner.

*HOW great a Satisfaction is it to me, Romans, to find you Judges, and not Enemies! I was chosen Consul by your Suffrages. Rome was then blocked up by the Hetrurians, and our Arms dispersed them. Is then the having gained a Victory, and delivered my Country, the Crime for which I am called to account? Indeed some brave Citizens, whose Happiness I envy, lost their Lives in fighting for you. But did the Gods make me the Arbiter of their Fate? Did your Generals ever enter into Covenants with you, always to conquer the Enemy, without the Loss of one single Roman? Great Victories are not to be purchased, but by great Dangers and Losses. Am I the first who have brought Honour and Safety to my Country, at the Expence of some brave Mens Lives? How often have Conquerors themselves been conquered, and after having made great Slaughter of the Enemy, suffered greater Losses themselves? How many of your Consuls have returned to Rome, with the Shame of a Defeat! And what other Punishment ever pursued their Misfortunes, than the Shame of not having succeeded? To return hither without Glory, is a more sensible Punishment to a Roman Consul, than Death it self. But when Victory declares Merit, how unjust is it to make the Laws pronounce any thing but Reward? In the Command of Armies, Success is all. The Enemy is fled before us; our Gates are open and free; Plenty is restored: these are my Crimes. However, have some regard at least for my Good-Fortune, if you despise my Conduct. It is said, I pursued the Enemy too warmly: I might have for-*



born a Pursuit which was not necessary, and must be dangerous. Strange Inconsistency ! People judge of my Conduct by a momentary Rout, and forget my complete and lasting Success. Could I foresee the unhappy Moment, when the Romans would fly ? The Camp, to which I led them, was on a steep Place, I grant it : But how many Ramparts have our Soldiers taken, which were more difficult of Access than these ? Did I build upon a bad Foundation, when I depended on Roman Valour ? How many of your Generals have thrown their Standards into the midst of the Enemy's Troops, to oblige their own to recover them ? How many of them have broken down Bridges, after they have passed Rivers, in order to make it impracticable for their Legions to return back ? How many of them have burnt their Tents in their Camps, to put their Armies under a Necessity of dispossessing the Enemy of theirs ? Shall what was their Glory, be imputed to me only as a Crime ? Did I shun the Dangers myself, to which I exposed others ? If I was the first Man in pursuing, and the last in retiring, you may indeed accuse my Destiny of sparing me ; but you have no reason, on that account, to lay the Deaths of so many other Men, to my Charge. After all, I am satisfied you do me Justice in your own Minds. Your Resentments proceed only from your Interests. It is necessary, that an Enemy to the Cassian Law should be taken off. The Attack is made upon the whole Patrician Body, through me. I will therefore open my Sentiments to you, with the Freedom of a Soldier, and the Sincerity of a Magistrate. Pray, Romans, have not the Senate been able after so many Benefactions to you, to deserve at least a little Deference to their Opinions ? They, upon mature Deliberation, think the Distribution of the Lands among the Commons, dangerous to the Republick. The Refusal they make you, because they judge it for the Good of their Country, you ascribe to Enmity, to Jealousy, and to a Neglect of your Interests. Your Desires of Gain deceive you, and make you deaf to all Considerations of the Publick Good. And what are your Methods of Proceeding ? You have not had recourse to Persuasion, but to Violence, to Force. You don't intreat ; you demand. But what am I saying ? Our Misfortunes, and your Rebellions, don't proceed from you, but from your Tribunes. These Incendiaries make you guilty of all our domestick Confusions. Being in a middle Station between you and us, they neither know how to obey us, or command you. By how great a Chance has the Vessel they steer, escaped sinking ! Your true Pilots, Roman People, are the Conscript Fathers. But alas ! you may perhaps be offended at the Liberty I take. If you are, sacrifice my Life to your Resentments. I shall at least have this Comfort in my Death, that I have been very faithful to a People I love, and chose rather to procure their Welfare by my Sincerity, than to save my Life by mean and unworthy Flatteries.

THUS spake Servilius. The People, already prejudiced in his Favour, countenanced all those who were willing to defend him ; and then *Virginus* also spoke, and made an Apology for his old Collegue. He not only justified him against the Accusations of the Tribunes, but enlarged upon *Servilius's* Abilities in military Affairs. He ascribed the Victory chiefly to him, and readily divided his Laurels with him. And lastly, he ended his Discourse, with desiring, he might either suffer the same Punishment, or have the same Honours as *Servilius*. We acted jointly, said he, in every thing. The Victory was no more mine than his, and the Repulse ought not to be imputed to him more than to me. *Virginus's* Probity was known ; and what he said, found Credit. Besides, the very Countenance of the Accused, inclined the People to favour him. It was that of a Man, who neither will debase himself by mean Supplications, nor affects an extravagant Haughtiness, and insulting Airs of Confidence, before his Judges. So good a Cause therefore, so well supported, and so wisely managed, gained over even his Enemies to him ; as very evidently appeared, by the Suffrages of the People : for *Servilius* was unanimously acquitted, and this Victim delivered out of the Hands of the Tribunes.

§. XXI. THE Prosecution against *Servilius*, served to employ the Roman People for some time ; so that the Consuls *Valerius* and *Nautius*, continued unactive in Rome, in the beginning of their Consulship : And then a more formidable War with the *Hetrurians*, than any of the former, obliged them to take the Field. Indeed the *Hetrurians* and *Sabines* jointly, had just declared against Rome. As for the *Hetrurians*, they had long set up their Standard against the Republick. The *Sabines* were now added to them ; and this Union, they hoped, would finish the Work they had begun. Rome had then a War to maintain, with two of the most formidable, and most considerable Nations in her Neighbourhood. Till *Menenius's* Defeat, the *Sabines* had declined joining with the *Hetrurians* ; but the Victories of the latter over the Romans, determined them. They had already formed the Design of besieging Rome with their joint Forces : and were

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much surprized, to see themselves prevented by the *Consul Valerius*. He, having taken upon him the Command of the Army, which was to act against the *Hetrurians*, and their Allies, entered the Country of the *Veientes*, before they had any notice of his Departure from *Rome*. At his Arrival, he found that the *Hetrurian* and *Sabine* Forces were not yet assembled. The Marches of Armies of different Nations, which are to meet at the same Place of *Rendez-vous*, are generally slow; and the *Consul* made his Advantage of these Delays. The first Troops which were arrived from *Sabinia*, were encamped by themselves, in a Post near the *Hetrurian* Camp, and there waited for the rest of their Army. *Valerius* therefore thought it proper to open the Campaign on that Side. He made a vigorous and unexpected Attack upon the Entrenchments of the *Sabines*. *Servilius*, the *Consul* for the last Year, was Lieutenant-General of the Army. They advanced with their Troops (which were thought by the Enemy to be yet in *Rome*) a good while before Day. Their March was quick and secret. So that, they surprized the Enemy, who were not upon their Guard, and entered the *Sabine* Camp without Resistance. The greatest Part of the *Sabines* were yet in their Beds: and the rest but just got out of them. Few of them had time to take their Arms; those who fought, did it without Order; a great Number of them were killed in their Sleep: And those who fled towards the *Hetrurian* Camp, were overtaken, and cut in pieces, by the *Roman* Cavalry.

THE prudent *Consul* did not lose time in plundering their Camp; but marched directly to that of the *Hetrurians*. It was now broad Day-light, by that time he came thither; and the Fright among the Enemy was general. Some *Sabines*, who had escaped the Slaughter, made the *Hetrurians* afraid of the like Fate; and to complete their Misfortune, their Camp was neither well chosen, nor sufficiently fortified. They were therefore forced to march out of it, to come to a Battel. The Engagement, which was fought in sight of their Entrenchments, was sharp, and the Victory long disputed. Till at length, the *Roman* Cavalry fell on the *Hetrurian* Battalions with such Fury, that being quite borne down by so vigorous an Attack, they were forced to shelter themselves within their Entrenchments. Then *Valerius* laid Siege to them, and attacked them all the rest of the Day, without discontinuing the Works even in the Night. So that the *Hetrurians*, who thought themselves no longer safe in their Camp, marched out of it at Break of Day, and dispersing, fled, some to *Veii*, and some to the neighbouring Hills, or Forests, for Shelter. Thus this sudden Expedition, which was undertaken with so much Prudence, and carried on with so much Bravery, put the *Consular* Army in Possession of both Camps. All the Booty in them was distributed among the Soldiers. And after the Victory was over, all the Honour of it was ascribed to the brave *Servilius*. His Prudence in carrying on, and Valour in executing the Enterprize, was the common Topick in all Companies. It was readily acknowledged, that he had effectually wiped off the Ignominy of his Accusation, by the military Virtues he had shewn himself Master of, in this Action. The *Consul* also did him Justice in the Distribution of his Rewards. He was first called, and none of those Recompences were denied him, which were given as Marks of Distinction to brave Men. This done, *Valerius* gave his Army but one Day's Rest. He immediately led them before *Veii*, without giving their Arms time to cool, and offered the Enemy Battel, a second time. Their Courage was sunk; but their City seemed impregnable. He therefore could only pillage their Lands without Opposition, and enrich himself with Spoils after an ample Harvest of Glory. But this did not satisfy him. He marched suddenly from the Territory of the *Veientes*, and fell upon the Lands of the *Sabines*. These not having been ravaged for a long time afforded the Conquerors a Plenty of Booty. And now, after he had filled two Provinces with the Terror of the *Roman* Name, the *Consul* led back his Troops to *Rome*; and it is incredible, with what Honours he was received. The People went a great way to meet the Army, crowned with Flowers. They burnt Perfumes, as the Conqueror passed by, and treated his Soldiers<sup>47</sup> with Wine. The Senate had also decreed *Valerius*<sup>48</sup> a Triumph; so that he entered *Rome* with all the Pomp and Magnificence of that solemn Procession.

*Fast. Capitol.*  
and *Dion. Hal.*  
B. 9. p. 593.

<sup>47</sup> *D. Hal.* calls the Drink which the People gave the Soldiers, *Mulsun*. It was a Wine sweetened with Honey, which the old *Romans* greatly loved. Those who triumphed, usually gave some of it to the Soldiers. *Plautus*, *Bach.* 4. 9. alludes to this Custom in the three following Lines:

*Sed Spectatores vos nunc ne miremini,*

*Quod non Triumpho; per vulgatum est, nihil moror.*  
*Verum tamen accipientur Mulsu Milites.*

<sup>48</sup> *Livy* does not mention *Valerius*'s Triumph. But the *Fasti Capitolini*, and *D. Hal.* have preserved the Memory of it. The *Consular* Annals place it on the *Calends of March*, i. e. the first Day of that Month.



WHILST *Valerius* was subduing the *Hetrurians*, *Nautius* with his Army continued at *Rome*. This *Consul* had indeed received Orders to go and succour the *Latins*, who were exposed to the Rapines of the *Volsi*, and the *Æqui*; but he chose to act a more prudent, tho' a less glorious Part. Whilst the Success of the Arms of his Collegue against the two united Nations, continued uncertain, he kept himself within reach of relieving him, or at least of hindering the *Sabines* and *Hetrurians*, if they should be victorious, from entering into the *Roman* Territory, and taking Possession of an advantageous Post, in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, as they had formerly done. So that, he left the *Latins* to defend themselves against the Incursions of their Enemies; and they, without being commanded by *Roman* Officers, only with the Assistance of the *Hernici*, gave the Enemy Battel, drove them out of their Camp, and recovered the Spoils they had taken from them. The *Romans* were very unwilling that their Allies should make War on their own Bottom, without being under the Command of *Roman* Generals, and thereby know their own Strength: And as soon therefore as News was brought to *Rome*, that the *Hetrurians* and *Sabines* were overcome by *Valerius*; his Collegue was ordered to march into the Country of the *Æqui* and *Volsi*. He reaped the Advantage of the Terror the *Latins* had spread all over it; but could not by any means provoke the Enemy to come to a Battel. He was therefore forced to be contented with laying the Country waste; and his Boory was not considerable: for the Country was already deserted. But the *Romans* had the cruel Pleasure of setting fire to the ripe Corn of these restless Enemies. Thus the glorious and successful Year of these two *Consuls*, ended to the Advantage of *Rome*.

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TIUS, *Consuls*.

*Livy*, B. 2.  
ch. 53.

*Dion. Hal.*  
B. 9. p. 594.

§. XXII. AUL. MANLIUS, and L. FURIUS, who were chosen *Consuls* in their room, were no sooner in their Office, but they drew Lots, which of them should command the Army, that had conquered the *Hetrurians*, the last Year: and *Manlius* had the Good-Fortune, to have it fall to him. He therefore led the *Roman* Troops into the Country of the *Veientes*, without delay; and then the Pride of these implacable Enemies to the Republick, was much humbled. They were forced to beg Succours all over *Hetruria*, and invite the *Sabines*, their new Allies, to join the *Sabine* Forces with theirs. But the Losses of the *Veientes* were so notorious, that these Allies durst not venture to share any more of their Misfortunes. Being therefore obliged to shut themselves up in *Veii*, they were again under a Necessity of leaving their Territory open to the *Romans*. So that the pillaging of their Lands reduced them to Want, which ended in a Famine; and they were forced to send the most honourable of their Citizens to the *Consul*, to beg a Peace, in the Posture, and with all the Marks of Suppliants. *Manlius* referred their Petition to the Senate; but by way of Preliminary, ordered them to pay the Expence of the War for one Year, and furnish him with Corn enough to subsist his Troops for two Months. It was a Maxim with the Senate, always to treat Suppliants with Indulgence; and they granted the *Veientes* a Truce for forty Years, thereby delivering *Rome* from her nearest and most troublesome Enemy. As for the *Consul* *Manlius*, he was not without his Reward. He had not indeed the Honours of a Triumph conferred upon him: his Success was not signalized, either by having taken any Towns, or won any Battels. But an Ovation, which was all he demanded, was granted him.

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AUL. MANLI-  
US, and L. FU-  
RIUS, *Consuls*.  
*Livy*, B. 2.  
ch. 54.

*Dion. Hal.*  
B. 9. *ibid.*

PEACE abroad was, at that time, always followed by intestine Broils at *Rome*. The old Disputes about the Distribution of the Lands were revived by the Faction of the *Tribunes*. The *Consuls* declared themselves resolutely for the *Patricians*, without any Fear of the Threatenings of the Commons, notwithstanding the Condemnation of *Menenius*, and the Danger to which *Servilius* had been exposed. But these Threatenings ended in Proceedings, which were very affronting to the chief Magistrates of the Republick. *Genucius*, a furious *Tribune to the People*, began a Prosecution against them, as soon as they were out of their Office.

*Fasti Capit.*  
and *Dion. Hal.*  
*ibid.*

§. XXIII. IN this cloudy Season, L. ÆMILIUS<sup>49</sup>, and VOPISCUS JULIUS were chosen

<sup>49</sup> *D. Hal.* gives *Manlius Vulso* the *Prænomen* of *Aulus*. This is he who was one of the *Decemviri*. *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, have, by Mistake, given him the *Prænomen* of *Cains*. He is called in the *Greek Tables*, by the Name of *Manius*, probably by the Mistake of the Copyists.

<sup>50</sup> According to the *Fasti Capitolini*, and *D. Hal.* *Manlius* received the Honours of an Ovation, on the Ides of March, i. e. on the 15<sup>th</sup> Day of that Month. But *Livy* says nothing of it.

<sup>51</sup> The *Fasti Consulares* make L. Æmilius *Mamercinus* *Consul* the third time, and *Vopiscus Julius* *Consul*

the first time, in this Year 280. *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* have displaced the latter, to substitute *Opiter Virginus* in his room. Yet the *Latin* Historian acknowledges he had found the Name of *Vopiscus Julius*, in some ancient Annals. The Authority of *D. Hal.* and the *Fasti Capitolini*, joined with the Testimony of *Diodorus Siculus*, and the *Greek Tables*, ought to be preferred to that of *Livy*. The *Prænomen* of *Vopiscus*, which was perpetuated in the *Julian* Family, was usually given to him, who had survived his Twin-Brother. This is the Interpretation *Nonnius Marcellus*, *Isidorus*, and *Val. Maximus* give us of this *Latin* Word.

*Consuls.*



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R O M E  
CCLXXX.

L. ÆMILIUS,  
and VOPISCUS  
JULIUS, Con-  
suls.

Livy, B. 2.  
ibid.

*Consuls.* A great Storm arose in the Republick in their time, which continued long, always raging with equal Fury. *Tribunes* were continually disputing their Rights with *Consuls*, and *Patricians* with *Plebeians*. The two *Consuls* for the last Year, being cited to appear before the People, went about all the Quarters of the City, complaining of the Insolence of the *Tribunes*, and stirring up the old *Consuls*, and young *Patricians*, against them. *You must*, said they, *renounce all Pretension to Offices, and the Administration of publick Affairs. What is a Consul now, but a Victim devoted to the Rage of the People? The Ornaments of his Dignity, are no better than the Garlands, with which the Head of a devoted Bull is adorned; and the Guards which attend him with their Axes, are like the Sacrificers who lead him to the Altar. And what is become of his Authority in the midst of all his Pomp? A Consul is no more than the Tribunes Officer, who executes their Commands. If he is not a Slave to their Will, his Steps are watched, an exact Account is taken of every favourable Look he casts upon the Senate; and it is made criminal in him, to make the least Opposition to the Licentiousness of the People. The World may judge of their extravagant Rage, by the Banishment of Coriolanus, and the Condemnation of Menenius. To purchase a Throne of Ivory, a dozen Lic-tors, and a vain Title, at this rate, is to buy them very dear.*

Dion. Hal.  
B. 9. p. 595.

THESE Discourses of *Furius* and *Manlius*, who were already destined to be tried by the People, irritated the Nobility to a Degree not to be expressed. Nevertheless, the *Tribunes* went on in their own Way, and took their Measures to carry on the Process against the two old *Consuls*. But before they fixed the Day for their Appearance, they applied themselves to the new *Consuls*, and required them to nominate *Decemviri*, to distribute the Lands, in Obedience to the *Cassian* Law. These, however, excused themselves from undertaking an Affair which exceeded their Power. *Such sort of Consular Decrees*, said they, *are not of perpetual Obligation: They have no Force, but in the Year of the Consuls who made or obtained them.* But these specious Pretences did not satisfy *Genucius*, the chief Agent for the People. He indeed shewed some Respect to the Authority of the two *Consuls*, who were actually in Office; but did his utmost against the *Consuls* for the last Year. He fixed the Day for their appearing before the People to be tried; and made no Secret of the Crime of which he was to accuse them. *It is*, said he, *for having refused to execute the Decree of the Senate, and the Cassian Law, concerning the Distribution of the Lands. It is true*, added he, *that many other Consuls have been guilty of the same Neglect within these twelve Years, that this Law has been made: But we fix upon the Consuls of the last Year, that we may the more effectually terrify the present, if they continue obstinate in rejecting the Request of the People.*

Livy, B. 2.  
ibid.

THIS Determination of *Genucius* threw the *Patricians* into a Consternation. They foresaw, that they should no longer enjoy any Honour or Safety in the *Consulship*, which till that time was granted only to the *Patrician* Nobility. They therefore had private Meetings among themselves; and resolved to rescue *Furius* and *Manlius*, from the Fury of the People, if they were condemned. Desperate Men were not wanting, who offered to make the Attempt. At length the Day came, on which the two accused *Consuls* appeared; and the Assembly of the People was as numerous as an Affair of such Consequence required. It was not doubted but the Accused would sink under the Artifices of the *Tribunes*. Every Body knew, *Genucius* had sworn never to desist from prosecuting, till he had the Pleasure of getting them condemned. Both *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, all that were in the *Comitia*, were divided between Fear and Hope; but all were surprized not to see the Accuser appear at the Hour appointed. At first, they imputed his Delays to Business; and afterwards the People suspected that *Genucius* had been gained over by the *Patricians*, and that he had betrayed the Cause he had undertaken. But whilst every one was interpreting the Absence of the *Tribune* according to his own Fancy, his Colleagues came and informed the Assembly, That <sup>52</sup> *Genucius* had been found dead in his Bed. There were no Marks on his Body, ei-

<sup>52</sup> D. Hal. differs from Livy, as to the Circumstances of *Genucius's* Death. The Day before the People were to assemble, to give Judgment, says the Greek Historian, *Genucius* was found dead in his Bed, without any Marks of his having been assassinated, or strangled, or poisoned, or of his having lost his Life by any other sort of Violence or Artifice. The Report of his Death, adds our Author, was soon spread into all the Quarters of Rome. The dead Body was exposed to publick View in the Forum: and every body looked on this sud-

den Catastrophe, as a providential Stroke of the Gods, who were willing to protect the City from the Fury of Seditions. But Livy does in a manner give us to understand, that the *Patricians* were concerned in the Death of *Genucius*. After having said, that the News of it was brought to the People assembled in the *Comitium*, he declares, that the Nobility could not dissemble their Joy, and were even well pleased with being thought Authors, or Accomplices, of the Assassination. Nec Patres satis moderate ferre letitiam, adeoque neminem



ther of Poison, or Violence. Upon this, the People dispersed, like Troops upon hearing of the Death of their General; and the *Tribunes* especially were terrified at it, and were now sensible, that the Laws which made their Persons inviolable, could not secure them from Death. So that they continued silent; and the two *Consuls* who had been cited, withdrew without being condemned, for want of Accusers. As for the *Patrician* Party, they triumphed at the Accident, with too much Levity. Even those who were not guilty of the *Tribune's* Death, boasted that they had been the Authors of it. In short, they publicly declared, that such Strokes as these were very necessary, to humble the Pride of the *Tribunes*. At the same time there were many sensible Men among the *Plebeians* themselves, who condemned the too violent Measures of *Genucius*; whilst the common People broke out into Transports of Rage. They said, *Liberty was buried with Genucius*; and they thought they had now nothing else to do, but either to take Arms, or make a Separation.

§. XXIV. THIS first Fury of the Commons would soon have been laid asleep, if the new *Consuls* had not given occasion to rouse it. They thought the *Tribunes* so mightily terrified at the unexpected Death of their Collegue, that they should meet with no more Opposition on that Side, to their raising an Army among the People. But they were opposed by the People themselves. The Confidence <sup>53</sup> a Moment's Superiority over the *Plebeian* Party had given the *Consuls*, made them haughty and unjust. As they were choosing Soldiers for the Army, they caused one *Volero Publius* to be called upon to be enlisted as a common Foot-Soldier. *Volero* was not descended from one of the best Families even among the People; but he had raised himself <sup>54</sup> by his Merit, to be an Officer in the *Roman* Army, and therefore thought it an Affront to be placed without any Command in the *Legions*. *Volero* expected to have been promoted to the Post of a *Centurion*, at least; and being much surprized to find himself ranked among the common Soldiers, he could not stifle his Resentment. He complained to the *Consuls* of their Injustice, and boldly demanded, that they would either restore him to his former Post, or declare for what Fault they had degraded him. These Complaints and Remonstrances were not at all agreeable to imperious Masters, who wanted to humble the Commons; and they immediately sent one of their *Lictors* with Orders to beat the impudent *Volero* with Rods, in the Sight of the People. But the Multitude was displeased with a Sentence so rashly pronounced, and so hastily executed. They were heard to say in all the Ranks, *After all, these formidable Lictors are but twenty four in <sup>55</sup> Number, and all of the Dregs of the People, and Men of no Courage. We need but attempt it, to disperse them.* Thus began a Revolt which was very hotly carried on. The *Lictor* laid hands upon *Volero*, and was actually tearing off his Clothes, that he might whip him upon his naked Body. It signified nothing for the brave *Roman* to appeal to the *Tribunes*; they were frighted at the sudden Death of *Genucius*, and out of Dread of the *Consuls* had disappeared; and *Volero* therefore had Recourse to the Company about him: *Help, Romans, help*, cried he, <sup>56</sup> *it is your Protection I implore, since our Tribunes had rather see a Roman Citizen beaten*

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXXX.  
L. ÆMILIUS,  
and VOPISCUS  
JULIUS, Con-  
suls.

Liv. B.2.c.55.

*noxæ punirebat, ut etiam insontes fecisse videri vellent, palamque ferretur, malo domandam Tribuniciam potestatem.* It is no easy Matter to determine between the two Historians. But *D. Hal.* acknowledges, that the extravagant Conduct of the *Consuls*, with regard to the People, excited the *Tribunes* to raise new Troubles, in order to revenge the Death of their Collegue, they being persuaded that the *Patricians* had taken away his Life.

<sup>53</sup> The *Consuls*, says *D. Hal.* punished the Disobedience of the Mutineers, who refused to enlist themselves in the *Legions*. Some were beaten with Rods, and others fined.

<sup>54</sup> *Volero* was probably some Officer in the *Roman* Army, with the Title of *Centurion*, or *Aide-de-camp*.

<sup>55</sup> This Number of 24 *Lictors*, who guarded the two *Consuls*, does not seem to agree with the Law made when the *Consuls* were first established. By this Law, the Number of *Lictors* for each *Consul* was fixed to twelve, with this Reserve, that only that *Consul* who was in the Exercise of his Office should have the *Fasces* and *Axes* carried before him; *id modo cautum est, ne ambo Consules Fasces haberent, ne scilicet duplicatus terror videretur*— Liv. B. 1. But the Latin Historian, when he here says, that the two *Con-*

*suls* appeared with 24 *Lictors*, does not mean that they were all armed with *Axes*. This Privilege only belonged to them alternately: but that did not hinder the *Consuls* from having a Right to be always attended by 12 *Lictors*, whether they were in the Exercise of their Office or not.

<sup>56</sup> According to *D. Hal.* *Volero* claimed the Protection of the *Tribunes*, and demanded that his Cause should be heard by the People assembled. But the *Consuls*, adds he, without any Regard to the Petitioner's Remonstrances, repeated the same Orders they had given the *Lictors*, which were to seize *Volero*, and beat him with Rods. He therefore, being touched to the Quick with this ignominious Treatment, did himself Justice. Being in full Vigour and Strength, he boxed the *Lictor*, struck him on the Face, and threw him down. He likewise did the same to the second, who came to assist the first. Upon this, the *Consuls*, angry at the Affront, sent all the *Lictors* after him, with Orders to seize him; but the People opposed the Execution of these Orders; great Outcries were heard on all Sides; they fell upon the *Lictors*, abused them, and put them to flight. The *Consuls* themselves would not have been spared, if they had not made their Escape, to avoid the Fury of the Populace.



Year of  
R O M E  
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L. ÆMILIUS,  
and VOPISCUS  
JULIUS, Con-  
suls.

*with Rods, than run the hazard of dying in their Beds by the Treachery of the Consuls.* But the more he cried out, the more eager the *Lictor* was to strip him; till at length *Volero* disengaged himself from him, by the help of a few Spectators who assisted him. And then getting into the midst of the Assembly, he said, *It is to you, Roman People, that I appeal, to do me Justice for the Insult that has been offered me. Rouze! Fellow-Soldiers, Rouze! let us no longer depend on the Tribunes, whose Weakness wants to be supported by your Arms.* At these Words, the mutinous People prepared to fight; and no longer paid any Respect to the most venerable and most sacred Magistrates in the Republick. The *Consuls* in vain exposed themselves to appease the Tumult. What can Men without Strength do against a mutinous Multitude? Their *Lictors* were repulsed, and beaten, and their *Fasces* broken. In short, they themselves being pressed hard upon by the Crowd of People who surrounded them, fled to the Senate-house for Refuge, and got there very seasonably. For they preserved the *Roman* People from the Infamy of embruing their Hands in the Blood of their Governours.

Livy, *ibid.*  
Dion. Hal. *ib.*

BUT the Sedition did not end with a Scuffle. The *Tribunes of the People* recover'd their Spirits, and inspired the Commons with new Fury; which was no longer levelled at the *Patricians* in general, but only at the *Consuls*. *Æmilius* and *Junius*, in this sudden Commotion, which put all the City in an Uproar, assembled the Senate as speedily as they could. There these two *Consuls* made bitter Complaints of the Outrages committed by the People, in Derogation of the Respect due to their Dignity. Some Senators were for throwing down *Volero* headlong from the *Capitol*: And all the *Conscript Fathers* were sensible of the ill Consequence of the Violences offered to the *Consuls*. But the wisest of them thought it not proper to put it to the Trial whether the Anger of the Senate, or the Rashness of the People, should prevail. Indeed, the Commons were resolved to prosecute the *Consuls*, even before the Senate it self, and to make them give them Satisfaction. The Ground of their Complaints was the unworthy Treatment shewn to a *Roman* Citizen, who had been condemned to be whipped like a Slave. To this they added, the Contempt the *Consuls* had shewn of the Authority of the *Tribunes*, contrary to Law. The pretended Criminal had appealed to their Tribunal, and no Regard had been had to his Appeal. These reciprocal Complaints of the *Consuls* against the People, and of the People against the *Consuls*, continued till new Magistrates were chosen.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXXXI.  
L. PINARIUS,  
and P. FURI-  
US, Consuls.

§. XXV. They were both Men of Moderation, and very fit to re-establish the publick Tranquillity. One was *L. Pinarius* <sup>57</sup>, and the other *P. Furius*. After the Republick had chosen them in the *Campus Martius*, the People proceeded to the Election of a new *Tribune*, in the Room of *Genutius*; and they thought they could not better make up the Loss of this brave Defender of their Interests, than by putting *Volero* in his Place. He gave them Reason to hope for every thing that could be done, from his Courage, and his Hatred to the *Patricians*. Besides, he promised the People, that as contemptible as he was by Birth, he would humble the Pride of the *Consuls*.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 9. p. 597.

THE Troubles were just ready to be renewed, when a sudden Plague suspended the Animosities of both Parties for a time. The *Romans* never lost more People by any Contagion with which they had been visited. It particularly seized Women with Child, and carried off both the Mothers and their Children before they saw the Light. After all human Remedies were found vain, the Protection of the Gods was implored by *Supplications*. All the Temples were opened, and visited with those Ceremonies which the Church of *Rome* has since consecrated under the Name of *Processions*. But the publick Vows seemed only to increase the Desolation; and at length the Diviners and *Pontifices*, upon being consulted, answered, That impure Hands employed in the Service of the Altars, had polluted the Sanctuary and drawn down the Anger of the Gods upon *Rome*. It was then no difficult Matter to make such Predictions very safely. In the College of *Vestals* there was always one or other who forgot her self. Enquiry was then made after the present Criminal:

<sup>57</sup> *L. Pinarius* is called in the *Consular Annals* by the Surnames of *Rufus* and *Mamercinus*. *P. Furius* is surnamed *Fusus*. If we believe *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Numa*, the *Pinarian* Family, which was originally *Patrician*, descended from *Pinus*, one of the Sons of that second King of *Rome*. Nevertheless, *Livy* and *D. Hal.* derive it from the *Pinarii*, who were particularly devoted to the Worship of *Hercules*: And

*Virgil* is of the same Opinion.

*Et domus Herculei custos Pinaria sacri.* *Æn.* 8. *Macrob.* *Saturnal.* B. 1. c. 13. says, upon the Credit of *Varro*, that there was an Intercalation made, according to *Numa's* Calendar, when *L. Pinarius* and *P. Furius* were *Consuls*. He adds, that the Memory of it was preserved on a Table of Brass.



And a Slave accused <sup>58</sup> *Urbina*, and alledged that she had still continued to serve at the Altars, after she had polluted her self with Incest. *Urbina* was therefore condemned, with two young *Romans*, to suffer the Punishments the Laws inflicted on incestuous *Vestals*, and the Accomplices in their Crimes. At length the Plague ceased, and the credulous People were very ready to ascribe their Deliverance from that Affliction to the Punishment of the infamous *Vestal*.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXXXI.  
L. PINARIUS,  
and P. FURI-  
US, Consuls.

THE Spirit of Faction always revived with the publick Tranquillity. *Volero*, now a *Tribune*, thought of nothing but revenging the Affront he had received from the *Consuls*. So considerable a Dignity, seemed to have raised him above the natural Meanings of his Birth, and the unpolished Behaviour of Men of his Education. So that he did not attack the *Patricians* in a rustick ill-bred Manner, but with Art, Address and Politeness. He did not declaim against the *Consuls* and the Senate, or stir up the Populace against their Masters. He sapped their Authority by more imperceptible Means. He imagined, he needed do no more than present a Petition to the People, desiring that the Magistrates which were nominated by them might not be chosen any longer in *Comitia* assembled by *Curia*, but in *Comitia* assembled by *Tribes*. This Request of *Volero* did not appear to have any thing in it offensive to the *Patricians*, or contrary to their Interests. But the subtle *Tribune* had two Views which were very prejudicial to the *Patrician* Faction. In the first place, the *Curia* were never assembled for Elections, till the Senate had consented to it by a Decree. In the second place, the *Patricians* being able to command the Suffrages of their Clients, they often got such *Tribunes of the People* elected in *Comitia* by *Curia*, as were agreeable <sup>59</sup> to themselves. But neither of these Inconveniencies could happen in *Comitia* assembled by *Tribes*. The *Tribunes* would be at Liberty to assemble them without the Consent of the Senate; and the *Tribes* in the Country would not be enslaved to the Wills of the Nobility, as those in the City were. So that the artful *Volero's* Intent was, to get it established by a standing Law, that the Senate should no more influence the Election of the *Tribunes*; and consequently, that they should be solely devoted to the Interests of the common People. In order to get his Law passed, *Volero* had made a strong Party. He had got two of his Collegues in his Interest; so that of five *Tribunes*, three declared for the Law, and the two others did not disapprove of it. But the *Consuls* and *Patricians* foresaw the Consequences of an Innovation so fatal to their Interest; and they appeared in great Numbers at the Assembly of the People, when it was called to deliberate about *Volero's* Petition. The Law he presented was strictly examined. The *Consuls*, and the oldest Senators, had Liberty to remonstrate against it; so that the whole Day was spent in wise and serious Debates between the *Consuls* and the *Tribunes*. The Affair was postponed to the third Market-day, that is, to the twenty seventh Day from thence; Markets being held at *Rome* only once in nine Days. All this Interval the *Patricians* did their utmost to engage one *Tribune* at least, to protest against *Volero's* Law; but none of them could be prevailed on to make a legal Opposition to it. When the appointed Time was come, the Importance of the Affair made the Assembly great; and the *Tribes* of the Country came in Crowds. As for the *Patricians*, they again found Means, by their Remonstrances, and the Length of their Harangues, to get the Affair put off for three Market-days more. The Artifice they made use of was to place several Companies of their Clients in different Parts of the *Comitium*, whose Business it was to interrupt with their Clamours those who spoke for the Law, and to encourage those with their Applauses, who spoke against it. To prevent this Disorder therefore, *Volero* formed a Design to cause the *Consuls* to be forbidden speaking at the next Assembly, and to hinder the *Patricians* from appearing at it. This was a violent Step, but not utterly against Law. However, a terrible Accident hindered *Volero* from executing it. The Plague, now more

Liv. B. 2. c. 56.  
Dion. Hal. ib.

<sup>58</sup> *D. Hal.* tells us that *Urbina* was beaten with Rods, and that after she had been led thro' the Midst of the City, she was buried alive near the Gate *Collina*. He adds, That one of those who had committed Incest with the *Vestal*, killed himself; and That the *Pontifices* seized the other, caused him to be beaten with Rods in the Midst of the *Forum*, and then delivered him up to the Executioner.

<sup>59</sup> We must also add, with *D. Hal.* that the Assemblies of the People by *Curia*, were in some measure at the Disposal of the *Augurs*. It often happened, that they, to serve the Interests of the *Patricians*, of which Body they then were, either deferred the *Comitia*, or

disannulled the Election of some *Tribunes*, who had more openly declared themselves against the Nobility, under Pretence that the *Auguries* were inauspicious. This was enough to restrain a superstitious Populace. So that the *Patricians* knew how to turn these false Appearances of Religion to their Advantage, against the Enterprizes of the *Plebeians*. But this was not the Case with the *Comitia* by *Tribes*; they did not want the Report or Consent of the *Augurs*; their Deliberations did not depend on those religious Ceremonies, which were always to precede the *Comitia* by *Curia*, and by *Centuries*.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXXXI.  
I. P. NARIUS,  
and P. FURI-  
US. Consuls.

violent than formerly, renewed its Ravages in *Rome*, and put a Stop to all Assemblies. Men, Women, and Children were all swept away without Distinction. Whether Remedies were made use of, or not, it was the same thing; and Recourse to the Gods was as vain as to the Physicians. This Contagion was like a Torrent, which spread it self every where with Precipitation and Fury; but it lasted only some Months. In the mean time, the Year of *Volero's Tribuneship* expired. However, as he still had a Design to pursue his Scheme, and get his Law passed, he stood again for the *Tribuneship*, for the next Year, and found a Party strong enough to continue him in his Employment.

THE Measures of the *Patrician* Faction were all disconcerted, by the new Election of *Volero* to be *Tribune*. They could think of only one Expedient to ward off the Mischief they feared he would do them; and that was, to set up against him, for the ensuing Year, the most intrepid, and most inflexible Man in the Senate. The Nobility pitched upon *Appius Claudius*, the Son of the famous *Claudius*, who had so often signalized his Hatred to the *Plebeians*; and in this, the Son equalled, or even surpassed his Father. The *Centuries* being assembled in the *Campus Martius*, and the *Patricians* having more Interest in these *Comitia*, than in the other Assemblies of the People, they gained their Point, and got *Appius* elected. But this was not what he desired. *Appius* judged rightly of himself; he thought himself but ill qualified to govern, in a Time of general Commotions; and absented himself from the *Comitia*. But *Rome* declared him *Consul*, tho' absent; and joined with him *T. Quinctius*, a venerable Man, but of a sweet Temper, and very fit to moderate the Violence of his Collegue.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXXXII.  
A. CLAUDIUS,  
and T. QUIN-  
TIUS, Consuls.  
*Liv. B. 2. c. 56.*

*Dion. Hal.*  
*B. 9. p. 599.*

§. XXVI. THIS turbulent Year began with a Quarrel between *Appius* and *Volero*. But the *Consul* was not seconded by a Collegue as warm for the Interests of the Senate, as one of the *Tribune's* Associates (who was joined with him to promote the passing of the Law) was for the Interests of the People. The latter was one *C. Lætorius*, a *Plebeian* indeed, but a Man of great Reputation in the Army, who passed for the boldest and most enterprizing Officer in all the *Roman* Soldiery. His Valour, rather than his Skill in the Management of Affairs, was what raised him to the *Tribuneship*, at a Time when the civil Broils must in all appearance end in Blows. *Lætorius* was not the Author of the Law, but he was the most warm and furious Defender of it. On the other hand, the whole Hope of the *Patricians* may be said to have been placed in *Appius* only. As for *Quinctius*, his Merit consisted in knowing how to manage both Parties, and to find out Expedients to reconcile them. But this he did neither out of Weakness, nor a self-interested Compliance. It was from Reason and Principle he held the Balance between the two Parties. He found too little Equity, and too much Zeal, in both; and he discovered his Sentiments to the Senate, as soon as he entered upon his Administration. *Appius* gave himself up to the Dictates of his natural Severity, and proposed to the *Conscript Fathers*, to raise an Army among the People, and send it to vent that martial Courage abroad, which made them untractable at home. *Let them go*, said he, *and live at the Expence of our Neighbours; and let military Fatigues teach them to be more tractable! Such a Republick as ours, which is always victorious, and always envied, can never want Pretences for beginning a foreign War.* But *Quinctius* was too apprehensive of the Consequences of making such unseasonable Levies, to consent to it. *Let us content our selves*, said he, *with repelling the Attacks of our Enemies; and not draw upon our selves the Hatred of the neighbouring Nations, and of our own Subjects, by Declarations of War, which are always odious. It is enough that we find our Citizens ready and willing to march into the Field when the Enemy presses upon us, and it is absolutely necessary. We have Reason to fear the Fate of the Consuls of the last Year, if we venture to attempt raising Troops unnecessarily. Perhaps more Voleros than one may disobey our Orders; and the Mutiny of a small Number may perhaps turn to the Dishonour of the Consular Authority, and produce a general Flame.*

BESIDES that *Quinctius* had Experience and Reason on his Side, he was likewise invested with an Authority superior to that of his Collegue. It is well known, that the *Consuls*<sup>60</sup> presided in the Assemblies of the Senate, and of the People, monthly, each

<sup>60</sup> The Right of first exercising the *Consular* Authority, belonged to him of the new *Consuls*, who had most Children, or was oldest, or had been first chosen. Both had for some time their Turns of presiding monthly in the Assemblies of the Senate, and of the People:

but this Custom varied. In the Year of *Rome* 585, we shall find them presiding successively by Days. He who was in the Exercise of his Office, was called *Majior Consul*, to distinguish him from his Collegue, who was called *Virgis insignis Consul*, because his *Fasces* were



in his turn: and this was *Quinctius's* Month. His Opinion therefore prevailed: but *Appius Claudius* was an obstinate Man, who did not easily forgive the least Opposition to his Desires. He lived upon ill Terms with his Collegue all the rest of their Year; and thereby the Affection the People already had for *Quinctius*, was increased.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXXXII.  
A. CLAUDIUS,  
and T. QUINCTIUS, Consuls.

THE Division of the *Consuls*, and the Union of the *Tribunes*, made *Volero* believe, he should now get the Law passed, which he had proposed the last Year: And he had even the Confidence to add two important Articles to it. The first was, that the *Ædiles* should likewise be chosen by the *Comitia by Tribes*; the second, that all Affairs relating to the People, should no longer be brought before the *Curia*, but the *Tribes*. We have already observed, that there were but four *Tribes* in the City, and seventeen in the Country, without reckoning the *Latins*<sup>61</sup>, and the *Hernici*, who had all a Right of Suffrage, and were not all under the Influence of the Nobility: whence we may easily judge of the strenuous Endeavours of the *Patricians*, to destroy a Law, which must make the Senators and *Consuls* Slaves to the *Tribunes*. The *Conscript Fathers* consulted what Method to take, to ward off a Blow so fatal to their Authority; and *Appius* made a Proposal agreeable to the Violence of his Temper. He would have had the Senate make a Decree, inviting all those who loved their Country, to take up Arms, and declaring all those who refused to take up Arms in its Defence, Enemies to the Republick. But *Quinctius*, who was afraid of seeing *Rome* a Field of Battel, was of a contrary Opinion. *The People*, said he, ought to be brought to their Duty, by *Ways of Gentleness and Insinuation*. If they follow pernicious Counsels, it is because they are ignorant of their true Interests. Let us endeavour to instruct, before we correct, them; For is it not even inhuman to make Use of Violence, where Gentleness will do? And this moderate Advice of *Quinctius* prevailing against the dangerous Scheme of his Collegue; the Senate desired the *Tribunes* to appoint an Assembly to debate the Merits of *Volero's* Law, and the *Consuls* demanded the Privilege of speaking in it. It was not without difficulty, that these two Articles were granted them; but at last they obtained both. At the Time appointed, *Quinctius* and *Appius* ascended *The Tribune*, the one beloved, as much as the other hated, by the People. *Quinctius* spoke first. His Eloquence was soft, and the Reputation he had long had for Equity, gave Weight to his Discourse. He first demonstrated, that *Volero's* Law had only an Appearance of being useful to the People, but was at bottom destructive of their true Interests; and then proved, that it was not agreeable to Justice, and might in the end overturn the Republick. His Discourse was the more artful, the less it appeared to be so: and the Impression it made on Mens Minds, is not to be expressed. *Volero's* Advocates found it difficult to answer it; and in short, the Request of the *Tribunes* would doubtless have been rejected, if the hateful *Appius* had not insisted upon speaking. Nothing appeared in his Behaviour, but Pride and Indiscretion; nothing in his Harangue, but Invectives and Threatenings. He forgot that he was speaking to an Assembly, which were Judges of the Cause he maintained, and could accept or abrogate the Law in question. He treated the People rather as Slaves, than as *Roman* Citizens. Without troubling himself to intreat or reason, he commanded, he dictated with the Air of a Sovereign. He accumulated, to the People themselves, and in a bitter Stile, all the Reproaches which could be cast on their Conduct. He put them in mind of their Mutinies, their Separation, and their Perjuries in destroying the Camp of the *Consuls*, whom they had sworn to obey. Nor did the Orator suppress the mention, of the Peoples Encroachments on the Authority of the *Consuls*; of the Creation of new Magistrates, which they had made themselves, to balance the *Consular* Power; of their insatiable Covetousness; and of their Artifices to usurp a tyrannical Power, by suppressing the Laws and Authority of the Senate. *Have we any reason to be surprized*, added he, *if such Beginnings as these were followed by new Usurpations?*

Dion. Hal.  
B. 9. p. 600.

not armed with Axes, till he reassumed the Exercise of his Office.

<sup>61</sup> The *Latins* and the *Hernici* were then the most faithful Allies of the *Romans*; and the Right of Citizenship had been granted them, but with some Limitations. It is very true, these People were permitted to vote in the *Comitia*, especially in important Affairs, as in the passing a Law, and condemning or acquitting a Citizen, who was tried at this Tribunal: but they were not for this Reason enrolled in the *Tribes*. The Magistrate only distributed them in some of the *Tribes*, by Lot. This was always the Custom, whenever they were summoned to come to *Rome*, to vote in the Ge-

neral Assemblies, either by *Centuries*, or by *Tribes*. And yet it happened on some Occasions, that the *Tribune of the People*, or the *Consul* excluded them. In the Year 267, the *Consul Virginius* could find out no better Expedient, to hinder the passing of the *Cassian* Law, than to order all those, who were not Inhabitants of *Rome*, to leave it immediately. By this means, he excluded the *Latins*, who were come into the City, with design to vote for the *Cassian* Law, in the next Assembly. They had therefore no Votes in the Determinations of the *Comitia*, unless the Magistrates thought fit to allow of it.



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CCLXXXII.

A. CLAUDIUS,  
and T. QUIN-  
CTIUS, Consuls.

Livy, B. 2.  
ch. 57. and  
Dion. Hal.  
B. 9. p. 602.

*The City is now become a Prey to the Licentiousness of the vilest of its Inhabitants. Contemptible Commoners set themselves up for Judges of the most venerable of the Nobility. Tyrannical Laws are made and accepted at their Pleasure. The Senate, the wise Part of the Republick, are denied the Power of examining the Laws which are made for the Security of the State. And when can we expect to see an end put to these Grievances? What Remedy can be found out for such inveterate Distempers? Rome, thou hast no reason to hope for any, as long as the Tribunes, whose Authority was founded in a Crime, shall continue to support themselves, by condemning the Patricians and despising the Consuls! The Tribunes owed their Rise to Sedition, and are supported by oppressing the Nobility. Let us put an end to this Authority, which was usurped against the Will of the Gods, and in Contradiction to the Auguries! Let the Republick be established on the Foot of its first Institution! Rome! Thou wilt then revive, and the Fear of Seditions and civil Wars, will be banished with the Tribunes! To conclude, I will never suffer any Deliberations, to be held, or Election made, in the Comitia by Tribes, without the Participation of the Senate: And if it be necessary to come to Blows, Romans, to destroy Volero's Projects, you shall then feel the Weight of the Consular Authority, of which you affect to be ignorant.*

EVERY thing he said in this extravagant Discourse, gave Offence. But above all, his Invective against the Tribunes was exceedingly ill-timed. The People never found their Want of them, to defend their Liberty against the Tyranny of the Great, more sensibly than at this time. So that Appius's Harangue was received with Indignation; and made Quinctius's wise Proposals concerning the Law abortive. The People had forgot Quinctius's Reasons, and remembered nothing but the insulting Declamation of Appius. In refuting the Consuls, Quinctius's Arguments were overlooked by the Tribune Lætorius, who rose up to answer the Consuls; and who insisted on nothing, but the Invectives of his Collegue. If we may believe some Historians, Lætorius was not eloquent; but nevertheless, how bad soever his manner of expressing himself may have been, the Parts of his Harangue, which are yet remaining, plainly shew, that he neither wanted Art nor Zeal to defend the Cause he had undertaken.

He in the first place represented the Services the People had done their Country in their Victories, and the Blood they had spilt in the Conquest of Nations: And then he asked, what Reward these Conquerors had received. He complained of the Refusal which had been always given them of a Part of the Fruits of their Victory. He exaggerated the Slavery to which the People were reduced, when forced to leave Rome, and make a Separation. He insisted strongly on the Oaths the Patricians took, when the separated People returned to Rome, upon a Condition universally agreed to, that Tribunes should be elected, to defend their Persons, and their Rights: And then turning to Appius all on a sudden; *These*, says he to him, *are the contemptible Citizens you spoke of! These are the Tribunes, which you say owe their Establishment only to Sedition! Does it become a Claudius to reproach others with their Revolts, and their Separation? Was not the first of your Ancestors, who came to Rome, a Rebel in his native Country, which he was therefore forced to leave, to take Refuge among us? Is it glorious for the Claudii only to free themselves from Chains, by leaving their native Country? You dislike the Tribuneship: But do you forget that you are a Senator and Consul? Or don't you know that the Tribuneship was established by the Consent of both Senators and Consuls? Have not the publick Oaths, whereby it was confirmed, made it sacred and inviolable to the Romans? Had the Consular Dignity it self a more venerable Origin than that of the Tribuneship? The People revolted from their Kings, expelled them, and substituted Consuls in their room: and their Proceedings were much of the same nature, when they made themselves Tribunes. What! shall the Oppression of the Tarquins authorize an Innovation, which changed the Monarchy into a Republick; and shall the People be blamed for procuring themselves Defenders, without so much as altering the Republican Government, when they were tired out with the Pride and Iniquity of the Patricians? But what signify our Endeavours to bring a Man to Reason, who is blinded with Prejudice? Put on the Man, Appius, and you will then become capable of Sentiments of Humanity. Whilst you give your self whole up, like a wild Beast, to pursue that Instinct of Rage, which you derived from your Forefathers with your Blood, what can we expect from you, but bestial Fury? We ought not then to fight any longer with Words against a roaring Lion. The Sword is the proper Weapon to be used in such Engagements. That may perhaps make you sensible, that the Roman People are not so contemptible as you think them. And in the mean time*



you shall at least experience the Authority of those Tribunes, which are the Objects of your Contempt, but which the Laws have made your Judges.

UPON this, there was immediately a profound Silence; and *Lætorius*, lifting up his Eyes and Hands to Heaven, swore that he would either get *Volero's* Law passed, or perish. Then, after he had kept the People in suspense about what he was going to say; *I command*, says he, *I command the Consul Appius to leave the Assembly*: At which Words, *Appius* made Signs to his Friends, and his Clients surrounded him. These were ready for any Attempt: so that he thought himself strong enough to despise the Order of the *Tribune*. But the latter renewed his Charge, and commanded one of his Officers to carry *Appius* to Prison. Then the Fray began, between one of the *Consul's* *Lictors*, and one of the *Tribune's* Officers. *Lætorius*, on one hand, implored the Assistance of the People, and *Appius* on the other, cried out aloud to the *Patrician* Youth, to repel the Violence of the *Tribunes*. Instantly therefore the Clamours of the two Parties increased, and Blows were mutually given and received. There was however but little Blood spilt in the Scuffle: Arms were forbidden in the *Comitia*. But the Populace took up Stones, which they threw from all Parts, on all that were fighting, without Distinction; and the Presence of a Man, so universally beloved as *Quinctius*, was necessary to appease the Tumult. He, attended by some old Senators, threw himself into the midst of these furious Men, who were sharply engaged, appeased them, separated them; and Night approaching, every one returned to his own House <sup>62</sup>.

§. XXVII. This Disturbance in the Assembly served for Matter of Discourse in the City, for some Days after; each Party boasting of having had the Advantage, and promising to do more, the first Opportunity. The gravest Men complained of one another; the *Consuls* of the Insolence of the *Tribunes*, and the *Tribunes* of the Tyranny of the *Consuls*. *Lætorius* especially, who was first in the Fray, was wounded in the Face, by the *Patrician* Faction, which he accused of having made an Attempt upon the Life of a Magistrate, whose Person was declared inviolable by the Laws; and these reciprocal Insults produced a Contention which in all probability would end in a civil War. This Situation therefore of Affairs at *Rome*, made the Senate tremble; and what distressed them more, was the Misunderstanding between the *Consuls*. *Quinctius* was of opinion, that it was best to grant the People with a good Grace, what it was not in their Power to take from them by Force. But *Appius* chose rather to perish, than consent. In the mean time, it was necessary to appease those who had been provoked by the Blows given in the last Assembly, before any Determination upon *Volero's* Law; and *Quinctius* undertook that Business, and succeeded. He went from the *Consul* to the *Tribunes*, and from the *Tribunes* to the *Consul*; and at length brought them all to agree, to refer their Grievances to the Arbitration of the Senate. *Quinctius* alone presided in it, because he was not a Party in the Cause;

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62 *Livy* differs a little from *D. Hal.* as to what passed in this tumultuous Assembly. He says, the Day after *Quinctius*, *Appius*, and *Lætorius* the *Tribune*, had made their Harangues, the latter placed Centinels upon the *Capitol*; and that notwithstanding this, the *Consul*, attended by the Body of the Nobility, came to the *Comitia*, to hinder the Acceptation of the Law. Then, adds *Livy*, *Lætorius* commanded all those who had no Votes, to leave the Assembly. This Order was levelled at the *Patricians*, who were excluded from the *Comitia* summoned by the *Tribunes*, by the Conditions of the Treaty of Reunion, concluded in the Year 260, between the Senators and the *Plebeians*, who had retired to the *Mons Sacer*; as we learn from *D. Hal. B. 7.* Nevertheless, the Nobility, adds the *Latin* Historian, kept their Ground, and did not think it for their Honour to obey the Commands of a *Tribune*; so that the Notification of the Officer, who was charged with putting *Lætorius's* Orders in execution, had no Effect. The *Patricians* persisted in refusing to obey them. The provoked *Tribune* therefore immediately ordered an Officer to seize some of those, who seemed most zealous in opposing the Law; upon which *Appius* could contain himself no longer. He accused *Lætorius* of usurping an un-heard-of Right over the *Patricians*. He exposed with Warmth the unworthy Proceedings of this *Tribune*; and exclaimed, That the *Tribuneship* was a Magistracy entirely *Plebeian*, the Authority of which

extended to *Plebeians* only; and That there needed no other Proof of this, than the respectful Terms, generally used, to remove the Multitude, which was in the way, when the *Tribune* approached: *Make way, Romans, if you please.* This was the Form used by the Officer, to disperse the Crowd. *SI VOBIS VIDEATUR, DISCEDITE QUIRITES.* *Lætorius*, enraged at these Reproaches, ordered an Officer to lay hold on *Appius*; and he made Reprisals, and ordered one of the *Lictors* to seize the *Tribune*. At the same time, he protested against the Attempt of the passionate *Lætorius*, who, he said, assumed a Power which did not belong to him, since his Office was wholly confined to protecting the Commons from the Oppressions of the Nobility. In the Heat of these Disputes, both Sides were ready to come to Blows; and *Lætorius* had felt the Fury of the Nobility, if the *Plebeians*, who ran to the *Forum* from all the Quarters of the City, had not flocked together to oppose *Appius*. Nevertheless, the inflexible *Consul* thought it beneath him to give way to the Storm. He not only bore the Menaces and Insults of the Populace, with Haughtiness and Obstinacy, but prepared to resist this enraged Multitude. In short, the Quarrel had ended in a bloody Catastrophe, if his Colleague *Quinctius* had not made use of the Interposition of the most considerable *Patricians*, to force him to withdraw, if he would not do it willingly.



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and he took the Advice of *Valerius Poplicola*, and made a Decree according to it. Since the Scuffle in the *Comitia*, said he, was not wilful and premeditated, but the Effect of a sudden Commotion, arising on both Sides from a pretended Zeal for the Republick, let not the Injuries committed and received, be considered as such, but let them be entirely forgotten.

WHAT remained, was now to come to some Determination about *Volero's* Law; and the *Tribunes*, to prevent any Tumult in the Assembly, when that Affair was to be decided, thought fit to seize the *Capitol* in time. They caused it to be guarded by the People Day and Night; and *Quinctius*, (who then plainly saw that *Volero's* Request would infallibly be granted, by the Suffrages of the People) saved the Honour of the Senate at least from suffering in this sad Affair. He assembled the *Conscript Fathers*, at length brought them to Reason; and had the thanks of the Senators for the Moderation he had shewn in his Conduct. As for *Appius*, they exhorted him not to carry the Pretensions of the *Consular* Authority so far, as to breed Disturbances in the Republick. Whilst, said they, the *Consuls* on the one hand, and the *Tribunes* on the other, claim the sole Power of deciding every thing, the Senate is become a mere Cypher. To which they added, that less regard ought to be had to any Man's personal Dignity, than to the Publick Good. But the morose *Consul* took their Advice ill. He called the Gods to witnesses, that the cowardly Senators were betraying the Republick. The Head, said he, is not wanting to the Senate, but the Senate is wanting to their Head. They tamely suffer a Law to pass, which is more prejudicial to their Country, than that of the *Mons Sacer*. Indeed the *Conscript Fathers*, to avoid the Shame of seeing *Volero's* Law immediately accepted, without them, gave the People leave to judge of it. So that the Assembly, which followed after the Consent of the Senate had been given, was a peaceable one; and this Law, which had been so universally disputed, was received, according to the Desires of the People; and in Appearance, not without the Approbation of the *Fathers*. From this time therefore, the *Ædiles* and the *Tribunes* were made, and almost every thing relating to the People, was determined, not in *Comitia by Curia*, as before, but in *Comitia* <sup>63</sup> by Tribes.

§. XXVIII. HOWEVER, these Contests <sup>64</sup> had only employed the first Months of the *Consulate* of *Appius* and *Quinctius*; and foreign Wars afterwards obliged them to take the Field. Indeed the *Volsci* and the *Æqui* thought they might draw Advantage from the intestine Broils of the Republick. They expected to see the Malecontents once more leave *Rome*, separate from the Nobility, and come and enlarge their Armies. and with this View they came as near to *Rome* as they could, and ravaged the Country. However, the Re-establishment of Concord, and the Necessity of driving the Enemy further off, made it easy for the *Consuls* to raise two Armies, one to act against the *Volsci*, the other against the *Æqui*; and the former fell to *Appius*, the latter to *Quinctius*. But how differently were the two Armies inclined to obey the Orders of their Generals! The Troops commanded by *Quinctius*, obeyed him with Affection; and entered the Country of the *Æqui*, as much to gain their General Honour, as to do their Country Service. The Enemy did not care to appear in the Field against *Romans*, who had such an Esteem for their *Consul*; but shut themselves up in their Cities, or hid themselves in their Forests: and their Lands at least were pillaged, and the whole Booty distributed among the Soldiers, by their beloved General. It was said at *Rome*, that *Quinctius* only wanted Enemies to fight with, in order to obtain a Triumph. As his Expedition was soon finished, he as soon led his Troops back to *Rome*, loaded with Provisions; and the Sweetness of his Temper, which equally appeared both in the City and the Camp, gained him the entire Affections of all. The People grew milder, and the Senate inclined more and more to that Moderation, with which the wise *Consul* had inspired them. But whilst *Quinctius* was called the Father of the Soldiers, *Appius* was styled by his Troops, the Tyrant of the Army. Indeed, during the Campaign, he did all the odious things his savage Temper suggested, without Restraint. When en-

Livy, B. 2.  
ch. 59.

<sup>63</sup> Besides, what we have already observed of the Advantages the *Tribunes* might draw from assembling the People by Tribes; it is certain the *Patricians* could not there easily gain the Suffrages of the Commons, who were always devoted to their *Tribunes*. But that was not the Case, as to the *Comitia by Curia*, which consisted only of the Citizens who were Inhabitants of *Rome*, and were for the most part Clients to the Nobility. The same thing may also be said of the *Comitia by Centuries*, in which the Nobility had had the chief

Authority, from *Ser. Tullius*, to this time.

<sup>64</sup> This Year, says *Livy*, the *Tribunes* were first created in *Comitia by Tribes*. And if we believe *Piso*, whom the *Latin* Historian quotes, there had been but two *Tribunes* till that time, and their College was then increased to five: but we prefer *D. Hal.*'s Opinion of that Matter. The Reader may see our Remarks on that Subject, above, page 307. These five *Tribunes*, according to *Piso*, were *C. Sicinius*, *L. Numitorius*, *M. Dracilius*, *Sp. Icilius*, and *L. Mæcilius*.

camped.



camped; his Rage against the Commons, of whom his Soldiers were a Part, was no longer under any Restraint from the *Tribunes*; and he entirely gave way to it. He called to mind the Shame of having been overcome by a vile Populace, the Contempt of his Representations in the *Comitia*, and the passing of a Law in his *Consulship*, which his Predecessors had kept in suspense; and these Reflexions sowering his Mind, which was already naturally inclined to Severity; he made his Troops feel the ill Effects of his Uneasiness. Never was Army more severely governed, or Discipline executed with more Rigour. The Consequence of which was, that the Soldiers first did their Duty negligently, and unwillingly; and at last laid aside all Shame; and the more he endeavoured to inspire them with Fear, the more they learned to surmount it. Inasmuch, that their Contempt of his Punishments was followed by an avowed Disobedience. If he commanded them to make haste, they marched slowly. If he ordered them to halt, they ran. When the General appeared to inspect their Works, their Arms fell down to their Sides, as if they had been tired. As soon as they saw him, they all fixed their Eyes upon the Ground, without saying a word; and if they broke silence, it was only to curse him, as he passed by. But after all, this intrepid *Appius* was not unaffected with so much Hatred; and not daring therefore to make any more Complaints of the private Men, he vented his Rage upon the Officers. The *Tribunes* and *Centurions* were all suspected by him. He said of them, *It is they who alienate the Affections of my Troops from me; they are all so many Voleros*: and it is therefore not to be wondered at, if there were some Traitors, amidst so many Malecontents. The *Volsci* were punctually informed of all that passed in the *Roman* Camp; hoped to gain the same Advantage over their mutinous Enemies, as they formerly had done over the revolted Troops of *Fabius*; and found more than they expected. *Fabius's* Army had formerly refused to conquer them, but that of *Appius* now sought to be conquered by them.

*APPIUS* indeed ventured to give Battle; tho' in the present Disposition of his Army, it would have been wiser to have kept himself in his Camp, where the Enemy would not have attacked him. But brutal Men are often rash. *Appius* led out his Troops into the Plain; and as soon as they were drawn up, the *Tribunes*, *Centurions*, *Ensigns*, inferior Officers, and Soldiers, all fled with one Consent, and returned to the Camp. The *Volsci* pursued the *Romans*, and killed a great Number of them: But lest a pretended Flight should draw them into an Ambuscade, they restrained their Ardour, and did not reap all the Advantages they might have done. Yet still the *Consul* was obstinately bent on pursuing his Design, how unreasonable soever. The next Day, after he had severely reprimanded the Soldiers, and exhorted them to make amends for their shameful Behaviour the Day before, he prepared to lead them out again to face the Enemy. But all on a sudden, a seditious Clamour was heard among them, *We will not expose our selves to be butcher'd a second time. Our mangled Limbs render us unable to engage in a second Battle.* Several of them shewed their Wounds; others had put their Arms in Slings on purpose, pretending to have Wounds which they had not; and the common Cry was to decamp, and leave the Enemy's Territory. The General inveighed, threatened, and exerted the Rigour of the Laws: But after all, he was forced to comply with the Multitude, and remove his Camp into a peaceable Country. Nor were the *Romans* without Alarms, even in their Retreat; for the *Volsci* fell upon them, and cut in Pieces a Part of their Rear-Guard. As soon as *Appius* entered into the *Roman* Territory, where he was in a Condition to revenge the Affront offered him in the Enemy's Presence, the Barbarity of his Temper made him give a Loose to his Resentments. The Lieutenant-Generals, and other *Patricians* in his Army, in vain dissuaded him from giving the Republick new Wounds; he listened to nothing but the furious Dictates of his Revenge. By his own absolute Authority he ordered Punishments to be inflicted on all those whom he suspected; some *Centurions*<sup>65</sup>, and other Officers, died by the *Axes* of the *Lictors*; others were beaten to Death; whilst the common Soldiers were *decimated*<sup>66</sup>, that is, every tenth Man was condemned to die. And at

<sup>65</sup> *D. Hal.* comprehends all those in this terrible Execution, who had lost their Standards in the Battle. We have already observed, that this was an unpardonable Fault among the *Romans*, which the General scarce ever failed of punishing with the utmost Severity. *Livy* reckons the *Duplicarii* among those who were executed on this Occasion. This is the Name *Varro* gives those, who, as a Reward of their Valour, had a double Allowance. The *Latin* Historian adds,

that they died by the *Lictors Axes*, after they had been beaten with Rods, according to Custom.

<sup>66</sup> *Tully*, in his *Oration for Cluentius*, gives us the Reason of this Custom, which was always observed in the *Roman* Armies, when the greatest Part of them were equally guilty. *Statuerunt ita Majores nostri, ut si a multis esset flagitium rei militaris admissum, sortitione in quosdam animadverteretur, ut metus videlicet ad omnes, poena ad paucos perveniret.* By this means,

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*Liv. B. 2. c. 59.*



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length the *Consul* return'd to the City, universally hated as the Cause of the many remarkable Disasters which had happened throughout this Year. After all, *Volero's* Law was not so prejudicial as had been thought; there was more Resentment and Prejudice, than solid Reason, in the Oppositions the *Patricians* made to it. The Victory the Commons gained was of no great Service to them; and the Year was more memorable for the Disgrace of *Appius*, and the Glory it brought to *Quinctius*.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXXXIII.

L. VALERIUS,  
and TIBERIUS  
ÆMILIUS,  
Consuls.  
*Dion. Hal.*  
*B. 9. p. 606.*

§. XXIX. In the *Campus Martius*, the Republick chose new *Consuls*, and the *Tribes* created new *Tribunes*. The *Consuls* were *L. Valerius*<sup>67</sup>, now raised a second time to this Office, and *Tib.*<sup>68</sup> *Æmilius*; who favour'd the Pretensions of the People as much as any *Consuls* before them. Besides that *Valerius* was one of *Poplicola's* Descendants, who had transmitted down to his Family his Affection for the *Plebeians*, he now repented of having in his *Quæstorship* prosecuted the popular *Cassius*, and caused him to be put to Death. The People had opened their Eyes, and lamented the Loss of him, after they had destroyed him; and *Valerius*, thinking to remove the Hatred he had drawn upon himself, by being the Accuser of a Man who was always remembered with Regret, appear'd entirely devoted to the Commons. As for *T. Æmilius*, he loved the People, because he hated the Senate; he remember'd that the *Conscript Fathers* had formerly refused his Father a Triumph. And the *Tribunes* hoped, that they should get the *Cassian* Law executed, and the Lands distributed, under the Administration of the new *Consuls*. This Quarrel between the People and the *Patricians*, had already continued 17 Years<sup>69</sup>; and the *Tribunes* again presented their Petition to the Senate, desiring the *Consuls* to back it. Accordingly, the latter became their Protectors, and convened the Senate; the *Tribunes* took their Places in it as usual; and the *Consuls* reported their Petition to the House, without seeming either to favour or oppose it. For fear of declaring themselves too openly, they asked the Opinions of the oldest Senators; and *Æmilius*, the *Consul's* Father, whom the Senate had personally affronted, spoke first, to this Effect.

*WHY should we, Conscript Fathers, refuse to grant the Peoples Petition, which they offer us in an humble Manner? We have been but too often compelled to yield to their Pretensions. Whereas now They pray, who might demand. Ought not those of us who receive the Profits of the Lands which belong to the Publick, to surrender them up, and be thankful to the Senate, that they have been suffer'd to enjoy them quietly so long? And if they obstinately keep Possession, ought it not to pass for Usurpation? It is a Maxim of the Law of Nations, That Estates gain'd by the Publick, should belong to the Publick; as those acquired by private Persons do to those who acquire them. The Law then which extended a Right to the conquer'd Lands to the whole Republick, is agreeable to the Dictates of Equity. Shall so many brave Citizens, who have nothing to live upon but the Labours of their Hands, be always oppressed with Want? Why are so many Lands left untill'd, and not given to them to cultivate as their own, which would preserve them from Idleness? With what valiant Soldiers would they furnish the Republick? If they were inured to the Labours of Husbandry, we should see them and their Children better able to support the Fatigues of War. A good Education would increase their Courage, and raise them above that Meanness of Soul which commonly attends Beggary. I therefore vote, 1st, For distributing the Lands which belong only to the Publick, among those of the People who have none of their own; and, 2dly, For creating Decemviri, to distribute them, and to put the Cassian Law in execution, since it has been confirmed by a Decree of the Senate.*

BUT *Appius*, that sworn Enemy to the People, was of a contrary Opinion. He expressed himself with all the Fury his natural Temper, and his late Vexations, suggested. *Æmilius*, said he, *it is not true, that the infamous Law of the Rebel Cassius was confirmed by the Conscript Fathers; had it been so, it would have been immediately put in execution. The ambitious Consul who had drawn it up, made the People hope the Senate would confirm it; but it died with him, being condemned and proscribed by the*

means, the Crime did not escape unpunished, and all were intimidated by the Punishments they saw inflicted.

<sup>67</sup> This was the same *L. Val. Poplicola Potitus*, who had been *Consul* in the Year 270.

<sup>68</sup> In *Livy* and *Diodorus* we read, *Titus Æmilius*. Yet we don't find one Instance of the Use of the *Prænomen* of *Titus* in the *Æmilian* Family. Which gives just Reason for a Suspicion that the Copyists have been guilty of a Mistake, in taking *T.* which

signifies the *Prænomen Titus*, for *Ti.* which are the initial Letters of *Tiberius*. Add to this, that *D. Hal.* gives this *Consul* no other Name but that of *Tiberius*. *Diodorus Siculus* also gives him the same *Prænomen*, when he speaks of his second *Consulship*. *Tib. Æmilius Mamercinus*, was the Son of *Lucius Æmilius*, who had been *Consul* three times.

<sup>69</sup> The *Cassian* Law was proposed by the *Consul Sp. Cassius*, in the Year of Rome 267. From that Year, to this 283<sup>d</sup> Year of Rome, was just 17 Years.



same Suffrages which sentenced him to Death. Why then do the Consuls venture to revive it? By what Authority have they presumed to report it to the Senate? Does it belong to any but the Authors of a Law, to propose the Execution of it? Not that I approve of the Usurpation of the publick Lands. If any Patricians detain them without a Title, let them be taken from them! We want no new Laws for that. Those which authorize only legal Possessions are antient; and by them we ought to judge of Usurpations. But ought these Lands, when taken from the unjust Detainers, to be divided among the People? The publick Good, is only a Pretence. When the Populace have what they now covet, will their insatiable Desires be satisfied? Have the Spoils of our Enemies, and the Booty which has been so often taken from them, and so often divided among the Soldiers, at all lessened their Wants? The more is granted them, the more they ask. Their Distress is not occasion'd by our Avarice, but by their own ill Conduct. Let them be sober and temperate, and they won't be straitened. To give them Lands, is to feed their Debaucheries; it is treating them like Men sick of desperate Diseases, whom the Physicians leave at their Liberty, without confining them to any Regimen. The Distempers of the People are become incurable; neither in the City, nor in the Camp, is any Respect shewn to the Senate, or Obedience paid to the Consuls. The Soldiers throw down their Arms, quit their Ranks, give up their Standards to the Enemy, fly, and suffer themselves to be overcome. As if the Shame of a Defeat did not fall more upon their Country, than their General? Are these Exploits which deserve Rewards? The Volsci erect Trophies of our Spoils, and adorn their Altars with them. I should indeed have the less Reason to complain, Conscript Fathers, if the Contagion of the People had not infected us; but we find some, even in the Senate, who admire the Licentiousness, the Chicanery, the Malignity, the Impudence, and the satyirical Invectives of the Tribunes. Thus we see the Marks of an approaching Decline, even in the Heart of the Republick! Instead of exerting their Power with Gravity and Severity, our Magistrates shew a cowardly Complaisance, and a timorous Indulgence. It little concerns me how disagreeable this Discourse is, if it be but useful to you, or our Posterity. If it makes me Enemies, I will despise them; for I prefer the Fate of the many illustrious Men who have acquired immortal Glory by having been condemned, to Safety with such cowardly Senators.

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and TIBERIUS  
ÆMILIUS,  
Consuls.

THIS Harangue of Appius was bold and offensive, yet it had its Effect. The Senate rejected the Request of the Tribunes, tho' presented by the Consuls; and then the Rage of the Defenders of the People all turned against the proud Appius. The Tribunes had private Conferences among themselves, and resolved on the Destruction of this violent Adversary. The Method of bringing this about was grown common: It was to accuse him before the People, and to make his Behaviour in his Consulship amount to a capital Crime. His Accusation was reduced to these four Heads. 1. That he had spirited up the Senate against the People. 2. That he had raised Seditions in the Republick. 3. That he had caused a Tribune to be struck, tho' the Laws declared his Person inviolable. 4. That he had sunk the Courage of his Soldiers by his Severity, and suffered himself to be overcome by the Volsci. But tho' the Accused was morose, and arrogant, he was esteemed by the Senate for his Probity, his Frankness, and his Zeal for the publick Good: And indeed his Faults were only Virtues carried to Excess. Besides, it was the Interest of the Patricians to ward off a Blow, which would rebound upon themselves: And as soon as they saw Appius summoned, they did their utmost to prevail upon him to appear, as Persons in that Case usually did.

It was then customary for Such, to put on Mourning, to affect a negligent Carriage, to squeeze their Judges by the Hands, fall down at their Feet wherever they met them, and to employ all their Relations, Friends and Clients to intercede with them. Some wise Men therefore, and Men of Distinction, intreated Appius to humble himself like a Suppliant, and to give those slender Proofs at least that he was not so proud as he was thought to be. But he not being susceptible of Fear, the Intreaties of his Friends were useless. He even forbade them to lessen him, by any Sollicitations in his Favour. As for himself, still continuing to act consistently with his Character, he neither ap-

Liv. B. 2. c. 61.  
Dion. Hal.  
B. 9. p. 610.

At Rome, the Accused made their Friends and Clients accompany them in Mourning. In this humble State they appeared before their Judges, and omitted nothing which might inspire them with Sentiments of Compassion towards the Accused. Tully, *orat. pro Sextio*, & *pro domo sua*, glories in having engaged the Senate to declare it self for him, when

the Senators unanimously agreed to change their Habits, to shew how much his Disgrace affected them. It was then in Appius, the Effect of an heroical Confidence, that he would not have any of these usual Steps taken for him; and that he chose rather to brave the Danger which threatened him, than to stoop to his Enemies.

peared



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and TIBERIUS  
ÆMILIUS,  
Consuls.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 9. p. 610.  
& Zonar. B. 7.  
Annal.

peared more negligent, or more sorrowful, or less proud, than before. He had secret Designs of his own, which he communicated to no Body. In the mean time, the Day approached for his Trial, which was likely to end ill for him. The Accused appeared but once, and then with the same Air of Intrepidity which he had shewn in the Senate; his Harangue to the People, was rather an Invective or Accusation, than a Defence. In short, his Steadiness put his Enemies into a Consternation. Tho' under Prosecution as a Criminal, he gained more Respect than when he was *Consul*; the *Tribunes*, being determined on his Destruction, were forced to postpone his Sentence to another Day. But he prevented the Shame and Severity of a Condemnation, by an Excess of that savage Magnanimity, which animated him to the last. He killed <sup>71</sup> himself. But his Friends spread a Report, that he died by an Accident: And the *Tribunes* endeavoured in vain to deprive him of such Funeral-Honours at least as his Merit and Rank in the Republick deserved. His Son obtained Leave of the *Consuls* to assemble the People, and pronounce his Father's <sup>72</sup> Funeral-Oration: In order to which, he brought the Deceased into the *Forum*, where it was usual to make Harangues. The revengeful *Tribunes* commanded that the Body should be immediately buried; but the People did not extend their Inhumanity so far as their Magistrates. They heard the Praises of the Deceased with Patience, and shewed him more Regard after his Death, than they had done in his Life-time.

Thus fell the Man, who deserved the greatest of Praises, and at the same time the most blame, of any one in the Republick. His Intentions were right, but his Conduct faulty. He was a good Citizen, but a bad *Consul*. *Appius* had formed to himself such Maxims for Government, as were excellent in Speculation, but not practicable. He considered the Men of his Time rather as what they ought to have been, than as what they were. He thought to have brought them to their Duty, by Severity: but instead of that, it alienated the Peoples Minds from him, and made them obstinate in Disobedience. Being a Zealot for the *Patrician* Party, he sunk it, by endeavouring to raise it; his only Point in View was to make the Senate supreme; yet he brought it under Subjection to the *Tribunes*. In short, those very Methods which should have made the *Consul* beloved, got him the Hatred even of that Party which he openly espoused. So true is it, that Probity without Prudence, and Zeal without Moderation, instead of remedying the Disorders of a State, increase them.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 9. p. 611.  
Liz. B. 2. c. 62.

§. XXX. THE Troubles at home were now a little quieted; but *Rome* was threatened with new Wars from abroad. The *Sabines* had just declared themselves against her; and the *Æqui* were old Enemies, whom it was necessary to subdue, and put upon the Foot of the *Latins* and the *Hernici*. The *Consuls* had gained the Affection of the People, and found no Difficulty in raising two Armies; one of which *Æmilius* led against the *Sabines*, *Valerius* the other against the *Æqui*. The latter had at first some Advantage over the Enemy, he repulsed them, forced them to retire into their Camp, and they durst not appear any more in the Plain. His Troops were well-affected to him: and he expected to have forced the Enemy's Entrenchments, which the *Romans* indeed attempted with Courage; but an unforeseen Accident, and *Valerius's* Superstition, lost them this Opportunity of subduing the troublesome Nation of the *Æqui*. When the *Roman* Army was beginning the Attack of the Camp, all on a sudden, a dark cloud covered the Sky; Thunder and Lightning, joined with Hail and Rain, dispersed the *Legions* who were making the Assault; and to complete the Terror, as soon as the *Romans* were retired, it was fair over the besieged Camp. Upon this, the Diviners, who were consulted, interpreted the Event in favour of the *Æqui*, and said, *The Menaces of Heaven shew, that it protects their Camp*. The General therefore, making no farther Attempt, lest he should offend against the Religion of the *Augurs*, only ravaged the Country, and led back his Troops to *Rome*.

<sup>71</sup> *Livy* makes *Appius* die of some Disease; and what *D. Hal.* mentions only as a Report which his Friends spread of him, the *Latin* Historian affirms to be incontestable Matter of Fact. But so sudden a Disease, and in those Circumstances, when he was in danger of being sacrificed to the Fury of the *Tribunes*, seems a less plausible Account of the Matter than that of *D. Hal.* Besides, this violent Death agrees better with *Appius's* inflexible Temper, who, in the Despair which the Indignities he had received threw him into, preferred a voluntary Death, to the

Shame of sinking under the malicious Attempts of his Enemies.

<sup>72</sup> The Custom of pronouncing Funeral-Orations for illustrious Men after their Deaths, was introduced in *Rome* by *P. Valerius Poplicola*. The dead Man was carried into the *Forum*; then his eldest Son, or, if he had none, some other Person of the same Family, ascended *The Tribune*, and made a Discourse to the People, in Commendation of the Dead. We shall hereafter see the same Privileges granted to Women, after the taking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*.



AND the Success of *Æmilius* against the *Sabines* was little better. At first he made Incursions with his *Romans* into *Sabinia*; and not expecting the *Sabines* to engage him in the open Field, the Contempt he had for them made him neglect necessary Precautions. At a time when he least imagined it, and a Part of his Troops were dispersed abroad for Plunder, the Enemy appeared, and gave him Battel. It was long and bloody; but the Success doubtful. After they had fought from Noon to Sun-set, both Armies retired to their respective Camps; and the *Sabines* decamped the next Day, as soon as they had buried their Dead; which was the only Proof, that *Æmilius* had had any Advantage. But an Action which was so far from being a decisive one, gained the *Consul* but little Glory. He was not honoured with a Triumph; and his *Consulate* expired soon after.

§.XXXI. THE next *Consuls* were *A. Virginius*, and 73 *T. Numicius*; the beginning of whose Administration was not altogether peaceable. Upon every Election of *Consuls*, the *Tribunes* never failed renewing the Remembrance of the *Cassian* Law; and in this Year, the Disputes it had raised began to grow more furious. It was happy for *Rome*, that the *Æqui* suspended the Broils of the Republick. A formidable Army of this restless People was entered very far into the *Roman* Territory, was advanced very near to *Rome*, and had set fire to a Village in sight of the *Romans*. Indeed the Smoke which arose from the burning of the Village, brought them the first News of the Devastations which the Enemy was committing round the City; and then the publick Good got the better of private Interest. The Seditions were stopped, and the People wholly taken up with their own Defence. As it was Night when the Fire was first perceived, the *Consuls* immediately dispatched some Horse to discover the Enemy; and early in the Morning, the *Roman* Infantry marched out of the City, in pursuit of the *Æqui*. But these Pillagers had already disappeared, and were retired into their own Country. Nevertheless, they did not long escape the Vengeance of the *Romans*. The *Consuls* raised two Armies; *Virginius* led one against the *Æqui*, and *Numicius* the other against the *Volsci*. These two Nations kept the *Romans* long in play. The *Æqui* first marched out against *Virginius*, and drew the General into an Ambuscade through his Negligence; from which his brave Soldiers found it difficult to deliver him. After this, they continued hid, as usual, behind their Entrenchments, which the *Roman* Army could not force: So that the *Consul* carried nothing out of their Country, except some little Booty, which the *Æqui* had not been able to secure.

BUT the wise *Numicius* conducted his Troops like a brave Soldier. At first the *Volsci* ventured to appear in the Field, and were beaten; and then, shutting themselves up within their Walls, they thought only of defending the Ramparts. But *Numicius* pushed his Advantages as far as they could be carried. After he had burnt and sacked the whole Country, he came and sat down before *Antium*, the Capital of the *Antiates*, and one of the richest Cities in *Italy* at that time. The whole Nation of the *Volsci* was divided into two Cantons: that of the *Ecetrans*, whose chief Town was *Ecetræ*; and that of the *Antiates*, whose most considerable City was *Antium*. It was situated very near the *Tyrrhenian* Sea, and separated from it only by a Suburb, called *Cenon* 74, pretty well fortified. There was the Port of *Antium*; there Ships rode safe, under cover of the Fortifications, which defended the Suburbs; and *Cenon* was full of Magazines, in which the *Antiates* kept the Merchandizes, and Provisions they imported, and deposited the Spoils brought from the Lands of the *Romans*. *Numicius* did not think himself strong enough to undertake the Siege of *Antium*; but was bent upon taking and plundering *Cenon*; where he made a great Number of Slaves; and from whence he carried away Money, Cattel, and Merchandize. He likewise seized twenty two Gallies, which he found in the Port, with all the rigging, prepared for fitting out other Vessels; and in short, he burnt the Suburbs, demolished its Fortifications, and filled up the Port.

HOWEVER, the Expeditions of the two *Consuls* did not end here; they joined their Forces together to enter *Sabinia*. The *Sabines* had taken hold of this favourable Opportunity, when the *Romans* were engaged with the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, to enter into the *Roman* Territory; and had committed Devastations in it. But the two *Consular* Armies made Reprizals on the Enemy; and returned from *Sabinia*, loaded with Spoils.

73 *A. Virg. Tricostus Calimontanus*, was the Son of him who had been *Consul*, in the Year of *Rome* 259. His Collegue *T. Numicius Priscus*, is miscalled *Numicius*, in *Diod. Siculus*.

74 *D. Hal.* and *Livy* represent *Cenon*, as a little

maritime City near *Antium*. The *Antiates* placed their Magazines and Arsenal in it. The Neighbourhood of these two Cities has therefore made us take the former to be only a Suburb to the latter. *Holsteinius* places *Cenon*, where *Nettuno* now stands.

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CCLXXXIV.  
A. VIRGINI-  
us, and T.  
NUMICIUS,  
Consuls.  
*Livy*, B. 2.  
ch. 63.

*Livy*, B. 2.  
*ibid.*



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R O M E  
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A. VIRGINI-  
us, and T.  
NUMICIUS,  
Consuls.

§.XXXII. THE Return of the *Consuls* to *Rome*, produced new Troubles; the People and *Patricians* could not come to a good Understanding, as long as the Contests about the Distribution of the Lands were an eternal Obstruction to their Reunion. The Commons shewed their Resentments against the *Patricians*, by refusing to appear at the *Comitia*, for the Election of *Consuls* for the Year ensuing; and the Event proved, that the Senate had taken the wisest Way, to punish the Perverseness of an obstinate Populace. After a Day had been appointed for assembling the *Centuries* in the *Campus Martius*, the Nobility alone, and their Clients, who represented the People, proceeded to the Election. It is true, the Assembly, being under the Guidance of Men of Sense, had the Prudence to chuse only such Men, as were agreeable to both Parties; which were the famous *T. Quinctius* <sup>75</sup>, (who had signally shewn his Moderation in the *Consulship* of the rugged *Appius*, and who was now chosen *Consul* a second time) and *Q. Servilius* <sup>76</sup>.

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T. QUINCTI-  
us, and Q.  
SERVILIUS,  
Consuls.

Livy, B. 2.  
ch. 64.

BUT tho' these new *Consuls* had not been created in due Form, yet the Choice was too judicious a one to be contradicted. The People continued to press their ancient Pretensions to the Distribution of the Lands; but foreign Wars extricated the *Consuls* out of this troublesome Difficulty; and the Peoples Affection for them, even prevented their Wishes, as to the raising of Troops. The *Romans* voluntarily offered to serve under Generals so well beloved; the Allies sent away their auxiliary Troops, before the Senate had called for them; and this ardent Zeal was an happy Presage of the future Success of the Campaign. Of the two Armies the *Romans* raised, one was led by *Servilius* against the *Sabines*, who were the Aggressors the last Year; the other by *Quinctius*, against the united Forces of the *Æqui* and *Volsci*. *Servilius* had the *Sabines* to engage, even at the very Gates of *Rome*. They, after having passed through the Territory of *Crustumium*, had spread themselves upon the Banks of the *Anio*; and from thence made Incursions to the very Gates of the City. Here they were repulsed with Loss, by *Servilius's* Troops; and driven home: but this brave *Consul* had not the Happiness to come up close with them, and bring them to a general Battel. The *Sabines* returned immediately through difficult Passes; shut themselves up within their Walls; and left their Country open to the Mercy of the *Roman*. The Devastations his Troops committed in it, and the Spoil they carried away from it, were inconceivably great; all the Terrors of War, Burning, Demolitions, Massacres, and Rapines, were put in Practice against the audacious *Sabines*: And yet, *Servilius's* Glory was not equal to that of his Colleague. *Quinctius* penetrated very far into the Country of the *Volsci*; and found the Enemy encamped near *Antium*. Their chief Business was to cover that Place, which they feared would be besieged, since its Port was now demolished. The *Æqui* and *Volsci* had joined their Forces, and both made but one Army; which much exceeded that of the *Romans* in Number. Nevertheless, the brave *Consul* hastened the March of his Troops, appeared unexpectedly in sight of the Allies; and immediately drew out his Forces in a Valley, where the Enemy could see them from their Camp, which was upon an Eminence. *Quinctius*, to engage the Enemy to fight, and shew them, that he was not afraid of their Numbers, had likewise removed some distance from his Baggage. This was giving them a Challenge, which they accepted, depending on the Multitude of their Men; but they were far inferior to their Enemies in Courage. A *Roman* Army was invincible, when commanded by a General they loved.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 9. p. 613.

Livy, B. 2.  
ibid.  
Dion. Hal.  
B. 9. ibid.

THE Confederates had no sooner drawn up their Men, but the Battle began with Fury. Great Efforts were made on both Sides, and notwithstanding the Inequality of Numbers, the Advantages and Losses continued equal a great while. It was but natural that the *Roman* Forces should at last be exhausted, and obliged to give way to superior Numbers. Every Loss was more considerable to them, than to the Enemy; and this Consideration had like to have induced the *Consul* to order a Retreat. But he was afraid the Enemy would call his retiring a Flight, and that his Honour might suffer by it; and he prevented the Defeat he was apprehensive of, by a Stratagem. He went to one of the Wings of his Army, and cried out, that the other was victorious. This was a Fiction, which the General successfully made use of, to revive the Courage of

<sup>75</sup> This was the second *Consulship* of *T. Quinctius Barbatus Capitolinus*. Some Editions of *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* give him by Mistake the *Praenomen* of *Publius*. The *Fasts Siculi* have changed his Surname of *Capitolinus* into that of *Caelimontanus*.

<sup>76</sup> *D. Siculus* gives *Q. Ser. Priscus* the Surname of

*Structus*, which was pretty common in his Family. It is conjectured, that he was the Son of *Q. Servilius* Captain General of the Horse, in the Year of *Rome* 259; and that he was the Brother of *Servilius*, who was *Consul* in the Year 275.



his Army, which conquered because it thought it self victorious. The *Consul* had no sooner declared the Enemy routed, but he dismounted, and ordered all the Horse attending him to do the same. They followed their General, and performed such glorious Exploits that the *Volsi* (for it was with them *Quinctius* fought) were struck with Terror. They gave way by degrees, and were at length broken and dispersed. Then *Quinctius* immediately mounted his Horse, flew to the other Wing, and informed them of the Defeat of the *Volsi*. *Shall I find less Valour among you*, said he, *than among your Fellow-Soldiers? Are not you Romans, as well as they?* At which Words nothing could stand before Men who gloried in exposing their Lives, to gain Honour to their General; they put the rest of the Confederates into Disorder, and pursued them for some time. But the *Consul*, who was afraid of a fresh Action in case the Enemy should rally, order'd his Men to retire. It was high time for the *Romans*, who were fatigued with fighting, to breathe a little. Their Arms being blunted or broken, began to be but a weak Defence; and they went to take some Refreshment in their Camp, where they experienced all the Kindness that could be shewn them by a good-natur'd General, who lov'd his Soldiers. He gave them time to recover themselves from their Fatigues, to dress their Wounds, and bury their Dead; and for this Purpose made a Truce with the Enemy for some Days. But in the mean time, the provident *Quinctius* got all things necessary for forming a Siege.

§.XXXIII. HOWEVER, the *Aequi* and *Volsi* did not lose their Courage, during the Truce; they made it their Business to bring fresh Troops from their own Countries, which they did in such Numbers, that they were above five times as many as the *Romans*. This formidable Body gave the *Aequi* the Confidence to come and lay Siege to the *Consul's* Camp, in the Night. They were persuaded that the *Romans*, terrified by such superior Numbers, would quit their Entrenchments, and encamp in another Place. Under this Persuasion, their General posted Troops in several Places, and seized the narrow Passes, in order to attack the *Romans* in their Retreat. Their Multitudes were too great to observe much Order, or form a regular Camp; and their Battalions were dispersed about the Country in Companies. It was just Midnight 77 when the *Romans* perceived their Camp to be invested; and it is easy to imagine that it struck a general Terror into them. But *Quinctius* encouraged them, and ordered them to continue quiet, and take their Rest. The prudent General only sent out of the Camp a Body of *Hernici*, part Horse, and part Foot, as an Advance-Guard; and joined with them all the Trumpets and other 70 Instruments in his Army, with Orders to sound from time to time. His Design was to make the Enemy believe the *Legions* were upon their Guard in the Avenues of their Camp: And by this means he kept the Enemy upon Duty all Night; whilst his own Men were in his Entrenchments, taking their Rest in Quiet. When it was Day, the *Consul* march'd out at the Head of his Horse, and order'd the Foot to follow him. He found

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77 *Livy* says, it was the third Watch in the Night, when the *Romans* first perceiv'd that their Camp was invested. In order to understand this way of dividing the Hours of the Night, it must be observed, that in the *Roman* Armies the Night was divided into four Parts, called *Watches*; each consisting of three Hours, reckoning from Sun-set to Sun-rising. So that the Hours of the Night were longer or shorter, according to the Length or Shortness of the Day. Every Watch was proclaimed in the Camp, by Sound of Trumpet. Then those who had kept Guard the first Watch, were relieved by the second, and these by the third, till the Sun arose, according to this Verse of *Propertius*;

*Et jam quarta canit venturam buccina lucem.*

78 The Wind-Instruments used by the *Romans*, were only the Trumpet, Clarion, and Horn. The Trumpet was called *Tuba*, or *Tubus*; and was of three Sorts: one called *Tuba directa*, another *Litus*, or *Tuba curva*, and a third *Buccina*. The first was straight, and widened insensibly from the Mouth to the End, which was round at the Opening, like our Trumpets. The *Litus*, or *Clarion*, which was of the Form of the *Augural Staff*, was not so much bent as the *Buccina*. The latter was so round, that the Mouth and the other End almost met. It had a very shrill Tone, and was heard at a very great Distance. The Horn was originally nothing but an Ox's Horn hol-

lowed, with which the Herdsmen gathered their Herds together. *Quæ nunc sunt ex ære, tunc fiebant ex bubulo cornu.* Var. B. 4. de Ling. Lat. As soon as it came to be used in Armies, it was called *Buccina*. *Ad sonum Buccinae pecus septa repetere consuevit*, says *Columella*, 6. 23. It is plain the *Buccina* and Horn differed in little more than in Name. *Ovid* has given us the Description of it in these two Verses:

—————*Cava Buccina sumitur illi*

*Tortilis, in latum quæ turbine crescit ab imo.* Metam. *Vegetius*, who wrote in the Time of *Valentinian the Younger*, assures us that the *Romans*, instead of Trumpets, used the Horns of certain wild Bulls called *Uri*, of which there were several Sorts in *Germany*. He says this Horn, adorned with Silver at its Mouth, gave a very fine Sound. The straight Trumpet was for the Foot, the crooked for the Horse. The *Buccina* was common to both. These Instruments gave Names to those in the *Roman* Armies, who were called *Buccinatores*, *Tubicines*, *Cornicines*. *Athenæus*, B. 4. *Dionysoph.* pretends, that we owe the Invention of Trumpets to the *Tyrrhenians*; or, according to *Pausanias*, to *Tyrrhenus*, their Head. They were not only used in War, to sound a Charge, or a Retreat; but likewise in all great Solemnities, in Funeral-Pomps, the Celebration of the Games, Triumphs, &c.



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B. 9. p. 614.  
Liv. B. 2. c. 65.

the Enemy as much fatigued by the Alarm he had given them all Night, as his own Troops were refreshed. It was no hard Matter for him to drive a confused Number of Men a great way from his Camp. The Difficulty was, to dislodge them from a steep Place, whither both *Æqui* and *Volsci* had fled for Refuge; and when the *Romans* were at the Foot of the Rock, to which they had followed the Enemy, the *Consul* on a sudden commanded them to halt. And indeed, how could he attempt so dangerous an Attack? The Troops of the *Æqui* and *Volsci* were rallied upon the Top of the Hill, and were there no longer afraid of the Enemy; but the *Romans* were too brisk to retire. They crowded about *Quinctius*, and earnestly pressed him to permit them to give the Conquered the finishing Stroke; the Cavalry especially shewed a great Earnestness to fight. They assured the General, that for the sake of gaining him Glory, they would even disobey him, leave their Colours, and go before their Leaders to the Charge. The *Consul*, before irresolute, gave way to the Ardor and Affection of his Troops, and said, *Go, Fellow-Soldiers, I think nothing too hard for your Courage.* At which Words, they fixed their Javelins in the Ground, that they might climb with the more Ease; and then flew towards the Top of the Hill, without considering the Danger. The Enemy threw down their Darts, and tumbled down Stones upon them; and the left Wing of the *Romans*, who kept their Ranks, suffered so much by the Shower of Darts which filled the Air, and the Stones which bounded from the Ground, that they were at a Stand, and ready to retire back; but the *Consul* came to their Relief, and, with an Air of Sweetness mixed with some Indignation, reproached them, both with their Want of Courage, and Rashness, *You did ill*, said he, *to desire Leave to fight; but you do worse to quit the Field of Battle.* His Voice revived their Courage; they stopped a Moment to take Breath, and then advanced with Intrepidity. They encouraged one another, by a general Shout, to surmount the rest of the Rock; and at length, making a new Effort, came almost within Reach of the Enemy, who abandon'd the Eminence, fled with Precipitation down the Hill; and the *Romans* were as quick in pursuing them. Without giving them a Moment's Respite, they drove them to their Camp, took it by Assault; and passed the Night in it, after they had seized a Booty answerable to this terrible Multitude of *Æqui* and *Volsci*.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 9. p. 615.

BUT *Quinctius* did not stop there: He made the best Use of the Ardour and Good-will of his Soldiers. Two Battles won in the open Field facilitated the Siege of *Antium*. His Predecessor *Numicius* had already paved the Way for taking this important Place, by plundering and destroying its Port. Besides, *Quinctius* was provided with Machines proper for a Siege. He was but 30 *Stadia*<sup>79</sup> from *Antium*, and the Enemy was in a Consternation, after so much ill Success. He came therefore and sat down before it; and to complete his Happiness, whilst he was preparing to make a Breach, and scale the Walls, there arose a Division among the Troops which defended it. The Garrison of *Antium* consisted partly of *Æqui*, and partly of *Volsci*. The *Æqui* demanded Leave to march out of the Place, and avoid the Severities of a Siege, having so lately experienced the Superiority of the *Romans*, in two Battles; and after the first Refusal, they formed a Design of escaping by Flight. But it being discovered, and they forced to stay and assist in the Defence of *Antium*, they changed their Design of flying, into a Plot to betray the *Antiates*, and deliver them up to the *Romans*. This Conspiracy, which was known to the Inhabitants, made them sensible how unsafe it was to resist Conquerors, whose Name was enough to gain over even their Enemies; and they therefore offered to surrender upon two Conditions. First, that the *Æqui* should march out of the City without being insulted. Secondly, that the *Antiates* should continue in their own City, upon receiving a *Roman* Garrison, and becoming subject to the Republick. The *Consul* accepted these Terms, and required nothing more of them, but Subsistence for his Army, and Money to defray the Expences of the Campaign. After this most glorious Expedition, he led back his Troops to *Rome*; and his Exploits were too considerable not to procure him more than the common Honours of a<sup>80</sup> Triumph. The Senate, as well as People, went in a Body to meet him without the Walls, and attended him in his Procession to the *Capitol*.

<sup>79</sup> These 30 *Stadia* make 3750 Geometrical Paces, a little less than a French League and half, at the Rate of 125 Paces per *Stadium*.

<sup>80</sup> The *Fasti Capitolini*, and *D. Hal.* mention this Triumph, but *Livy* passes it over in Silence.



# T H E

# Roman History.

## B O O K IX.

§. I. **T**HE Contests between the People and the *Patricians*, about the Distribution of the Lands which had been conquered at different Times were not ended, when *Tib. Æmilius*<sup>1</sup> was nominated Consul a second Time, and *Q. Fabius* given him for his Collegue. This *Fabius* was the Son of one of those three famous Brothers, who had devoted themselves and their Family to the Preservation of *Rome*, against the *Hetrurians*. More than one Branch of this illustrious Stock had escaped the Slaughter which the Enemy made of them near *the Cremera*. And this Man seems not to have been so young, at the Time of the Defeat of the *Fabii*, as the Historians have represented him to have been. We already see him old enough to be raised to the *Consulate* in ten Years after his Father's Death.

WHEN *Æmilius* and *Fabius* entered upon their Office, the Affairs of *Rome* were in an advantageous Situation. *Quinctius's* Victories had just brought the *Antiates* under the *Roman* Dominion; and the Republick was, by this new Addition, disembarassed of one half of the Nation of the *Volschi*, who were so inveterately bent on making War with it. Besides, the intestine Seditions seemed to take a good Turn, for the aggrandizing of the *Romans*. The Senate found means to draw Advantages from the Restlessness of the Citizens of *Rome*, who were always mutinous when not engaged in War. They were often made to take Arms, only to prevent their raising Storms at Home: And their Valour, which made them victorious Abroad, served to extend the Limits of the Republick. So that every Thing, even their very Vices, turned to the Advantage of the *Romans*. But it must be acknowledged, that in the Space of above three Centuries, in which they had always their Swords in their Hands, they scarce extended their Conquests twenty Leagues from *Rome*. To the East, the *Latins*, the *Hernici*, and the *Antiates*, were the only Nations in the Neighbourhood of the *Romans*, which they had subdued. Nay their Dominion over the *Antiates* was yet but wavering, and this new Conquest seemed not to be yet well settled. To the West, the *Romans* had made so little a Progress in conquering the Lands of the *Hetrurians*, that they scarce had above two or three Leagues, of Land, beyond the *Tyber*, within their District. To the North, the *Æqui* and the *Sabines* yet defended their Territories against the Invasion of the *Romans*, and preserved their Liberty. So that it was then incredible, that so small a State should ever conquer the Universe. But we shall see it grow great by Degrees, first subdue its warlike Neighbours rather by Arms, than a just Polity, and then make use of their Assistance to bring the rest of the World into Subjection.

*ÆMILIUS*, one of the *Consuls* for the Year 286, favoured the People. He had from his first *Consulate*, shewn a Desire of gaining for them from the Senate that Distribution of Lands, which had been so long expected. And in his second *Consulate*

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US, and Q.  
FABIUS Con-  
suls.

<sup>1</sup> The *Fasti Siculi*, and those of *Cuspinian*, and *Diodorus*, give *Quintus Fabius* the Surname of *Vibulanus*, and *Tiberius Æmilius* that of *Mamercus*. It cannot with any Reason be said, that this *Quintus Fabius* was the same with him, who, according to *Livy*, was the only Remains of the famous Family of the *Fabii*. According to him this *Fabius* was at most but fourteen Years of Age, after the unfortunate Battle of *the Cremera*: *Unum prope puberem state reliatum*. And *Dion. Hal.* calls this young

*Fabius* *παῖς*. Now, from this Time to the Year 286, we reckon only ten Years, which added to the fourteen, make but twenty four. Whereas, especially in the first Ages of the Republick, none could obtain the *Consulate*, who had not at least begun his 43<sup>d</sup> Year. It is therefore evident, that the *Quintus Fabius Vibulanus* we here speak of, was a very different Person from him, who, if we believe *Livy*, alone survived his Family, and was not yet arrived at the Age of *Puberty*.

*Livy B. 3. c. 1.*  
and *Dion. Hal.*  
*B. 9.*



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FABIUS Con-  
suls.

he was more inclined than ever to satisfy their Desires. The *Tribunes* therefore, who knew *Æmilius's* Sentiments, and thought him well affected to the Commonalty, prevailed on him to try all Methods of giving them Possession of what they had so long claimed. The *Consul* engaged warmly in the Affair; and disregarded the Murmurs of the *Patricians*, who obstinately refused to give up the Lands they had usurped. They were heard to say, that *Æmilius was worse than a Tribune. He is, said they, a Man bent upon gaining the People by Bounties, which are not burdensome to himself, but to others. He is an ambitious Man, who seeks to make himself Master in Rome, at the Expence of the Patricians.* And these odious Rumours spread Abroad by the Nobility against a *Consul* might have raised great Commotions. But the wise *Fabius*, *Æmilius's* Collegue, prevented it, and found out an Expedient to appease both People and *Patricians*. Rome had just appropriated a Canton of *Volsci*; and the Lands of this new conquered Country had not yet been given to any Body. There therefore *Fabius* advised the settling a Colony of *Romans*. The poorest of the People, who had hitherto been the most factious, were to go and people it, and cultivate it for their own Advantage. He thought a maritime and fruitful Country, would be an Allurement for the Malecontents. And indeed, an Abode at *Antium*, a City commodiously and agreeably situated, must, one would have thought, have made those Citizens little sensible of any Uneasiness at leaving *Rome*, who had long been desirous of leaving it, to go and cultivate Lands of their own. This was the proposed Method of getting rid of a difficult Affair, which every Year raised new Storms in the Republick. *Fabius's* Advice was followed by the Senate, and the Decree that was passed upon it, must needs have been, one would have imagined, agreeable to the People. Three Men were already named to regulate the Distribution of the Territory of *Antium*. *Quinctius* <sup>2</sup> who had conquered it, and two other Senators chosen out of the old *Consuls*, were to preside over the Settlement of this new Colony. But how very fantastical are human Passions! These same *Romans* who were formerly so earnest in desiring Lands, and so seditious in demanding them, refused to accept of them when they were offered. Scarce any gave in their Names, that they might go and take Possession of the Lands, which had been promised them. The People even changed their Stile, and complained of the Artifices of the Senate, who, they now said, wanted to send away brave Men out of their Country, because they opposed their Oppressions. The greatest Part chose rather to live at *Rome*, and go on begging of Lands, than to leave it in order to go and receive them in another Place. Such Charms do the most indigent Citizens find in the Bustle of great Cities, especially if the People have Authority in them.

As then the Commissioners who were set over the Distribution of the Territory of the *Antiates* were already upon the Spot, they divided it between the *Latins*, the *Hernici*, and some of the native, and conquered *Volsci*. Few native *Romans* had any Share in the Distribution. So that *Rome* did not now depend so much upon the Fidelity of the Inhabitants of *Antium*, as she would have done.

The Republick had, for a long time, had two Armies in the Field every Year. The *Consuls* commanded them, and drew by Lot which Army each was to lead. In the present Year, *Fabius* commanded that, which was appointed to march against the *Æqui*, and *Æmilius* that which was to act against the *Sabines*.

The Expedition of the latter had nothing remarkable in it; but *Fabius* may be said to have made a glorious Campaign. He entered the Country of the *Æqui*, with an Air of Confidence which terrified them. This People, who were formerly so haughty, were yet stunned with the Blow, which *Quinctius* had lately given them. At the Sight of a *Roman* Army, commanded by a General who had not drawn upon himself the ill-will of his Troops, the *Æqui* were equally afraid of the Loss of a Battle, and the Conquest of their Cities. Besides, the Fate of the *Antiates*, who were subdued and reduced to Colonies, made them more wise. They reckoned they should make better Terms with the *Consul*, if they sued for Peace, before a Battle, than if they only had Recourse to his Clemency after a Defeat. They therefore sent Ambassadors to *Fabius* to treat with him, and get advantageous Terms of him. It was then customary for the *Roman* Generals, to have Power only to make a Truce. As

Dion. Hal.  
B. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Titus Quinctius Capitolinus who had subdued the *Antiates*, Lucius Furius to whom *Livy* gives the *Pænomen* of *Publius*, and Aulus Virginius were

charged with this Commission, under the Name of *Triumviri*.



for Peace, this was to be concluded by the Senate and People: tho' they usually had so much regard for their General, as to leave it to him to make the Treaty. And this was the Behaviour of the *Consul* to the Senate, and the Senate to the *Consul*, in the present Instance. *Fabius* made a Truce with the *Æqui*, and sent them to *Rome* to negotiate their Peace there. But the Truce he granted them cost them dear. He demanded of them Provisions and Subsistence for his Army for six Months, and two Suits of Clothes for every one of his Soldiers. And then, when he had Power given him by the Senate and People to make Peace with the *Æqui* upon what Conditions he pleased, *Fabius* left them in Possession of their Lands, and their Cities, but in Subjection to the Republick. He laid no Tribute upon them; but he obliged them to furnish and maintain at their own Expence, as many auxiliary Troops, as *Rome* should have occasion for and demand. And the Republick might from that time have reckoned the *Æqui* among her Subjects, if Levity and Unfaithfulness had not made them break the Treaty, almost as soon as it had been concluded.

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US, and Q.  
FABIUS Con-  
suls.

§. 2. In the mean time the two *Consuls* returned to the City, to give Way to new Successors: And *Sp. Posthumius* 3 and *Q. Servilius*, were chosen in the *Campus Martius*. This was the second time *Servilius* had obtained the *Consulate*. And now all was quiet at Home, and the *Tribunes of the People*, dared not propose the Distribution of the Lands, in favour of the Populace. After their refusal to go and cultivate the Territory of *Antium*, they could not with any manner of Decency renew their antient Pretensions. So that if the *Antiates* and *Æqui*, these new Subjects of *Rome*, had but contained themselves within the Bounds of their Duty, the Republick, after so many Wars, would at last have enjoyed one Year of Peace. But the *Romans* were not complaisant enough to the Canton of the *Volsci*, they had just subdued. They divided the Territory of *Antium* between their Allies, and left the old Inhabitants of the Country but a very small Part of it. These poor People therefore, being now deprived of their Estates, and several of them not being able to obtain even the Favour of being Farmers to the new Proprietors, were under a Necessity of seeking their Fortune elsewhere. The *Æqui* received them in their Territories: And their Compassion for so many unfortunate Men, led them to shake off the *Roman* Dominion themselves. Indeed the Exiles of *Antium*, being pressed to it by Necessity, were forced to live by robbing. So that they gathered together in Troops, and entered the Lands of the *Latins* to plunder them. And the Spoil they brought Home tempted some stout Fellows among the *Æqui*. They increased the Company of Robbers, and joined with them, in spreading Desolation among the *Latins*. These faithful Allies of the Republick therefore, brought their Complaints before the Senate of *Rome*, and demanded either that a *Roman* Army should be sent to them, to protect them from so many Insults, or that they should have Leave to take Arms and defend themselves. But the Senate granted neither of these Demands; thinking to remedy this Evil, by appointing a Deputation to the Council of the *Æqui*. The same *Fabius*, who had concluded a Treaty of Peace with them, the Year before, was at the Head of the Embassy: And his Commission seemed to be extraordinary. It was difficult to know, whether he went to give Orders to Subjects, or to conclude a Negotiation with Allies. However the Ambassador was heard in an Assembly of the *Æqui*; and he demanded to know of them, whether the Hostilities which had been committed by some Robbers, in the Country of the *Latins*, were done by the Consent of their Nation. The *Æqui* answered, that nothing had been undertaken against *Rome* by their Order, and that they were not responsible for the Plunders of a Company of Vagabonds, of whose Violences they disapproved. To which *Fabius* replied, *Why then don't you force them to restore what they have taken away? Why don't you deliver them up to the Romans, to execute Justice upon them?* Upon this the *Æqui* grew angry, and either out of Pride or Compassion absolutely refused to give up those voluntary Exiles either to Death or Slavery, who had thrown themselves into their Arms. This made the Ambassador strongly

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXXXVII.  
SP. POSTHU-  
MIUS and Q.  
SERVILIUS  
Consuls.

*Dion. Hal.*  
B. 9.

*Dion. Hal.*  
B. 9.

3 *Cassian's Fasti* only say, that *Priscus* and *Albius* were *Consuls* this Year. And *Dion. Hal.* does indeed give *Posthumius* the Surname of *Albinius*, and *Servilius* that of *Priscus*. The former is called in the *Fasti Capitolini*, *Spurius Posthumius* *Albus Regillensis*. He was the Son of *Aulus Posthu-*

*mius* the Dictator, who gained the famous Victory of *Regillum*. And the Surname of *Regillensis* or *Regillanus* seems to have passed from him to his Descendants. The *Fasti Siculi* say nothing either of these two *Consuls*, or those who succeeded them the Year after.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXXXVII.  
SP. POSTHUMIUS and Q. SERVILIUS  
Consuls.

Livy, B. 3.  
c. 2.

Dion. Hal.  
B. 9.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCLXXXVIII.  
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Livy, B. 3.
c. 2.

suspect that they were acting a double Part, and that the Respect they professed to have for the *Romans*, at the same time that they denied their Request, was only a Pretence to amuse them. Besides, he found false Pretences were made use of to detain him in the Country of these pretended Allies, who seemed to value themselves upon giving him a Reception, which was at Bottom but a feigned Hospitality. He resolved therefore to draw some Advantage from his Abode among them, by observing the Designs of the *Æqui*. He run over all their Cantons, visited all their Temples and publick Places, and examined their Magazines of Arms and Provisions. Some of these he saw already full, and some were filling. At length the Ambassador took his leave, and came to make a Report to the Senate of the Preparations the *Æqui* were making. Upon this a Resolution was immediately taken, to send some *Feciales* to them, to declare War with them, if they refused to drive the *Antiates* out of their Country, - and to repair the Damages the latter had done the *Latins*. The *Roman* Yoke begun already to sit heavily on a People who were accustomed to live in perfect Liberty. The *Æqui* therefore answered, that they preferred War to Slavery. Then the Consul *Servilius* marched out of *Rome* with his Troops, and took up his Quarters in *Latium*. But his little Army was so afflicted with Diseases all the Summer, that, without undertaking any Expedition against the new Enemy, it kept itself only on the defensive, and served only to keep off the Robbers from the Frontiers. So that the *Romans* did not enter upon Action till the next Year. And this short interval of Tranquillity was signalized by a religious Ceremony. *Posthumius*, who continued at *Rome*, during the Absence of his Collegue, dedicated the Temple of *Dius + Fidius*, that is, of *Jupiter* the Witness and Preserver of Fidelity in Treaties. The last King of *Rome* had formerly erected it on the Hill *Quirinalis*; and it being not yet dedicated, this was now fixed to the *Nones* of *June*, and *Posthumius* consecrated it himself.

THE War the Republick was going to renew with the *Æqui*, and the fugitive *Antiates*, made the assembled *Centuries* choose two *Consuls* for the ensuing Year, whose Names were formidable to the two Nations. *T. Quintius* who had conquered *Antium* in his second *Consulate*, was named *Consul* a third time; and with him *Q. Fabius*, who had forced the *Æqui* to sue for Peace, was raised to the *Consulate* a second time. *Rome* had Reason to expect all possible Success from these two famous Generals, whose Valour and Wisdom were well known. Two Armies were therefore raised, to be led by them against these perfidious People. *Quintius* was entrusted with the Charge of preserving the *Roman* Territory from Pillage, and *Fabius* with that of carrying the War into the Country of the *Æqui*. Nevertheless his Moderation made him once more attempt an amicable Accommodation. He sent a Deputation to the *Æqui* with Orders to tell them, That *Fabius* the *Consul* had two Years ago carried to *Rome* a Treaty of Peace which had been made with them; but that he was now bringing them back a War; and that they should therefore take care lest they found him as formidable now, as he had been heretofore favourable to them. That the Gods who were the Witnesses of their Perjuries would be the Revengers of them: That it was his Desire, they should rather repent than suffer Hostilities: That if they did repent, they should again experience the *Roman* Clemency: But that if they persisted in their Perjuries, they would not so much make War with the *Romans*, as with the angry Gods. But these Words made no Impression on a People, who were resolved to suffer all Extremities rather than bear the Yoke of a Republick which was grown too imperious. The *Consul's* Envoys themselves narrowly escaped being ill treated by the *Æqui*. However, the latter instantly seized the Post of *Algidum*; a little City in their own Country, situated near a Wood, and

4 It is surprizing, that some Interpreters should have confounded this Temple of *Dius Fidius*, with the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, which was erected by *Tarquin the Proud*, and dedicated by *Marcus Horatius*. The Temple we speak of, stood on the Hill *Martialis*, as the *Greek* Text of *Dion. Hal.* signifies, ἐπὶ τοῦ Εὐμαλίου λόφου, that is, on the Hill *Quirinalis*. This Hill consisted of several little Hills, one of which was called the Hill of *Mars*, probably from the Time that a Temple was built upon it, in honour to this God, under the Name of *Quirinus*, whom the Antients confounded with the God of War. We have spoken elsewhere of one *Sancus Fidius* who was in great Veneration a-

mong the *Sabines*, and who, *Varro* says, was the same with the *Hercules* of the *Greeks*. The Worship of *Dius Fidius*, was brought to *Rome* from *Sabinia*. But the Name of *Dius Fidius* seems not to have been more appropriated to *Hercules*, than to the other Gods, who were all worshiped, as Protectors of Faith, or Fidelity. This Appellation was given to *Jupiter*, who was called Ζεύς ἱστάς, *Jupiter Fidius*.

5 *Algidum* was formerly a City, situated in the extreme Parts of the Country of the *Hetrurians*, the *Latin Way*, on an Hill, and near a Wood of the same Name. The Wood is at present called *Selva del P'Aglio*.

flanked

flanked with a Hill, eighteen Miles distant from *Rome*. But this new Encampment did not so much frighten, as raise the Indignation of the *Romans*. In order to drive them from thence, the Consuls united their Forces, and came together in a Body to face the Enemy, and engage them. It was now late in the Day, when the *Roman Army* came in sight of the *Æqui*; and one of their Soldiers therefore cried out from the Top of the Ramparts of their Camp: *It is mere Ostentation, Romans, to shew yourselves at Night to draw us to a Battle. We must have more Day-light to humble you, than we now have. To-morrow at Sun-rising look to your selves. We shall then have no Reason to fear the Night will separate us.* This Raillery provoked the *Romans*. They returned to their Camp, where their Soldiers waited for Day-break with Impatience. Early in the Morning, the Armies of the Consuls appeared first in the Plain, drawn up in Battalia. And as soon as the *Æqui* were drawn out, and had taken their Ground, the Battle begun. The Attack was on the one Hand vigorous, and the Resistance on the other brave. The *Romans* were exasperated, and the *Æqui*, who had so lately broken the last Treaty they made at *Rome*, had no Hopes of any Advantages by new ones: So that they fought like Men desperate. Nevertheless, they first drew off from the Field of Battle, but not till their Weapons were grown blunt, and they could no longer use them. The Action was so bloody on both Sides, that they dared not hazard a second. Both Parties contented themselves with a few slight Skirmishes, or little Fights for Forage, or their Convoys. Nevertheless the Haughtiness of the *Æqui* was not abated. Their Soldiers spread Complaints abroad in the Camp, against their own Generals. *Why, said they, did they force us to come to a pitched Battle? The Romans always have the Advantage in them. That is what they excel in; but we surpass them in making Incursions, and ravaging an Enemy's Country. All Things considered, added they, the true Art of War does rather more consist in fighting in small Parties, than in engaging Armies with Armies. Valour shews itself to better Advantage in Skirmishes, than in a confused Engagement.* There was a Necessity of complying with the seditious Demands of these Soldiers, who could not without Difficulty be kept unactive in their Camp. So that the *Æqui* entered the *Roman Territory* in Parties, leaving no more Troops behind them, than were necessary to guard their Entrenchments. But Experience shewed them they were no more successful in Incursions, than in pitched Battles. They at first took a large Compass in order to enter the *Roman Lands*, and appeared in Places, where they were least expected. And so sudden an Irruption spread a great deal of Terror among the *Romans*. The whole City was alarmed at it. All Contentions, and all Assemblies, either of Senate or People, ceased upon it. But by good Fortune, *Quinctius* was returned to *Rome*, since the Battle he and his Collegue had fought with the *Æqui*. His Presence helped much to keep up the Peoples Spirits. *What, said he, will Romans be afraid of an Handful of vanquished Enemies?* At the same time, he gave good Orders for the Security of the City, and set Bodies of Guards at all the Gates. Then, after having appointed *Servilius* Governor of *Rome*, during his Absence, he marched out of the City, in quest of the *Æqui*, whom he could not come up with. So that he returned to *Rome*, without having seen the Enemy, which did him no Honour. But *Fabius* acted a wiser Part. He led out his Troops into the Country privately in the Night, and left only a few Veterans to guard his Camp, who were less fit for a long March. He observed the Defiles thro' which the *Æqui* must pass, when they returned to their Camp: And indeed, great part of these Pillagers fell into an Ambuscade which he had laid for them. They could not, without great Difficulty, either retreat or fly. They were too much laden with the Spoils they had brought from the *Roman Lands*, to do either with Ease. Some of them therefore made Resistance, and fought like brave Men: But were all killed or dispersed. In short, the Consul recovered the Spoil they had taken; and his Victory settled *Rome* again in Tranquillity. The Senate again sat. On the other side, the *Æqui* shut themselves up in their Cities, and dared not face *Fabius*. But it may be observed, that though they were weakened, they did not think themselves overcome. We shall see them disturbing the *Romans* yet a great while, and spreading Desolation in their Lands. And whilst *Fabius* continued in the Country of the *Æqui* to keep them within Bounds, and plundered their Territories, *Quinctius* appointed a *Census* to be taken of the *Roman People*. In it they reckoned up 124215 *Roman Citizens* who were able to bear Arms. This *Lustrum*, which was the ninth since their Institution, shews that *Rome* had received no considerable

Year of
R O M E
CCLXXXVIII.
F. QUINCTIUS
and Q. FABIVS
Consuls.

Dion. Hal. B. 9.

Livy B. 3. c. 2.

chiefly with auxiliary Troops, which had been levied in haste among the *Latins*, and the *Hernici*. But *Posthumius* deferred his Departure till he had seen the rest of the Citizens, who were fit to serve, enlisted. In the mean time, the *Æqui* well knew they were not to expect that *Rome* would abandon the Consul *Furius* in time of Danger, but that on the contrary she would run to his Assistance. And they therefore divided their Army into two Bodies, and sent one of them into the *Roman* Territory to lay it waste, or even to surprize *Rome* itself, if it should be unprovided to receive them. With the other Body they besieged *Furius's* Camp; and made incredible Efforts in the attack of the *Roman* Entrenchments. Neither Darts, nor Arrows, nor Stones, could frighten them. They had already begun to demolish the Fortifications which covered the *Roman* Army, when the Consul *Furius*, jointly with his Brother, who was his Lieutenant General, made a Sally on both Sides, at two Gates of the Camp, and repulsed the Enemy, who were ready to mount the Ramparts. The Consul contented himself with dispersing the *Æqui* without pursuing them. But his Brother, hurried on by his Valour, without perceiving the Consul's Inaction, drove the *Æqui* quite to their Camp. He was attended with only two ⁹ *Cohorts*, consisting of about a thousand Men: And the Enemy detached from their Camp against him, five thousand fresh Troops, partly Foot, and partly Horse. The Horse broke their Way through the two Cohorts, and went to fall upon them in the Rear, whilst the Foot attacked them in Front. Then *L. Furius's* Danger made the Consul his Brother run rashly to his Defence, with scarce any Troops with him: So that he was wounded in the Battel, and not without Difficulty made his Retreat: Whilst the Lieutenant General did not abandon his Troops, but made Head with them against the Multitude of the Enemy. In vain did the *Æqui* invite him to throw down his Arms, and surrender at Discretion. The brave *Roman* preferred Death to Captivity. So that he and his Men all fell in the Battle, and not one of them escaped.

Year of
R O M E
CCLXXXIX.
A. POSTHUMI-
US and SP. FU-
RIUS Consuls.
Dion. Hal. B. 9.
p. 620.

Livy B. 3. c. 5.

Dion. Hal. B. 9.
p. 621.

THE Death of a Lieutenant General, and the Wound of a Consul raised the Courage of the *Æqui*. They instantly appeared before the *Roman* Camp, carrying the Heads of *L. Furius*, and the Officers of his Detachment on the Tops of their Lances. This they did to frighten the *Romans*, and oblige them to surrender. But the Bravadoes of the Enemy served only to increase the Courage of the *Romans*. They resolved to conquer or die, with the same Constancy as those brave Men had done, whose Heads they beheld. They therefore spent the Night in repairing their Entrenchments, and in making Preparations for sustaining the Siege of their Camp. On the Morrow, the *Æqui* came to force it. But they were received with all the Valour of Men determined to die. The *Romans* repulsed them, and in frequent Sallies drove them back quite to their Camp. The whole Day was spent in fighting, and they were yet engaged, when the Succours, *Quinctius* brought to the invested Consul, appeared. Upon this the Joy of the *Romans* was equal to the Fright of their Enemies. The *Æqui* instantly left the Attack of the *Roman* Entrenchments, and retired in haste towards their Camp. In their Retreat, they were for some time pursued by the consular Troops; but their Fatigue and Wounds were such, as would not suffer them to advance very far after the Enemy.

THE Reinforcement that *Sp. Furius* had received from *Rome*, made his Army almost equal to the united Armies of the *Æqui* and *Volsci*. By this means, the *Romans* obliged their Enemies to keep themselves within their Camp, without daring to undertake any Thing. Nevertheless, they had Recourse to their own Way of making War: Which was, to send Parties into the *Roman* Territory, to pillage it. But the Consul *Posthumius*, who was entrusted with the Care of the publick Security, was already upon his March, to succour his Collegue, with the Troops he had raised. When therefore the *Æqui* had made their usual IncurSION, and were loaded with Spoil, *Posthumius* came instantly and fell upon them. Yet still the *Æqui* were not disconcerted at the sight of so formidable an Enemy. After they had put by the Spoils they were loaded with, and had lodged them in a safe Place, under a good Guard, they marched to fight the Consul. The Action was vigorous on

⁹ Each *Legion* consisted of ten *Cohorts*. The Number of Men in a *Cohort* was greater or less, according as the *Legions* were greater or less. In a *Legion* which had four thousand Men in it, a *Cohort* had four hundred; and in a *Legion* of five

thousand, five hundred. A *Cohort* contained three *Manipuli*, the first of which consisted of those who were called *Principes*, the second of the *Hastati*, and the third of the *Triarii*.

Year of
R O M E
CCLXXXIX.
A. POSTHUMI-
US and SP. FU-
RIUS Consuls.

Valerius An-
tias apud Li-
vium B. 3. c. 5.

Livy B. 3. c. 5.

their part, and they had like to have erected many Trophies on *Roman* Lands. At least they left a great Number of the Consul's Soldiers dead upon the Plain. But at length, *Posthumius* by the help of his Cavalry, whom he made advance full Speed against the *Æqui*, put them into Disorder, and their Flight was followed with that of the Soldiers they had left to guard their Spoil. And they lost more Men in their Retreat, than they had done in the Battel. As for *Sp. Furius*, he now, from being invested, became an Aggressor. He undertook to besiege the Camp of the *Æqui*, and to prevent their sending Succours to their Troops, who were wandering over the *Roman* Lands. But the *Æqui* did not wait for the Attack with which they were threatened. They had no sooner heard of the defeat of a part of their Army by *Posthumius's* Troops, but they decamped, and retired into their own Cities. So that the Victory of the *Æqui* was not so sure as they had hoped, nor that of the *Romans* so compleat, as they had expected. The latter lost in the several Engagements, a Lieutenant General, and a good Number of Soldiers. An antient Historian makes them amount to five thousand and three hundred. To which he adds, that the *Æqui* and *Volsci* together lost six thousand six hundred and thirty. However that was, the Retreat of the *Æqui* was followed with this Advantage at least, that *Rome* was now in Tranquillity again, its Consternation was at an end, and the *Romans* returned to their ordinary Occupations. Thanks were returned to the *Latins* and the *Hernici*, for the Succours they had lent *Rome* in her Necessity. But the *Antiates* had no Honours done them, only the thousand Men were sent back, which they had lent the *Romans*, but which did not arrive till after the Battel had been won. And now Peoples Thoughts were wholly employed about assembling the *Comitia by Centuries*, in the usual Place, i. e. the *Campus Martius*, in order to elect new ¹⁰ Consuls.

Year of
R O M E
CCXC.
P. SERVILIUS
PRISCUS, and
L. EBUTIUS
ELVA Consuls.
Livy B. 3. c. 6.

Dion. Hal. B. 9.
p. 623.

§. IV. THE Majority of Votes fell upon ¹¹ *P. Servilius Priscus*, and *L. Ebutius Elva*. It is not absolutely certain, in what Month of the Year, the Consuls entered upon their Office, from *Brutus* to this Time. But History assures us, that *Servilius* and his Colleague took Possession of the *Consulate*, on the first Day ¹² of *August*. Their Year was fatal to them as well as to the rest of the Republick. In the beginning of *September*, the Plague ¹³ first shewed itself in the Country. Horses, Oxen, Sheep, all died without Distinction; and from the Stalls and Stables, the Contagion spread itself to the Huts, of those, who kept them. Nor was it less fatal in the City. It was imputed to a bad Air, occasioned by the Cattle the Peasants had for Security's sake, brought thither during the Incurfion of the *Æqui*. No Age, Sex, or Condition was exempted from the common Contagion. It swept away almost all the Flower of the *Roman* Youth, who were fit to bear Arms, and of whom the invincible Legions consisted. It took off the fourth part of the Senators. In short, the Slaves, hireling Servants, and Artificers who were destroyed by this terrible Scourge, were not to be numbered. At first the Dead were carried out in Heaps upon Carts, to be buried without the City. But afterwards they became so numerous, that they were thrown into the *Tyber*, without any Burial. The Services which were done the

¹⁰ *Livy* adds that *Rome* then enjoyed more Tranquillity than usual. Every private Person had leave to apply himself wholly to his own Affairs, and carry on his Processes at Law. In the extreme Danger in which the Republick was, upon the Irruption of the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, the Court of Justice had been shut up. This was usual at *Rome*, when the City was under great Apprehensions. This Cessation or Interruption was called *Justitium*, according to the Etymologists, *a jure sistendo*.

¹¹ *Dion. Hal.* gives *Servilius* the Surname of *Priscus*; *Diodorus* gives *Lucius Ebutius* that of *Elva*, and *Publius Servilius* that of *Structus*. The *Fasti Siculi* mention these two Consuls under the Surnames of *Priscus*, and *Flavus*. The *Fasti Capitolini* run, *P. Servilius. S. P. F. P. N.*

¹² Nothing is more uncertain than the beginning of the consular Years. Chronologists have at last acknowledged that their Enquiries on this Head are useless. This Epocha varied according to the Events and Circumstances of the Times. We have fixed the Creation of the first Consuls to the sixth of the Calends of *March*. Afterwards it appears that they entered upon their Office in *October*. At

this Time we see the new Consuls were elected in *August*. And it will appear in the Sequel of this History, that down to the 600th Year of *Rome*, these Promotions were made at different Times, sometimes in *July*, sometimes in *December*, and sometimes in *March*. Then the consular Years began the first of *January*, and continued to do so as long as the Republick subsisted.

¹³ If we believe *Livy*, who is credulous even to Superstition, these Diseases were foretold by extraordinary Signs. He expresses himself thus. *Calum visum est ardere plurimo igni, portentaque alia observata oculis, aut vanas exterritis ostentavere facies*. In order to appease the Wrath of Heaven, three festival Days were appointed, the Temples opened, and the People flocked to them in Crowds, to implore the Protection of the Gods. These Festivals were called *Imperative Ferie*. They were not held on any fixed Day. They were appointed, as present Circumstances required, or there was Occasion: Sometimes in a time of publick Rejoicing, after a signal Victory, or some happy Event: Sometimes in a Time of publick Calamity.

Year of
R O M E
CCXC.
P. SERVILIUS
PRISCUS, and
L. EBUTIUS
SILVA Consuls.

Sick, became fatal to those who did them, and Death was the Reward of their Compassion. Upon the News therefore of so general a Mortality among the *Romans*, the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, their eternal Enemies, renewed their old Design of destroying the haughty Republick. They made a League together, and confirmed it by Oaths, to come and besiege *Rome*; and from that time they hastened their Preparations for so glorious an Expedition. Nevertheless, to prevent the *Romans* having any Succours from their Allies, and perhaps for fear of being killed in infected Countries, they did not at first enter into the *Roman* Territory: But begun the Campaign with committing Hostilities in the Country of the *Latins* and the *Hernici*. Upon this, these Allies of the Republick, had recourse, as usual, to the *Roman* Senate. The Deputies, at their Arrival, found *Ebutius*, one of the Consuls, breathing his last, and *Servilius* his Collegue in such a Condition, as to despair of a Cure. But the latter, weak as he was, caused himself to be carried to the Senate, whither some few Senators likewise made a Shift to crave, though they looked like Ghosts, and had Death painted upon their Faces. The Answer given to the *Latins* and the *Hernici*, was suitable to the Extremity, to which the Republick was reduced. Leave was given them to provide for their own Security themselves, and Reason was given them to hope, that *Rome*, in better Times, would fly to their Assistance. Hereupon the Consternation of these faithful Allies was inexpressible. When joined with the *Romans*, it was as much as they could do, to resist the united *Volsci* and *Æqui*. So that the News they brought from *Rome* was worse than that which they had carried thither. Certainly, the Republick was never nearer its Ruin than in the present Desolation; nor did ever Providence more signally watch over her. All the Defence the *Latins* could make was to shut themselves up in their Cities, and leave their Lands open to the pillage of the Enemy. The *Hernici* defended theirs for some time, and fought a Battel, which was not indeed without Loss on their side, but the Enemy lost more Men in it than they. After all, their Nation was not populous enough, to make any long Resistance to the Multitude which attacked them. They therefore confined themselves to their Towns, and fortified them. From thence the Enemy passed without Opposition into the *Roman* Territory, which they found more desolate by the Sickness, than it could have been by their Robberies. After this, they advanced towards *Tusculum*, did some Mischief in *Sabinia*, and suddenly came from thence, and appeared before *Rome*. How great then must the Terror of the City have been, at the sight of a formidable Army! The two Consuls were dead, the greatest part of the *Tribunes of the People*, had been carried off by the Plague, and they who were left, were in so ill a State of Health, as to be disabled from assisting the Republick either with their Hands, or Advice. In short, the *Ediles* were the only Magistrates, among so many, which were in any Condition to assist the invested City. So that *Rome* was now, for the first time, governed by inferior Officers, who represented the Dignity, and performed the Functions of the Consuls.

Dion. Hal.
B. 9. p. 623.

Livy B. 3. c. 6.

BUT the *Romans* seemed not to have lost any thing of their ancient Steadiness, in the midst of so many Calamities. Though overwhelmed with Misfortunes, they crawled to the Ramparts, and put a good Face upon it. Their City seemed then to be impregnable, its Outworks were not inferior to those of *Athens*. Its Walls were built on several Sides, on the Declivities of the Hills it contained, and consequently were steep, and difficult of access. The *Tyber* covered it on another side, and served instead of a wide Ditch, which was no where fordable. This River was then only passable by a wooden Bridge, which was taken to pieces, to make the City inaccessible. The only Place Nature had left Defenceless was fortified by the Industry of Men; which was from the *Collinean* to the *Esquiline* Gate. There *Tarquin, the Proud* ¹⁵ had raised a Rampart of a great Thickness, and a prodigious

Dion. Hal.
B. 9. p. 624.

¹⁴ If we believe *Livy*, the *Romans* neither could, nor had the Courage to assist their Allies, and put themselves in a Posture of Defence. Being reduced to the utmost Extremities, says this Author, they even abandoned the Care of *Rome* to the Providence of the Gods, who preserved the City from the Ruin, with which it was threatened, in a miraculous manner. A giddy Fit then seized the *Æqui* and the *Volsci*. They rather behaved themselves like Robbers than Enemies, and this formidable Army, which was ready to fall on a desolate and defenceless Ci-

ty, dispersed itself of its own accord, without undertaking any thing considerable. But in order to save the Expence of a Miracle, of which *Livy* is always profuse, the best Way is to adhere to the Account we have given in the Body of the History, after *Dion. Hal.*

¹⁵ *Tarquin* had dug a Ditch of above an hundred Foot wide, and thirty deep. Above the Ditch was raised a Wall, which was supported on the Inside, by an high and wide Terrass.

Year of
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CCXCI.

Livy B. 3.
Ibid.

gious Height. It was Proof against the *Ram*, and defended against Sapping. Upon these Walls the *Romans*, sick as they were, appeared ready to defend themselves. The very Senators did not spare themselves in the common Danger. Such of them, whose Age and Health would admit of it, mounted the Guard, and stood Centinels. The *Ediles* went the Rounds, and commanded the Militia. And yet it may be said, that *Rome* was only preserved by that Providence which watched over her. She escaped the Danger with which she was surrounded, tho' without Governors, and without Forces. The *Æqui* and *Volsci* were more expert at plundering than conquering. They readily laid aside the Resolution of besieging *Rome*, and contented themselves with looking on its Walls and Houses, from the Eminence, on which they were posted. They were ignorant of the Art of making Trenches and moveable Sheds, which were used in attacking Cities. Their Soldiers were heard to murmur in their Camp, and say one to another; *To what Purpose should we lose our Time in desert Fields, at the Hazard of being carried off by the Plague, which destroys both Man and Beast? Why don't we march into the Territory of Tusculum, where we shall find both Subsistence and Plunder?* The Enemy therefore instantly decamped, and carried all the Horrors of the War with them to *Tusculum*. And in the mean time the Hearts of the *Hernici*, and the *Latins*, those faithful Allies to the *Romans*, were moved with Compassion towards them. They were ashamed to see *Rome* perish without Pity and without Assistance; and hastened their Troops to the Deliverance of a City, which they thought besieged. Upon their Arrival, they were surprized to see the Enemy decamped; and being full of Confidence at it, followed them to the Place of their Retreat, and attacked them in the Valley which leads from *Tusculum* to *Alba*. But the Success of the Allies of *Rome*, was not equal to their Fidelity. They were beaten and dispersed, whilst the Plague continued still to depopulate the City. The two Augurs, *Virginus* and *Valerius* died of it, as well as *Sulpicius* the ¹⁶ chief of the *Curiones*, i. e. of the Priests of each *Curia*. And it swept away a prodigious Number of the common People. So that the Calamity being become exceeding great, the People turned their Thoughts wholly to the Divine Assistance. All made their Vows upon the Altars, and interceded with Heaven, as well out of private Interest, as in Obedience to publick Authority. The Ladies swept the Temples with their Hair, and continued prostrate in the Presence of the Gods. Till at length a more wholesome Season put an end to the Distemper, and *Rome* in a Condition to apply her self to publick Affairs. And now several *Patricians* had already sat at the Helm of Government one after another, during the *Interregnum* which had lasted from the Death of the *Consuls*, when *Valerius Poplicola* assembled the People, by *Centuries*, on the third Day of his Administration.

Year of
R O M E
CCXCI.

L. LUCRETI-
TRICIPITI-
NUS, and T.
VETURIUS
GEMINUS
Consuls.

Livy B. 3. c. 9.
Dion. Hal.
B. 9. p. 629.

§. IV. THE *Comitia* elected ¹⁷ *L. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, and *T. Veturius Geminus* for Consuls, who did not enter upon their Office till the ninth Day of *August*. Past Afflictions had neither corrected the factious Spirit of the *Romans* at Home, nor diminished their Ardour against their Enemies Abroad. It is surprizing that after so many Losses, the Republick should so soon be well enough recovered from them, to carry the War into the Enemy's Country; which they did, tho' the beginnings of the *Consulate* of *Lucretius* and *Veturius* were not altogether peaceable at Home. The *Tribunes of the People* for this Year were active Men, and thought of nothing but making themselves famous by some new Enterprize, in favour of the common People. One of them ¹⁸ therefore did his utmost to revive the Contests about the Law formerly made concerning the Distribution of Lands. But his Zeal was fruitless. The People themselves would not accept of the Service he would have done them, but turned all their Thoughts upon revenging the Insults *Rome* had received from the *Æqui* and *Volsci* the Year before. So that the Senate and *Curiae* agreed to command Levies to be raised in the City. And the People were never more eager to give in their Names, in order to be entered into the Legions, than now. Even they, whom the Laws exempted from

¹⁶ The chief of the *Curiones* bore the Title of *Maximus Curio*. As such he had a right of Preeminence and Inspection over the other inferior *Curiones*, who were, for that Reason, called *Curiones Minores*. The chief *Curio* was usually elected by the *Curiae* when assembled. He was, to the other *Curiones*, (if we may use the Comparison) what the Arch-priests, or Arch-

deacons in *France*, are to the Ministers of Parishes.

¹⁷ *Diodorus* does not give *Lucius Lucretius* any Surname: But he gives *Titus Veturius* that of *Geminus*.

¹⁸ *Dion. Hal.* says, *Sextus Titus* was the only *Tribune* who undertook to renew the old Quarrel about the Division of the Lands.

going to the War, neglected their Privileges, and voluntarily enlisted themselves. So that two consular Armies were formed out of these Levies, without reckoning the Troops which were left to guard the Walls, under the Command of *Q. Fabius*. Then the Consuls drew Lots, what Nation each should engage with; and the *Æqui* fell to *Lucretius*, the *Volsi* to *Veturius*. In the mean while, the two confederate Nations had joined their Forces, and were at that time entered into the Country of the *Hernici*. In order therefore to force them to return Home, the Consuls thought it adviseable to make an Incurſion into their Lands, to plunder, and lay them waste, and to besiege their Cities. But the Confederates neither altered their Measures, nor divided from one another. They contented themselves with leaving some few Troops, who had been hastily raised, to guard the Country. In the Territory of the *Æqui* no body appeared to defend their Lands. But those of the *Volsi* on the contrary, who were left in the Country, had the Confidence to offer *Veturius* Battel; his Army appearing to be inferior in Number to theirs, they came within reach of the Consul, and encamped near him. However, this Army, which consisted of *Volsi* tumultuously gathered together, was not comparable to that of the two Nations, which was encamped in the Country of the *Hernici*, with a Resolution to enter the *Roman* Territory, and spread themselves over all the Lands in general, which belonged to the Allies of *Rome*. So that *Veturius* made them an easy Conquest. Peasants, in a manner, without Arms, and without any Experience in War, gave Way upon the first Attack, without fighting. Being put into Disorder they fled for Refuge to the next City, and being pursued by the *Roman* Cavalry, a great Number of them were cut off in the Road, and at the Gate, as they were crowding through it. On the other side, the chief Army of the Confederates consisting of both *Æqui* and *Volsi*, no sooner heard of the Check their Party had just received, but they advanced towards *Rome* to revenge it. The two Generals of the Confederates promised themselves, that they should either surprize the City, which they thought defenceless, or by their March draw the consular Armies from the Countries they were ravaging. But their Design did not succeed to their Advantage. Upon their Arrival at *Tusculum*, they were informed that *Rome* was provided both with Troops and Provisions: And this News made them alter their Design. They employed themselves wholly in plundering the Territories of *Præneste* and *Gabii*, which had not been ravaged the Year before. They left them with Reluctance, when the Consul *Lucretius*, who left the Country of the *Æqui* to watch the Steps of the Enemy, came and fell upon them all on a sudden. And the farther the Confederates removed from *Rome*, the less Order and Discipline they observed in their Marches. The sudden Appearance of the Consul therefore, put them into a Consternation. The *Romans* were not indeed equal to their Enemies in Number: But their Valour made them formidable. However, the Army of the *Æqui* and *Volsi* delayed not to give Battel, before the two Consuls had joined their Forces. But this Precaution served only to give *Lucretius* the whole Glory of their Defeat. They marched against him in a vast Plain, and began the Attack with Ardour. Their first Fury was not easily sustained. But then, at the sight of some Troops which came down from an Hill, they thought *Veturius* was come to the Assistance of his Colleague; and there needed nothing else to put them into Disorder. They were put to flight, and left the two Generals of their Army dead on the Field of Battel. The rest dispersed themselves, and returned every one into his own Country. It may be said, the *Volsi* never received a more cruel Overthrow. If we believe some Historians, they and the *Æqui* lost 13460 Men in the Battel and the Flight; seven and twenty Standards were taken from them, and 1250 of their Men made Prisoners. So memorable an Action regained *Rome* her ancient Splendor, and made her forget the Desolation of the last Year.

The Consuls, who were both victorious, tho' not with equal Glory, joined their Armies again, and still carried on the Campaign. The *Æqui* and *Volsi* were rallied again after their Defeat. The two Consuls therefore attacked them together, defeated them, and took Possession of their Camp. So that the Campaign, which followed the most unfortunate Year of *Rome*, made her more flourishing than ever: And the Desire of pursuing so great Advantages seemed to be a just Excuse for the Consuls Absence from *Rome*. But it nevertheless became fatal to the Republick, by the Dissentions it raised in it.

Year of
R O M E
CCXCI.
L. LUCRETII
US TRICIPITINUS and T.
VETURIUS
GEMINUS
Consuls.

Livy B. 3. c. 8.

Dion. Hal.
B. 9. p. 625.

Livy B. 3.
Ibid.

TERENTIUS,

Year of
R O M E
CCXCI.

L. LUCRETIUS
TRICIPITINUS,
and T. VETU-
RIUS GEMINUS
Consuls.

Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 627.
and Livy B. 3.
c. 9.

TERENTIUS ¹⁹, or as others, *Terentillus the Tribune*, made an ill Use of the Distance of these chief Magistrates in order to his laying the Foundations of a Law ²⁰, which he said, he had projected for the publick Good. But alas ! What Misfortunes did it afterwards bring upon the *Romans*, under this Pretence of doing them good ! *Terentius* then found Fault with the civil Laws of *Rome*, and the arbitrary manner in which the Kings formerly, and after them the Consuls, had administred Justice. They had no Rules to judge by, but the natural Equity of the one, or the Caprice of the other. No Uniformity in their Decisions of civil or criminal Causes. Nevertheless Contests about Estates, Honour, Contracts, Wills, and all sorts of Inroachments upon the good Order of Society, multiplied in proportion as the Number of the Citizens increased. The *Papyrian Code* ²¹, which was only a Collection of some Laws made by the Kings of *Rome*, was therefore not thought a sufficient Direction for the *Consuls*, in all the different Causes which came before them. They all rather followed their own private Views, than any settled Rules, in their Decisions. But the *Tribune Terentius* seems to have magnified this Defect, more out of hatred to the *Consuls*, than any love of Equity and Impartiality in judicial Decrees.

In order to make his Complaints succeed, he pitch'd on the time, when *Lucretius* and *Veturius* were pursuing their Victories. He then represented to the People the Iniquities which were committed in the Courts of Justice. He accused the *Consuls* of exercising Oppression and Tyranny there. *Did Rome then*, said he, *shake off the Yoke of one Master, only to make her self two ? The Authority of the Consuls will ever be insupportable, till it is restrained. Establish Rules therefore, Romans, which may confine it within due Limits ! Choose ye out five Men of known Integrity, who may give Law to our capricious Law-givers. Let them not be any longer absolutely without any Restraint, in passing Judgment ; and let not our Estates be entirely at the Mercy of their Humours and Passions !* This reforming Scheme was very disagreeable to the *Patricians* ; this would be tying up their Hands when they should be in Office. In the Absence therefore of the *Consuls*, they had Recourse to *Quintus Fabius*, who then officiated as Governor of *Rome* ; and his Presence and Discourses struck the *Tribune* with as much Terror, as if the *Consuls* had been present. *Thus to take Advantage*, says he, *of the Absence of the Consuls, to strike at their Reputation and Authority, is laying Snares for destroying the consular Dignity. If a Tribune of Terentius's Character, had made the same Attempt last Year, when the Plague had carried off our chief Magistrates, and the War oppressed us, what would have become of Rome ! After the Death of our Consuls, the Aequi themselves did not push on their Advantages to the utmost. Let the College of Tribunes then put a Stop to the rash Designs of Terentius ! Let them oblige him to defer his attacking the Consuls, till they are returned to the City !* Upon this *Fabius* easily obtained his Request ; and *Terentius* was obliged not to be too hasty in pressing the Acceptance of his Law. At length the *Consuls* returned to *Rome* ; and made it their first Business, to restore the People all the Spoil the Enemy had taken from them in their Incursions. Every one knew his own Goods, and was put in Possession of them again. But those which had no Owner were sold for the Benefit of the Army. By this equitable Conduct, the *Consuls* gained the Affections of the People ; and certainly a Triumph was due to them, especially to

¹⁹ *Livy* calls this *Tribune of the People*, *Terentillus*, and gives him the Surname of *Arja*.

²⁰ In the first Ages of *Rome*, the Kings themselves administred Justice, and their Determinations had the Force of a Law. Under the consular Government the *Consuls* were at first the natural Judges of the Differences which arose among the Citizens. The chief Magistrates and their Vicegerents, who were chosen out of the most considerable Men in *Rome*, were the sole Depositories of the antient Laws, which then made up the Body of the *Roman Law*. These Laws were written in the Books of the *Pontifices*, which were kept from the Knowledge of the Vulgar. The People, being wholly taken up with their own private Affairs, and the Cultivation of their Lands, were Strangers to the Mysteries of the Bar. *Cains Terentius* was the first who attempted to abolish the old *Civil Law*, in order to introduce a new one. *Dion. Hal. B. 10.*

²¹ By the *Papyrian Code* is meant that Collecti-

on of Laws which *Sextus Papyrius* digested into Body, in the Reign of *Tarquin the Proud*. *Baudouin* the Civilian reckons up eighteen Laws, which he says, he had collected from a very antient Table. *Paulus Manucius* mentions part of them. *Ant. Cujas* is of Opinion, that these same Laws, as reported by *Baudouin*, are of a later Date than the *Roman Monarchy*, because they have none of the old *Latin* in them, which is observed to be in the greatest part of those which are ascribed to *Romulus*, *Numa*, and *Servius Tullius*. Not but that the greatest part of these Laws were early enacted, in Substance at least, especially in the Reign of *Numa*. But the manner in which they are expressed, carries an Air of Novelty with it, which has made some believe, that they were made later than those which we find scattered abroad in the Works of *Tully*, *Dion. Hal.* and *Plutarch*. *Pandolphus Prætorius* in his Collection of the old civil Law, adds six other Laws to the eight first.

Lucretius, who had gained a Victory of more Importance to the State, than any yet had been. Nevertheless this great Man refused to accept of a Triumph till *Terentius* desisted from the Steps he had taken, to make his Law pass. Accordingly the *Tribune* granted, in Appearance at least, the *Consul's* Demands. All was calm, and *Lucretius* ²² entered *Rome* in Triumph. As for his Colleague *Veturius*, he was forced to content himself with an *Ovation*: Which was a sort of Triumph, a little different from the other.

§. V. HOWEVER, the change of *Consuls* revived the *Terentian* Law, which had only slept. As soon as *P. Volumnius Amintinus* ²³, and *Servius Sulpitius Camerinus* were entered upon their Office, the whole College of the *Tribunes*, who were then five in Number, renewed their Efforts, to get the Law enacted which *Terentius* had drawn up. It certainly appeared to be highly reasonable, and seemed in some Measure necessary. *Virginus* one of the *Tribunes*, (for *Terentius* was out of his Office,) was the great Promoter of it. The *Tribunes* laboured with great Zeal to make it pass, and the *Patricians* with as much to prevent it. The People were often assembled, to hear the Harangues of the *Tribunes* on this Subject; and the Senate as often to concert proper Measures to oppose their Pretensions. There was no Abatement of their Zeal on either side. The Factions increased to so great a Height, that it was easy to foresee the Disease would soon become incurable. And the Alarms which these Dissentions gave, were increased by the Dread, with which some pretended ²⁴ Prodigies struck the City. Not to mention the Fires which were seen blazing in the Skies, the Earthquakes which shook the City, and the Spectres which the People fancied they saw in the Air, there appeared a new Phænomenon ²⁵, which the Historians, who were least superstitious, have made no Scruple to relate. There was a sort of Snow fell, which was

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suls.

Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 627.

²² *Livy* contends, that one of the *Consuls* received the Honour of a Triumph, and the other of an *Ovation*, for having jointly defeated the *Æqui* and *Volsi* in the same Action. Whereas *Dion. Hal.* supposes that these two Nations were overcome separately, viz. the *Æqui* by *Lucretius*, and the *Volsi* by *Veturius*. The latter had only an *Ovation* decreed him, because the Victory he gained had cost him so dear, as his Colleague's had done him.

²³ *Dion. Hal.* gives *Servius Sulpicius* the Surname of *Camerinus*: And *Diodorus Siculus* gives *Publius Volumnius* that of *Amintinus*. The *Fasti Capitolini* add likewise the Surname of *Gallus* to that of *Amintinus*. The *Fasti Siculi* only mention these *Consuls* by their Surnames *Gallus* and *Camerinus*. This *Servius Sulpicius* is thought to have been the Son of a Man of the same Name, who was *Consul* in the 254th Year of *Rome*.

²⁴ When once Superstition gets Possession of Mens Minds, every thing then becomes a Prognostick, and is either fatal or auspicious. The Vulgar being ignorant, and consequently the more credulous, at the sight of any natural Event, the Causes of which they knew not, immediately imagined the Gods interposed, and that future Things were always foretold by Prodigies. If Stones fell down from the Hills, some Shepherd or Husbandman was surprized at it, and fancied that they fell down from Heaven. If an Ox lowed louder than ordinary, he was said to speak. And by the Story's passing from one to another, the Fact became changed, and was turned into a Miracle. The *Ægean* Historians knew the Inclinations of the People, who love to cheat themselves in what flatters their superstitious Credulity, as *Livy* has judiciously observed. *Multa, cū hyeme, prodigia facta, aut evenire solet, motis semel in religionem animis, multa nunciata & temere credita sunt.* Decad. 3. §. 2. So that most antient Authors have varied their Accounts of surprizing Accidents, according to their own Interests, or that of their Readers. It goes down for the sake of one miraculous Circumstance. But not to dispute those Facts with these Writers, which they relate as so many Prodigies: What occasion is there for having recourse

to Miracles? The greatest part of these Events, when thoroughly considered, were only natural Effects, which have ceased to surprize, since natural Philosophy has unriddled the Mysteries of them. Of this kind, are the raining Stones formed in *Volcanoes*, and Earthquakes caused by the Fermentation of the sulphureous and metallick Bodies. As to the Rain of Flesh, which *Livy* mentions as at this Time, his Account is so little circumstantiated, that it is difficult to form a just Idea of the Body which was taken for Flesh. As for the Rains of Blood, which *Pliny* and some other Writers would pass off for Prodigies, several Philosophers have attempted to account for them. *Monsieur Peiresk* thinks those little red Spots, were looked upon as Marks of its having rain'd Blood, which are left in an infinite Number of Places in the Country by the Butterflies, which come out of the Beans, in which the Caterpillars inclose themselves about the Month of *June*. And modern Naturalists agree with *M. Peiresk* in this Opinion. With the help of natural Philosophy, it is easy to account for that sort of Rain of which *Dio* speaks in *Severo*, and which falling upon some Pieces of Copper Money, changed them, for some Days, into Silver. It is evident this was occasioned by some Particles of Quick-silver which were exhaled by the Sun with other Vapours, and fell down again with them. This is a very common Experiment in Chymistry. Those luminous Bodies and shining Fires, which formerly caused Terror and Admiration, have frequently appeared since, and are now become the Entertainment of natural Philosophers. And it is the same thing as to monstrous Births of Men or Beasts, which the Antients looked on, as certain Signs of the Anger of the Gods.

²⁵ *Livy* even improves upon these Prodigies. He says, it was reported in *Rome* that a Cow had spoken. The same Prodigy, adds he, happened the Year before: But they who had a Mind to report it, did not find the People inclined to believe them upon their bare Word. But the second time they succeeded better. They then found some People credulous and superstitious enough to hearken to so childish a Fable.

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suls.

Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 628.
Livy B. 3.
c. 10.

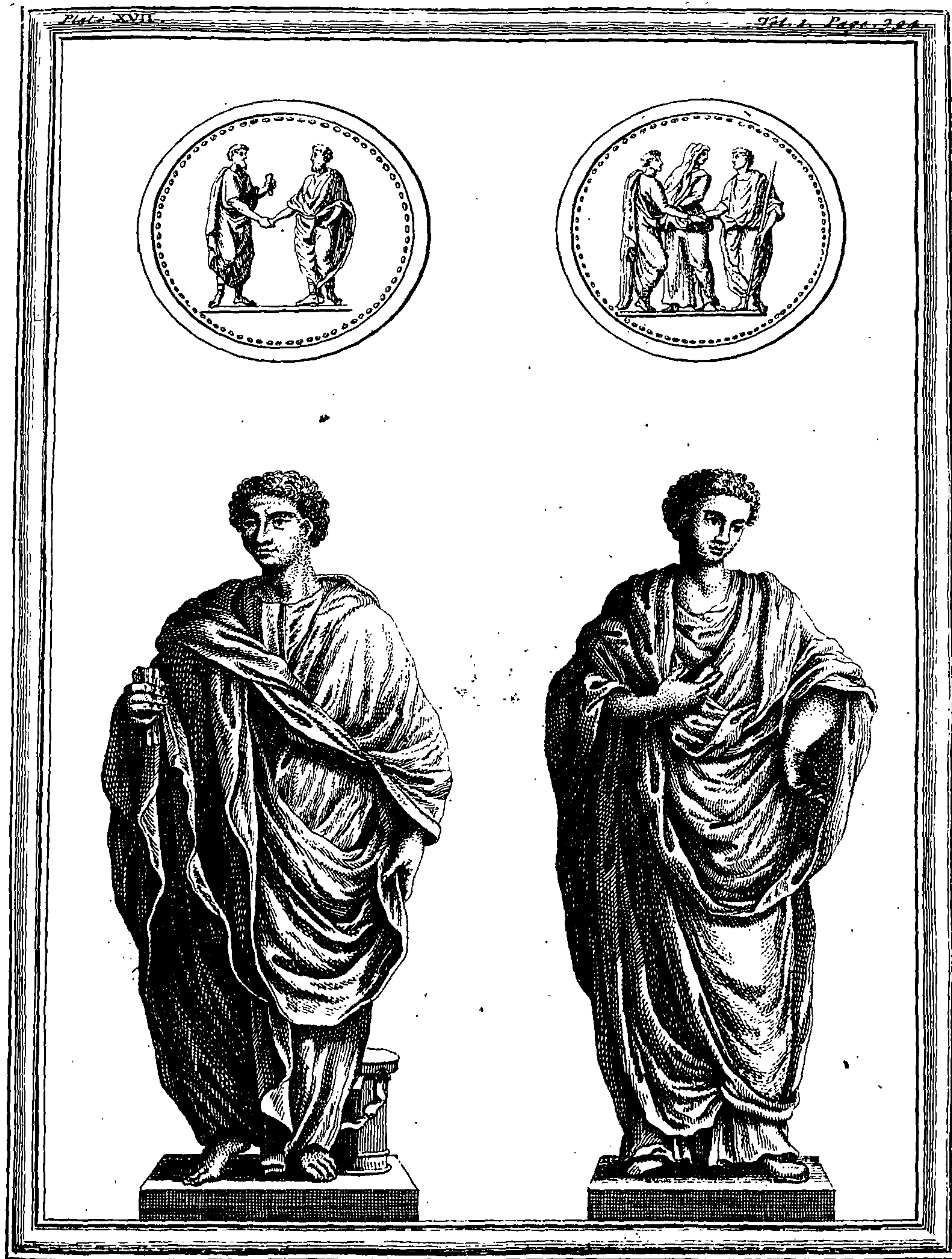
Livy B. 3.
c. 10.

like little pieces of chopped Flesh. The Birds eat plentifully of it; and tho' it lay great while upon the Ground, both in City and Country, it neither changed Colour nor corrupted. In order to explain these Prefages, recourse was first had to the *Augurs*, and then to the Books of the *Sybils*. It is credible, the *Patricians* turned them to their own Purposes, in order to divert the carrying on of the *Terentian Law*. These Oracles were made to say, that *Rome* was threatened with an Incurſion of Foreigners who would almost reduce her to Slavery; that the foreign War would be preceded by intestine Seditions; that in order to avoid both these Scourges, it was necessary to appease the Anger of the Gods, with Sacrifices; and that by this means *Rome* might become superior to her Enemies. Then the *Pontifices* interposed, to heal up the rising Divisions between the Nobility and People. But what Turn were they to take in this Reconciliation? The *Consuls* accused the *Tribunes* of endeavouring to innovate, and the *Tribunes* charged the *Consuls* with having an arbitrary Power, whereby the Fortunes of the People was at the Disposal of their capricious Humours. They desired that the Judges might be made subject to Rules, which should be made for them, by ten Men of sound Judgment, and an unblemished Reputation. But as neither side would give Way, the *Consuls* made use of an Expedient, which was often put in practice in the publick Dissentions. This was to raise an Army, and thereby to take away that part of the People, from the *Tribunes*, which seemed most inclined to favour their Demands. The Pretence for arming was naturally enough brought to *Rome* by those faithful Allies to the Republick, the *Hernici*. A Report was spread by them, that the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, weak as they were made by their Losses the last Year, were making Preparations to renew the War; and that the faithless Colony of the *Antiates*, were the chief Support of the Enemies of *Rome*. This News authorized the *Consuls* to raise an Army of Citizens, as usual; whose Removal from *Rome* would lessen the Strength of the *Tribunes*. But the latter gave no Credit to these Reports, which were industriously spread Abroad. *It is a mere Fable*, said they, *invented by the Patricians; and the Hernici have been suborned to publish it. How could the Volsci recover the Blow they received? And what an horrid Calumny is this upon the Antiates who are designed to be oppressed by cunning Contrivances and an unworthy piece of Policy. Tho' in reality the Stroke is aimed at the Roman People thro' them. The Design is to deprive the Tribunes of their Support, by removing the Citizens out of the Way, and confining them to a Camp. The main Point laboured at, is to evade the Terentian Law, by these unseasonable Levies. Guard your selves therefore, Romans, against the Snares which are laid for you, and before you change your Robes²⁶ for military Habits, secure the Terentian Law, and*

²⁶ The *Toga* was the most common Habit of the antient Romans, especially in the Times of the Republick. Under the Empire of *Augustus*, the poor People often wore nothing but a *Tunic*, or a sort of Cassock. *Tunicatus hic populus*, says *Tacitus de Orat. transeuntes nomine vocat, & digito demonstrat*. This Emperor, being angry, according to *Suetonius*, to see the People so clothed, could not help expressing his Resentment at it. Look at these *Romans*, says he, *Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam*! Nothing has been more controverted than the Form of the antient Roman *Toga*. Some, as *Rubenius*, are persuaded it was open before, from Top to Bottom. *Le Ferrari*, in his Book, *de re vestiaria*, thinks, with more Probability, that it had no opening but in the upper part, where a great Hole was cut in it, for the Head to go through, and to give the more play to the Arms, because this Robe had no Sleeves. It was pretty much like a Mantle, which reaches down to the Heels in great Folds, only with this Difference, that the *Toga* was not open before. We may judge of it by the Medals, and the Figures we here give of it from the antient Monuments. In these we see the *Toga* so represented, as to make it credible it was not open before; and our Eyes seem sufficient to determine the Question in *Ferrari's* Favour. We may observe in these Figures, that the Hole in the upper part of the *Toga*, gave the right Arm free play. But not the left, which was employed in holding up the bottom of the Robe, the

other Lappet of which was thrown from the right side over the left Shoulder, for the Convenience of Action.

But was this Garment square or round? Or was it only an half Round? This is again another Dispute among the Moderns, and is both very difficult to be determined, and more trifling. The *Toga* was generally white. Before Luxury prevailed, its Value consisted only in the Fineness of the Wool of which it was made. Those who stood Candidates for the Magistracy appeared in the Comitium in a Robe dressed by the Fuller on Purpose. This was of a very bright and shining white Colour, from whence they had the Name of *Candidati*. The common *Toga* worn by the Romans, was called *Toga pura*, and was of the natural Colour of the Wool. Tho' this sort of Habit was pretty convenient for Soldiers, yet it was used by the Roman Soldiers in the first Ages of *Rome*, till for the Convenience of the Soldiery, Habits were given them, of another Form. After this, the *Toga* was worn only by such as did not belong to the Army, and became the Symbol of Peace, *Cedunt arma togæ*. Some have thought, the Romans tied up the Folds of the *Toga* with a Girdle: And quote a Passage in *Macrobius* in Proof of it. He, speaking of *Caesar*, *Saturnal. B. 2.* expresses himself thus. *toga præcingebatur, ut trahendo laciniam, velut miles insurgeret, ut Sylla tanquam providus dixerat Pompeio, cave tibi illum puerum male præcinctum*. But besides that a Girdle would have tied down



Romans *in the* Toga .

your own Liberty. If you have Courage to secure this Point first, you will then have Succours enough. Our Enemies Abroad are already subdued, the Volsci remain quiet, and the Gods put us in a Condition last Year, to defend our Liberties against all Attempts at Home. O Rome! Unhappy Rome! Courage and Force are no longer the Instruments made use of to oppress thee, but Artifice and Deceit! Thus spake the Tribunes.

In the mean time the Consuls had the Boldness to have their Curule Chairs brought into the Roman Forum, and placed over against the Tribune, from whence the Tribunes were still haranguing the People. And being seated on their Tribunal, the Consuls commanded Troops to be raised. Upon this the Tribunes instantly ran thither and brought with them the Auditory which surrounded them. The Consuls only caused some few Citizens to be named, in order to their being enrolled, that they might try whether the People were disposed to comply with them. But this was enough to bring them immediately to a Revolt, and to acts of Violence. As soon as the Licitors seized a Citizen to make him write his Name in the Roll, the Tribunes openly opposed it. And then the People would not hearken either to Law or Reason; Force alone took place of all Submission and Obedience. Whilst the Patricians in their Turn, took the same Steps to prevent the proclaiming of the Terentian Law, which the Tribunes had done to hinder the Enrollments. The Patrician Youth intermixed themselves in the Assemblies of the People, on all those Days ²⁷ when the Comitia were to be held according to Numa's Appointment; for the old Senators and Consuls came seldom there for fear of being affronted. These young Patricians therefore made Disturbances in these Assemblies with their Clamours, and created Confusion by their Violence; till at length they

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left Arm, which could not have been used but by putting it under one of the Lappets of the Robe; it is evident, the Romans wrapped the Toga round their Bodies in such a manner, that a Girdle would have been both inconvenient and useless. The Toga itself made a Girdle: Macrobius therefore only means, that Caesar wrapped the Lappets of his Robe cross him, in such an affected manner, as made him to be thought effeminate. The Soldiers, when they also wore the Toga in the Army, used to fasten it up, and bringing up the Lappets under the Stomach, tie them in a Knot, after the manner of the Galini. This they did that they might be the more nimble. And from hence come the Latin Expressions *Cinctus Gabinus*, and *in procinctu*, which was originally said of a Man ready to fight. The Romans, who usually went bare-headed, used to cover their Heads with the upper part of their Robe, which was like a Cowl, to defend them from the Sun, Rain, and Cold. Only they took care, as we learn from Plutarch, to uncover their Heads, whenever they met any Person, to whom they would pay any Respect. Varro assures us, that in the first Ages of Rome, the Toga was a Garment used both by Men and Women. But afterwards the Roman Ladies wore a particular Habit, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. After this the Toga was used by none but loose Women. They were obliged by the Laws to appear in it, as a Mark of their Infamy.

²⁷ Numa, after having reformed Romulus's Calendar, reduced the Days of the Year into three different Classes, under the Names of *Dies Festi*, *Profesti*, and *Intercisi*. The Festival Days or *Dies Festi*, were dedicated to the Worship of the Gods. The Days called *Profesti* were appointed for publick and private Business; and one part of the *Intercisi* were set apart for Religion, the other for the Administration of Justice. Among the *Festi*, Macrobius reckoned the Days appointed for Sacrifices, for Feasts, for publick Sports, and for the *Feria* or Holy-days, which were celebrated in honour of the Gods. These latter were distinctly appointed, and were either publick or private. The Publick were divided into four sorts. The first were those which had a fixed Day in the Ca-

lendar; and they were therefore called *Stativæ*. Another sort called *Conceptivæ* were appointed by the Magistrates. A third sort called *Imperativæ Ferie*, or the decreed *Ferie*, had no fixed Day. It belonged to the Prætors or Consuls, to determine the Time of the Celebration of them, as they thought proper. And lastly, the Market-Days which were held at Rome every nine Days, and were called by the Romans, *Nundinæ*, are reckoned among the *Ferie* by Festus and Macrobius. On these Days, the Country People came to Rome, to sell their Provisions, take care of their Affairs, and supply their Families with Necessaries. On these Market-days, neither Senate nor Comitia were assembled. As to the private *Ferie*, each Family had its own. Of this kind, were certain Days of Expiations, Rejoicings, and funeral Solemnities, which were regularly celebrated, and annually renewed, among those of the same Family. The publick *Ferie* were proclaimed by the King of the Sacrifices, and the Prætor. They both joined in this Ceremony, to give the People notice, that they ought to stop their Proceedings at Law, that they might come to the Sacrifices, with the more Freedom and Recollection of Mind. Tull. de Leg. B. 2. and Rævard B. 5. *Variorum*, have given a particular Account, of the Duties annexed to the Roman *Ferie*.

Under the general Name of *Profesti*, were comprehended those Days to which ancient Authors give the Names of *Fasti Dies*, *Dies Nefasti*, *Comitiales Dies*, *Comperendini*, *Stati*, and *Præliæres*. On the permitted Days, which were therefore called *Dies Fasti*, the Prætor sat upon the Bench, and administered Justice. On the Days not permitted, Law-proceedings were stopped, and these Days were therefore called *Nefasti*. On the Days called *Comperendini*, an Action might be brought against an Adversary, and a Summons served upon him to bring him before the Prætor. The Comitia were obliged to be held on certain Days, which were called *Dies Comitiales*. On those Days the Senate was never assembled, that the Senators might be at Liberty to go to the Comitia, and give their Suffrages in them. There were also certain Days fixed for the hearing the Causes, which Foreigners brought

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they dispersed the People, and hindered the reading of the Law. It was drawn up in these Words. *Let the People, in lawful Comitia, elect ten ²⁸ Men, of a mature Age, consummate Wisdom, and unspotted Reputation, to draw up a Body of Laws, as well for the Administration of the Publick, as the Determination of private Affairs. Let these Laws be fixed up in the publick Forum; and let the annual Magistrates as well as other Judges, be obliged to conform themselves to them, in their Decisions of the Controversies which may arise in Rome.* But at length the Tribunes gained their Point of proposing this Law to the People, and submitting it to the Deliberations of the Publick. Then new Intrigues were carried on to prevent its being approved. The Report that was to be made of it to the People, after it should be examined, was fixed to three Market-days, that is twenty seven Days, from that time. Then both old and young Senators laboured with studied Harangues to dissuade the People from accepting this Law. The Number of the *Patricians* who spoke to it was so great, that the Assemblies continued several Days. Till at last the Tribunes were tired with these Delays, which were designedly thrown in the Way to prevent the Conclusion of an Affair which they had at Heart. They therefore fixed the Day, when the People assembled by Tribes, were to end the Disputes about the *Terentian* Law by their Suffrages. In the mean time, the Consuls, who paid the Tribunes a Visit, broke out into Invectives against them. *We will never suffer, said they, your Innovations to be introduced into Rome, but by the Consent of the Senate. Properly speaking, Laws are Compacts between all the Members of a Nation, who accept them for the common Good. Does it then belong to the vilest part of the State to propose them? With us, it is the People only who indulge your Passions, and subject us to your Decrees. Who gave you a Power to draw up Laws, and bring them to the Tribunal of the People? From whom have you this Authority? Was it not the Senate that established the Tribunes? Did those who instituted you, give you a right to become Legislators? You were permitted indeed to become the Defenders of private Persons among the People, whenever they were injured. This is the proper Business of your Office, and even this you could not obtain but by Violence. If it were true, that you formerly had a customary right of proposing Laws to the People, yet have you not now lost that right, since your Elections have been no longer made by the Curiae, but by the Tribes? Sacrifices ²⁹ and Ceremonies of Religion are likewise necessary to give a Sanction to the legislative Authority. Whereas you hold yours only from a sort of Comitia out of which Religion is excluded.*

Thus the Consuls expressed themselves, and filled Rome with their Complaints. They went so far as even to sollicit the most considerable Citizens not to vote for the new Law: And the most turbulent they terrified with Threatnings. The young *Patricians* would not suffer the meanest of the Populace to be present at the Harangues of the Tribunes. They treated them like Slaves, and beat them out of the Forum. On the Day appointed for the People's going into the Voting-place, and giving their Suffrages, they dared not oppose the Violences of the young Nobility, and the *Comitia* were deserted. But it may be said, that no Body distinguished themselves more in this turbulent Affair, than young ³⁰ *Cæso Quinctius*. His Name sufficiently shews his Nobility; but that was the least of his Qualifications. He was a tall Man, well made, and in point of Strength, had no equal. His Eloquence was not inferior to his Stature, and no *Patrician* was better heard in publick than he. He spoke with all the Dignity both of a Consul and Dictator at the same time. As to Valour, no Of-

brought to be heard at the publick Tribunal of Justice, and these were called *Dies Stati*. The *Dies Præliares* were so called, because the Romans thought that Acts of Hostility could be lawfully committed, only on those Days. We shall not here speak of those sorts of Days, which the ancient Roman Calendar distinguishes by calling them, *Fasti primo*, *Nefasti primo*, &c. nor of those unfortunate or unlucky Days, called *Atri Dies*, which renewed the Remembrance of some Event, which had been fatal to the Republick: We shall speak of them, and make our Observations on them, in their proper Place, as we proceed in this History.

²⁸ According to *Livy*, *Caius Terentillus Arsa* had proposed the Year before, that only five Persons should be made Commissioners, with a full Power to establish new Laws, in order to confine the Pow-

er of the Consuls within due Bounds. Here the Number is increased to ten.

²⁹ The Assemblies held by *Curie*, and by *Cen-turies*, were always preceded by some Act of Religion. The *Augurs*, in Conjunction with the Magistrates, inquired after the Will of the Gods, in the common Auguries, in relation to those two sorts of *Comitia*, and without this Precaution they were thought unlawful. But it was not so as to the assembling of the People by Tribes; none of these Formalities of Religion were necessary in order to their being held.

³⁰ The *Prænomen* of *Cæso* was appropriated to the *Quinctian* and *Fabian* Families. This was the Name usually given by the Romans to those Children which could no otherwise be brought into the World, than by cutting open their Mothers.

fier in the *Roman* Army had given more signal Proofs of it, than he had done in several Battels. So that he was always attended by the finest and most shining part of the Nobility. Against *Cæso* therefore the *Tribunes* levelled their greatest Strength. He had just been making Harangues against them, with the Vivacity of a Man of his Age, and the Freedom which Merit and high Birth inspire. *Quinctius Cincinnatus* his Father was a *Roman* Hero of rigid Virtue. He never solicited Honours but always despised them, being content with deserving them. We shall hereafter see him acting the greatest Parts in the Republick. The Fury of the *Tribunes* was now pointed at those young *Patricians*, whose rising Merit gave the Senate great Hopes, and struck the *Plebeian* Faction with most Terror. The *Tribunes* therefore resolved to destroy *Cæso*. They hoped, that when they should have dispatched this formidable Enemy of the *Terentian* Law, it would pass without Resistance; and that the Punishment of *Quinctius* only would disarm the young Nobility. Nevertheless *Virginus* was the only one among all the *Tribunes*, who dared undertake to carry on the Process, they were going to begin against young *Quinctius*. He declared himself his Accuser, and caused him to be summoned to appear before the People, to answer to his Accusation, which was of a capital Nature. This was indeed an Affair that required Seriousness and Attention; but *Cæso's* Pride made him despise it. He did not at all lessen his violent Proceedings. His Fury against the *Tribunes*, and the *Terentian* Law, was increased by the Affront that had just been offered him, by the opposite Party. He spoke, he inveighed against, he reviled the *Plebeians*, and made open War with the *Tribunes*. *Virginus* therefore let the rash *Cæso* go on with his Violence, and hurry himself, of his own accord, to his Destruction. The young *Patrician* furnished his Accuser with fresh Matter of Complaint against him. In the mean while, *Virginus* still went on proposing the Law, not so much out of any Hopes that it would meet with a ready Acceptance, as purely to raise the Passions and increase the Fury of *Cæso* *Quinctius*. In the Discourse the *Tribune* made to the People, he often put them in mind of the furious Conduct, and factious Spirit of *Cæso*. *Don't you see*, said he, *that the Law will never be accepted, whilst Quinctius continues within our Walls? But why do I say the Law? Will the Liberty of the Romans itself be ever able to hold out against the Attempts of a Tyrant, who is more haughty than the Tarquins? Suppose he were Consul or Dictator: What Abuses of his Authority will not that Man be guilty of, who, though but in a private Capacity, already assumes the Airs and Audaciousness of a King?* Thus did the Harangues of the *Tribunes* enrage the *Plebeians* against *Cæso*; but not so much as the personal Injuries they had received from him. Whilst on the other Hand, the Senate and Nobility, who set him at work, promised him their Protection, at the critical Moment. At length the Day came, which was appointed for young *Quinctius's* Appearance. And then it was first perceived, that *Cæso's* Character had more of Vanity and Indiscretion in it, than true Courage, and solid Virtue. He was exposed to the Vengeance of the *Tribunes*, as *Coriolanus* had formerly been, but he did not imitate his Constancy. Before he appeared upon his Trial, he condescended to mean Intreaties, and endeavoured to save his Life by low and unworthy Solicitations. Perhaps indeed he might be forced to it by his Family and Friends. However, *Virginus* began the Accusation, and in his Discourse, enumerated the several seditious Violences of the young *Patrician*. He produced those People to be Witnesses against him, who had been ill used by him themselves. *Quinctius's* greatest Crime, was the having hindered by Violence the meeting of some judicial Assemblies which had been lawfully called. This, he said, was being guilty of Treason against the State, which deserved Death. When the Accusation was ended, the accused was cited to appear; but *Quinctius* at first refused to submit to be tried by the People. He offered to come to a hearing before the *Consuls*, as to the ill usage he was accused of having given to some particular Persons; and he offered to make them all the Satisfaction the Laws required, if he was convicted. This Proceeding set the People yet more against him. So that there was a Necessity for *Quinctius's* Father to undertake the Defence of his Son, who refused to plead. As to the capital Crimes *Cæso* was charged with, *Quinctius* the Father endeavoured to shew the Falseness of them. As for his Blows, and too warm Expressions, which were not to be denied, he excused them, by charging them upon the Heat of his natural Temper, the Imprudence that usually attends Youth, and the Fire of a martial Education, which makes Men love Contention. *My Son*, said he, *has perhaps brought away as many Wounds from these Rencontres,*

Year of
 R O M E
 CCXCII.
 P. VOLUMNIVS
 AMINTINVS,
 and SERVIUS
 SLPICIVS CA-
 MERINVS Con-
 suls.

Livy B. 3.
c. 11.

Year of R O M E CCXCII. P. VOLUMINIUS AMINTINUS, and SERVIUS SULPICIUS CAMERINUS Consuls. Livy B. 3. c. 12.

as he has given. These are little Indiscretions, which rather deserve your Pity, than your Resentment. But T. Quinctius, that great Man, who had been three times Consul, and who, I believe, was Uncle to the accused, spoke with more Freedom of the good Qualities of his Nephew. I don't think, said he, the Quinctian Family, or even the City of Rome it self ever saw a young Patrician of greater Hopes. He made his first Campaign under me, and I was a Witness to his first Exploits. Nor did Sp. Furius give a less advantageous Testimony to young Quinctius. The Consul Quinctius, said he, often sent him to my Relief, when I was in the midst of Danger; and no body contributed more than he, to the Re-establishment of our Affairs. Lucretius likewise, who triumphed the last Year, did Justice to the Valour of the accused. On this Occasion, said he, I think my self obliged to share my Glory with the brave Cæso. No body signalized himself more than he both in single Combats, and the general Action in which I was Conqueror. O Rome! How great will thy Loss be, if thou deprivest thy self of so solid a Support! What City is there, to which Cæso will not be an Ornament, if we drive him from ours? As to the natural Impetuosity he is reproached with, Age will lessen it, and when his Virtue is arrived at its Maturity, his Defects will be all worn away. How great a Man will Cæso be, when Years shall have tempered the Ardor which now transports him! The Suffrages of so many illustrious Men, and the Entreaties of the Father, had like to have inclined the People to his Favour, when Virginius frustrated the hopes of the Patricians. He rose up from his Seat, and haughtily addressed himself to Quinctius Cincinnatus the Father. The Publick, says he to him, does Justice to your Virtues, and the Affection you have for the People. But alas! how little is your Son like you! His proud Temper, and tyrannical Conduct, make him unworthy of Pardon. The Education he has received under the Eye of a modest and popular Father, has not been able to abate his Pride. Romans, what have you to expect from him for the future? What a pernicious Example has he given to the Youth, which follow him and admire him? If you Quinctius was ignorant of it before, yet being to Day better informed, you ought now to join your Indignation to ours. If you did know it, and countenance it, you are not worthy of the Favour you ask. But what am I saying? Your Son's Transports were certainly concealed from you, nor have you had any Share in his Attempts upon the Authority of the Roman People. No, Quinctius, you are not to be blamed for any Thing, but being a better Father, than Common-wealth's Man. But in order to efface in your Heart those Remains of Tendernefs, which the People share with you, hear a new Crime your Son has been guilty of. It has always been kept from you, but the Gods declare it for the Safety of our Country.

At these Words the Tribune brought out one of his Collegues named Volscius³¹, who declared his Accusation. He was a false Witness, suborned to destroy the young Patrician. I had a Brother, said this Deponent, whom I loved tenderly. We were once returning from supping with a Friend, when in the Suburban Quarter of the Town, we were met by Cæso, coming from a Debauch. He was followed by a Company of young Men of the same Character with himself. They first attacked us with Words only, and contented themselves with insulting us as a pack of Scoundrels. Till at length we lost all Patience, and returned Injuries for Injuries. Then Cæso, full of Anger and Resentment, fell upon my Brother, who was not yet perfectly recovered from a Disease he had had; and kicked and beat him, till he left him dead upon the Spot. In this Distress, I cried out for help; and upon that Cæso took me in my turn, and fell upon me with such Fury, that he left me half dead upon the Place, and wallowing in my own Blood. I was however carried Home. It was the Year the Plague made such Havock amongst us. I waited to bring my Complaint to the then Consuls, but Death took them from us soon after. As for Lucretius and Veturius, they set out in a Hurry to the War, and Cæso followed them. And ever since our domestick Broils, I have sought for an Opportunity of bringing my Complaints before the Tribunal of our Consuls; but I have still met the furious Cæso in my Way, who has prevented me. To you therefore, the People of Rome, I now come to relate the Murder of my Brother, and the Treatment I received.

³¹ Volscius was, according to Livy, surnamed Fictor. Which was probably taken from his bearing false Witness against Cæso. And this Latin Author declares likewise that he was not then Tribune

of the People, which Dion. Hal. assures us he was; but had only been Tribune, some Years before.

THESE Words so enraged the *Plebeians* against young *Quinctius*, that they had immediately stoned him, if the *Tribunes* had not put a Stop to the Fury of the People. Tho' these Magistrates had nothing at Heart but satisfying their Revenge, they yet observed some Rules in their Proceedings. They were afraid to put the accused Person to death, before he had made his Defence. The pronouncing his Sentence was therefore deferred to another Day. And the only Question at present was, whether this pretended guilty Person should be imprisoned. *Virginus* had already caused him to be seized by the Officers of his Court, when *T. Quinctius*, *Cæso's* Uncle, opposed the Imprisonment of his Nephew. Till that time, no Criminal had been arrested, till he had either confessed his Crime, or been convicted. The *Tribunes* therefore who were consulted with, took the middle Way, between *Virginus's* Pretensions, and those of the contrary Party. They left young *Quinctius* at Liberty, provided he would give Security to appear before the People, on the Day appointed. This raised a new Debate about the Sum in which his Securities were to be bound. But the Senate fixed it to three thousand *Asses* ³² of Brass, and left it to the *Tribunes* to declare how many Citizens should be Security for it, in case of his Escape. They were content with ten Securities, and the Accused was then delivered up to his Relations. This was the first time Security was ever given at *Rome*, in a publick and Criminal Affair. However, *Cæso* was no sooner at Liberty, but he left *Rome* the very next Night, and fled to the *Hetrurians* for Refuge. But the *Tribunes* knew nothing of his Escape, till he was again cited to appear. Upon this Citation, his Family laboured to prove to the People, that he had executed Justice on himself, and had anticipated their Sentence of Banishment, by banishing himself. The *Tribunes* saw this was only an Evasion, to avoid the Payment of the Sum in which his Securities were bound; and therefore exacted it with Rigour; but *Quinctius* the Father paid the three thousand *Asses*, to the uttermost Farthing. By this means he reduced himself almost to want. At least he was forced to go and cultivate a little Field of about four Acres of Land, which he had beyond the *Tyber*. Here this great Man lived, in a Cottage, scarce ever appeared at *Rome*, and entirely excluded himself from all the publick Rejoicings. But we shall soon see him taken from hence, with Glory, to be placed at the Head of the Republick.

Year of
R O M E
CCXCII.

P. VOLUMNIUS
AMINTINUS
and SERVIUS
SULPICIUS CA-
MERINUS Con-
suls.

Livy B. 3.
c. 13.

Val. Max. B.
4. Livy and
Dion. Hal.
Ibid.

ROME was not then attacked by any foreign Enemy. So that the Fear the *Consuls* would have raised about the Preparations the *Volsci* were making, was frivolous. This then seemed to be a favourable Opportunity for the *Tribunes*, to carry on the Business of the *Terentian Law*. It was thought that *Cæso's* Banishment would naturally keep the young *Patricians* in Awe, and leave the *Comitia* at Liberty to proceed. The *Tribunes* flattered themselves with an entire Victory over the Senate. Insomuch, that the People were surprized to see the young Nobility more enraged than ever, and ready to revenge the Injury which had been done to *Quinctius*. The *Tribunes* being ready to make their Report of the Law to the People, had ordered all the *Patricians* who were present, to be driven away from the Assembly. At this the Nobility, attended with an Army of *Clients*, rose up against the *Tribunes*, and made them feel the Consequences of the Sedition they occasioned. The Number of the revolted *Patricians* was so great, that no one either assumed to himself all the Glory of the Action, or was loaded with all the Odium of it. The People only said that, *instead of one Cæso, there were now risen up a thousand*. Nevertheless, a good Understanding and good Manners were preserved, as usual, be-

Livy B. 3.
c. 14.

³² If it were true, as *Budens* pretends, that the Roman *As*, or Pound of Brass, was not worth more than five French-Deniers, the Fine was moderate, and would not have much exceeded the Sum of fifty *Livres*. If we make the *As* worth ten Deniers, with Monsieur *Peyresk*; then the three thousand *Asses* will amount to a hundred and thirty French *Livres*. [If with Dr. *Arbuthnot*, we make the *As* to be worth three Farthings & English, the three thousand *Asses* will amount to about 9 l. 8 s. 1½ d.] If we reduce the Roman *As* to the Proportion of the French Copper-Farthing; this ancient Money would have been worth thirteen *Sous*, and the whole Sum would have amounted to two thousand *Livres* and upwards, a pretty considerable Sum for the Time

of which we speak. But if we suppose with *Plutarch* that the Roman *Denarius*, or Attick-Drachma was worth 10 *Asses*, then, according to our Estimation, the three thousand *Asses*, would not have been worth more than three hundred *Drachma*, i. e. a hundred and fifty *Livres*, reckoning ten *Sous* to a *Drachma*. In this Case, it is not to be conceived, that the Payment of so inconsiderable a Sum, could have almost reduced *Cæso's* Father to want; unless we say, that *Quinctius Cincinnatus's* Estate was much inferior to what the Laws required in order to be admitted into the lowest Centuries. Whereas *Quinctius* was a *Patrician*; tho' the *Patricians* were indeed, at that Time, more ambitious of acquiring Glory, than of heaping up great Riches.

Year of ROM E CCXCII. P. VOLUMNIUS AMINTINUS, and SERVIUS SULPICIUS CAMERINUS Consuls. between the *Patricians* and People of *Rome*, except in the *Comitia*. They visited, they saluted one another; they eat together, and met together in the *Forum*; and in short, the *Tribunes* were left at full Liberty to perform all the other Parts of their Office. No Passion or Fury appeared, but when the *Terentian* Law was in Question. Nay the *Patricians* suffered the People quietly to elect the same *Tribunes* again, for the next Year. Thus, partly by Moderation, and partly by Violence, they gained their Point, of preventing the Law from being accepted, all that Year.

Year of ROM E CCXCIII. L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, and C. CLAUDIUS Consuls. Livy B. 3. c. 15. Dion. Hal. B. 10. p. 634. §. VI. THE Year following, the *Romans* raised *L. Valerius Poplicola* ³³, the Son of the first, who merited that illustrious Surname, to the *Consulate* a second Time: And *C. Claudius* was given him for his Collegue. Whether this last was the Son of *Appius Claudius*, or of one *Marcus Claudius*, is uncertain. However, it was at least well known at *Rome*, that his Family had always been against the Attempts of the *Tribunes of the People*, and all the popular Faction was alarmed at it. In the mean time the young Nobility altered their Measures. They no longer endeavoured to hinder the Acceptation of the Law by Blows and Violence. They reserved their Resentments for the *Tribunes* only. As to the Citizens, they made use of gentle and insinuating Methods to gain them, and that with Success. The *Tribunes* observed with Grief that the People were not so zealous as formerly, for giving a Sanction to *Terentius's* Scheme. Nay, they could scarce bear to hear the new Law mentioned in the *Comitia*. This sudden Change surprized the College of *Tribunes*; who were persuaded, it proceeded from the Citizens fear of their new *Consul Claudius*. At bottom indeed, the Law the *Tribunes* had at Heart was equitable, and their Right to propose it was good. But it often happens that a good Cause is supported by Knavery and Artifice. The *Tribunes* stuck at nothing lawful or unlawful to gain their Point. They first spread an hundred false Reports to discredit the *Consul*, and gain the People. Then they appeared publicly, consulting together from Morning till Night, without admitting any Citizen into their Assemblies, but their own Collegues. In these secret Consultations, they resolved to forge such Letters, as might give the People strong Suspicions of the whole *Patrician* Body. Whilst the *Tribunes* were holding their Consultations in publick, but kept their Affairs secret to themselves, they caused the Letter they had concerted to be brought to them by a Person unknown. And after they had received it, those who surrounded them, thought that some bad News had been brought to them, by the Air of Surprize and Terror, which appeared in their Faces, and which they put on. The People enquired into the Reason of their Fright: But they deferred their Answer till the Multitude was got about them. Then, after they had caused Silence to be made, *Romans*, said they, *you are threatened with the greatest Dangers. If they, against whom it was chiefly levelled, had not discovered it, we should all have been swallowed up in one common Ruin. But you must give us leave first to relate the Affair to the Senate, before it be publicly divulged.* Immediately upon this, the *Tribunes* went directly to the *Consuls* Houses. The Senate was assembled by their Order, and the *Tribunes* admitted into it. In the mean time, Men suborned by the *Tribunes* spread an hundred false Reports among the People, about the Contents of the Letter, which was sent the *Tribunes*. Some said that the fugitive *Cæso* was advancing towards *Rome*, where he had Correspondents, at the Head of an Army of *Volsci*. Others, that there was a general Plot among the *Patricians*, by help of which he was just coming to enter the City with an Army of Foreigners, and that his Business there was to destroy the *Tribunate*. Some confined the Enterprize to the *Patrician* Youth only. Whereas others boldly affirmed, that *Cæso* was still in the City, and that he had conspired to go from the Place in which he was concealed, and attack the Citadel and Ramparts of *Rome*. All the Citizens were full of Uneasiness and mutual Suspicions.

Dion. Hal. B. 10. p. 635. THE Senate was employed in reading and examining the Letter the *Tribunes* had brought to them. *Virginus* gave this Account of it. *Our Discretion, Conscript Fathers, made us keep Silence, whilst the Misfortunes with which we are now threatened were yet but uncertain. To act upon bare Conjectures, against seditious Men not yet discovered,*

³³ *Diodorus Siculus* gives *C. Claudius* the Surname of *Regillanus*, because his Family came originally from *Regillum*, a City of the *Sabinians*.

often only giving an Handle to factious Spirits to raise Insurrections. Nevertheless, we have not been unactive upon our first Suspicions, and our private Enquiries have been effectual. We have been faithfully served by those Foreigners, with whom we live in Hospitality and a good Correspondence. Their Letters will convince you that the Gods watch over the Republick for its Preservation. The Symptoms we find at Home, agree with the Reports we receive from Abroad. Rome is betrayed. Some of the most illustrious Families here, and some even of the Senate itself, are turned Conspirators, and have sworn her Destruction. Among those Roman Knights, who have not a Place in the Senate, there are some Assassines, who are ready to cut our Throats. They wait only for the Opportunity of a dark Night, to break into our Houses, and massacre us, and all those among the People, who contend for the publick Liberty. They take it for granted, that after this barbarous Execution, they shall easily obtain of you the Abolition of the Tribunate, and of the Privileges of the People. Cæso, that Cæso, whom they rescued from his just Punishment, is the Instrument of their Fury. He is to appear within these Walls attended by several Troops of Æqui and Volsci, who are to be brought in hither privately, and in small Parties. The Tribunes are to sell the first Victims to his Resentments; and such of the People as shall dare to make any Resistance, are to be sacrificed without Mercy. These are our Dangers. This is the Crime of your Patricians. What then is now to be done? O ye immortal Gods! Ye Genii, who preserve this State, ye who unite us in the same religious Worship, inspire the Senate with Sentiments of Equity. Efface out of their Minds, all regard to Rank, Birth, and Party-Interests. What we demand of you, Conscript Fathers, is that you do Justice to all the Conspirators, or at least to the Heads of the Conspiracy: And in a Word, that you grant us a Power of drawing up Informations against them. They who are most in danger, are most nearly concerned to avoid it, and will be most active in making Discoveries. Time presses us, and our Assassines are at the Gates. Be therefore quick in your Decisions.

THIS Demand of the Tribunes much embarrassed the Senate. They thought it dangerous to make them Masters of an Affair, of a capital Nature, in Matters of State; and were afraid of the Consequences of giving a new Increase of Power to an ambitious Tribunal. On the other Hand, the Senators thought it not safe, to charge themselves with drawing up the Informations in an Affair, in which the Patricians might be suspected to have a part. But the Consul Claudius saw through the Artifice of the Tribunes, and replied thus.

I TAKE upon me to answer you, Tribunes, because none of you can have the Boldness to think me an Accomplice in the Crime, which is charged upon the Patricians. My Conduct puts me out of your reach. But what then is my Design in speaking? Is it to dissuade the Senators from suffering Informations to be taken of such a cruel Attempt? or to hinder them from giving you this Commission? No; were the Accusation true, too much Precaution could not be taken to secure your Lives and the publick Liberty. But let us search the Matter to the Bottom. The Tribunes last Year could not get their Law passed. The People themselves are now not so easy to be imposed upon by them, as formerly. Hence their Air of Consternation. Hence their continual Deliberations. Hence their Assemblies and their Conferences. And what Resolutions have they come to in them? Why, no doubt to invent the Fable, they now bring to Light. Let us accuse the Patricians, said they, of having conspired against our Lives, and plotted to massacre the People. Fear will make them credulous. And then let us demand of the Senate a Power to inform against the Conspirators. If they refuse it, we shall recover the Favour of the Multitude, who will then be enraged against the Senators. If they grant it us, we will then give full Scope to our Resentments, we will revenge our selves by Banishments, and intimidate the Opposers of the Terentian Law. This is the Tribunes Scheme. These are the Snares they have laid for us, as well as for the many illustrious Roman Knights, whose Opposition to their Designs has been the Foundation of our Safety. Not that I say this barely upon Conjecture. Speak, Virginius, whence came those Letters which have so much alarmed you? From whom did you receive those Letters you have produced? Who are these Guests and these faithful Correspondents? Where did you know them? How came they acquainted with the Misfortunes which threaten us? Who is the Servant, who brought these Letters? Why has he disappeared? Are you struck dumb? Why should the naming these Witnesses be deferred to another Time? Shall we wait till such time as you are made Masters of our Lives,

K k k k k

Year of
R O M E
CCXCIII.
L. VALERIUS
POPPLICOLA,
and C. CLAU-
DIUS, Consuls.

Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 637.

by

Year of
R O M E
CCXCIII.
L. VALERIUS
POPPLICOLA,
and C. CLAU-
DIUS, Consuls.

by a Decree of the Senate, and have it in your Power to convict us by false Witnesses? You say the Symptoms at Home, agree with the Informations from Abroad. Why don't you then shew us these Symptoms? Why don't you produce the Accusers? All the Marks of Calumny and Fiction appear in this Case against you. To you, Conscript Fathers, to your Indulgence the bold Attempts of the Tribunes are to be ascribed. You were too easy in delivering up the brave Cæso to the Rage of his Persecutors. The Tribunes first Success against him, encourages them to attempt every thing against us. They intimidate you by the horrid Suspensions they spread abroad even of your selves. To conclude; my Opinion is, the Senate ought to be upon their guard against the Artifices of the Tribunes. I shall not indeed speak with the same Warmth to the People: But I will at least let them know, that the Foundation of our Divisions, is in the Tribunes.

CLAUDIUS's Speech was applauded by the Senators: They would not suffer the Tribunes to reply, but the Assembly was dismissed. Nevertheless the Accusation of the Tribunes was attended with the common Effects of Calumnies. The wiser Citizens were undeceived: But it left some Impressions upon the Minds of the most fearful, and the most factious.

Livy B. 3.
c. 15.
Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 640.

§. VII. THE intestine Broils of the Republick raised it up an Enemy, which it could scarce have suspected. And this was a private Man in *Sabinia* named *Herdonius*. He was not contemptible in his own Country, either for his Birth, his Interest, or his Estate. And it was never known, whether he acted in concert with his own Republick, or whether the Desire of making himself famous, or the Ambition of a Crown, were his only Motives to undertake to surprize *Rome*, and subdue it. However, *Herdonius* communicated his Design to such as he thought capable of assisting him, let his Friends into the Secret, and prepared for the Execution of it. He got together about four thousand of his Clients and Slaves. This was indeed a small Number for so great an Enterprize; but he took it for granted, that a great Number of *Roman* Exiles, the *Roman* Populace who were covetous of Plunder, those Citizens who were Enemies to the *Patricians*, the Slaves who were weary of their Servitude, and at all Adventures the *Æqui* and the *Volscei*, would upon the first Rumour, come to his Assistance. With these Hopes, he embarked his trusty Troops on the *Tyber* by Night, brought them down the River, and led them to the Foot of the *Capitol*. The *Romans* had a Superstition among them which had like to have cost them dear. They had been directed by I know not what Oracle to leave one of the Gates of the *Capitol* open, Day and Night; which was the Gate *Carmentalis*. By this Gate *Herdonius* entered the Citadel of *Rome*, and then possessed himself of the neighbouring Hill: Which was doubtless, the Hill *Quirinalis*. It was yet but Midnight, and all the City was buried in a profound Sleep. The Inhabitants which were nearest the invaded Posts, were partly killed; and the rest saved themselves by flying into the lower Part of the City, or to the Country. In the mean time the Noise of the terrified People, raised an Alarm in all the Quarters of *Rome*. Nothing was heard but the confused Voices of those who cried out to Arms; and of those who declared there was an Enemy in the Heart of the City. The old Men and Women went up upon the Tops of the Houses to defend themselves against the Troops, which they thought had already taken Possession of all the Streets. In this Disorder, the *Consuls* were equally afraid either of arming the People, or leaving them disarmed. They knew not whether the Mischief arose from a domestick Faction or a foreign Enemy. But it was in vain for them to attempt to appease the Tumult; the more they said, the more they increased it. While the People were in this Consternation, there was neither Obedience nor Government. At length the *Consuls* determined to distribute Arms among the Citizens, but not all without Distinction. It is probable, they then kept Arms in Arsenals, and took them out, as the publick Necessities required. Every Body still continued in Uncertainty the rest of the Night, not knowing either how many, or what Enemies they were to fight with. So that they contented themselves with placing Bodies of Guards in the different Quarters of the City. At last, the return of Light discovered what Enemy they had to fear, and what sort of War they had upon their Hands. *Herdonius* attempted in vain to engage the Slaves of *Rome*, to come and recover their Liberty under his Protection. It was in vain for him to assure them, that he came to *Rome* with no other Design, but to bring Home the Exiles, and relieve the Unfortunate. None of the Proposals were hearkened to. No Body preferred an uncertain Happiness to a publick

Livy B. 3.
Ibid.

publick Good. And as for Assistance from Foreigners, *Herdonius* had none. The *Æqui* and *Volsci* were in no readiness to help him, when they should have marched to his Defence.

HOWEVER, *Herdonius*, tho' left to his own Troops, did not quit the Posts he had possessed himself of. Had he had ever so little Assistance, he had been Master of *Rome*: And the Broils between the *Senate* and the *Tribunes* had like to have caused its Destruction. In short, when at Day-break the *Consuls* had assembled the People, to make them take up Arms against an Enemy which was become Master of the Citadel; the *Tribunes* on their Part appeared upon the *Tribune*, from whence they used to harangue the People; and made a Discourse to them, which seemed very unreasonable. *We don't pretend*, said they, *to obstruct the publick Good; but after all, Romans, this is the time for turning the Services you are going to do your Country, to your own Advantage. Before you march to the bloody Conquest of a Citadel, insist upon the Consuls accepting the Terentian Law. And don't venture your Lives, till they have sworn to do it. Who knows but the Danger, which seems to threaten us so much, may be a false Terror raised by the Patricians, to divert the passing of the Law which frightens them? Who knows but they may have brought some Foreigners into the Capitol, who are their own Friends? Let us press the passing of the Law. When these Aggressors find that it is passed, we shall see them retire more privately than they came. However, the passing the Terentian Law, ought at least to be the Reward of the Dangers, to which they would have you expose your selves.*

THESE Words, how senseless soever, were sufficient to impose upon the People. Neither the Commands of the *Consuls*, nor the extream Necessities of *Rome*, could prevail upon them to take Arms. The Consul *Claudius* was of the Temper of his Family: He was desperate in his Resolutions. He advised the *Senate* to neglect the People, and attack the Citadel themselves. The *Citizens*, said he, *would sell you their Services too dear. The Patricians alone, attended by their Clients, and some Volunteers, are sufficient to drive away the rash Herdonius. Besides, we may borrow Succours of the Latins and the Hernici. Our Slaves themselves, if we set them at Liberty, will lend us their Hands. In short, any other Soldiers are better for us, than refractory Citizens, who refuse their Country their Assistance, in its utmost Danger.* But *Valerius*, who was more moderate and more popular than his Colleague, represented to the *Senate*, that in such Circumstances, nothing was more dangerous than to provoke the People; that they ought to exert their Violence against the Enemy only; and with the *Citizens* Gentleness and Persuasion. The *Senate* was of the same Opinion with the wise *Poplicola*. He withdrew from the *Senate*, and appeared before the People: And his Presence and Discourse had all the Effect he expected from it. *What*, said he to the *Tribunes*, *do you join with Herdonius to destroy the Republick? What, shall the Sabine be able to get that Assistance from you, which even our Slaves have denied him? Are you dreaming of making Laws, when the Enemy is upon us, and is beating down our Temples, and the Places of our Assemblies? As for you, Romans, if you are not much affected with the Plunder of your Houses, and the Destruction of your Household Gods, yet at least shew some Concern, for the Affront which is offered to the tutelary Gods of your Country. Jupiter Capitoline is in the Hands of our Enemies. Minerva and Juno are invested by them. A Handful of Slaves have put themselves in Possession of your most venerable Sanctuaries; and will lose Time in Comitia? O Romulus, the Founder of this Empire! who didst thy self retreat to this same Capitol, when invaded by these Sabines, inspire thy Children with thy Courage! Shew them the Way by which thou again enteredst the Citadel which thou hadst fled! The Consul *Valerius* is going to tread in thy Steps. To Arms, to Arms, Romans! Whoever hinders any one from following me, I will treat him as an Enemy. *Tribunes*, turn your Arms against me, since you refuse to turn them against Herdonius. I will give you the same Treatment, which the Head of my Family formerly received from our Kings.*

THESE Words at least hindered the Law from being passed. It is true, *Valerius* could not attempt to take the *Capitol* that Day: The approach of the Night hindered him. However, that made the *Tribunes* fly, who were afraid of some unprovoked Blow in the Dark. So that *Valerius* being then Master of the Assembly, he went among the *Citizens*, shewed them the Danger *Rome* was in, and convinced them domestick Quarrels ought to cease, at the sight of a common Enemy.

Year of
R O M E
CCXCIII.

L. VALERIUS
POPPLICOLA
and C. CLAUDIUS, CONSULS

Dion. Hist.
B. 10. p. 641.

Livy B. 3.
c. 17.

Year of
R O M E
CCXCIII.
L. VALERIUS
POPILIOCOLA,
and C. CLAU-
DIUS Consuls.

Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 642.
Livy B. 3.
c. 18.

Dion. Hal.
B. 10. Ibid.

Livy B. 3. Ib.
Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 643.
Year of
R O M E
CCXCIII.
C. CLAUDI-
US Consul.

THE *Consuls* were busy all Night, in taking Measures to preserve *Rome* from a general Invasion. The one took care to keep good Order within, and the other went out of the City, and sent out Spies, to discover whether any Enemies or foreign Troops were near. At break of Day a Sight appeared which put *Rome* into a Consternation. Some Battalions were seen advancing towards it at a Distance. These were taken at first for the *Æqui* and *Volsi*; but the Fright was soon over. It was *Lucius Mamilius* who was drawing near with some Troops, which he had raised in haste at *Tusculum*. This faithful *Dictator*, that is, Governor of his City, had been informed of the Danger of the *Romans* the same Night. Instantly therefore, and without waiting for the Order of the Senate, he set out from *Tusculum*, and came to offer the *Consuls* his personal Assistance, and his Troops. Upon this *Rome* took Courage. The People were assembled early in the Morning. The Levies were made with more Ease, than had been imagined, and two Armies were raised, one to serve under the Consul *Valerius*, and the other under *Claudius*. It fell by Lot to *Valerius* to attack the *Capitol*, and to *Claudius* to cover the City, and guard it against the Approaches of the Enemy. Then *Valerius*, being satisfied with the Peoples Behaviour, promised them, that during his *Consulate*, he would make use of all his Interest to favour the Pretensions of the *Tribunes*, as to the passing of the *Terentian* Law. These Promises encouraged the *Plebeians*; but they soon vanished, upon the *Consul's* Death.

THE Army, which was to scale the *Capitol*, was drawn up in Battalia, in the *Forum Romanum*. *Valerius* had taken the *Tusculan* Legion with him, and the faithful *Mamilius* marched by his side. The *Roman* Troops followed the *Consul*, without any Opposition from the *Tribunes*. The Attack was difficult. It was necessary to climb up a Hill, made steep both by Art and Nature. *Herdonius* and his Troops lined the Walls of the Citadel, in order to defend it, by throwing Darts, and rolling down Stones. The *Romans* first slung from the Tops of the Houses, which were near the *Capitol*, Bottles full of boiling Oil, and burning *Bitumen*. This was to drive the Enemy from the Ramparts. Then they made themselves Ways up the Rock with Pick-axes, and supported their staggering Feet, with Fascines made of Vine-Branches, which they threw into the most slippery Places. The *Roman* Army was more numerous than the *Sabine's* Troop; but what signified Number, when they were forced to crawl up, three and three, through Defiles, which were every where defended by Towers and Ramparts, from whence they were overpowered with the Stones and Darts, which were showered down on all sides on those who made the Attack? Experience in War and Stratagem were here of no Use. The Darts of the *Romans* lost their Strength before they reached the Top, whilst those of the Besieged, being thrown downwards, lost nothing of their Force. Nevertheless the Assailants were not discouraged. They persevered Day and Night in cutting out Ways for themselves in the Rock, and in getting Ground by little and little. Till at length, after three Days Fatigue, the *Romans* were near enough to fight the Enemy, and scale the Wall. Then the Enemy's Darts and Vigor failed all at once. They had been kept Day and Night at Work, without any Intermiſſion. So that the Rampart was carried; but the *Sabines* found Strength in despair, and defended themselves with the same Valour, when engaged Man to Man, as when at a Distance. It is certain the Consul *Valerius* lost his Life, in the first Battel that was fought at the Entrance of the *Capitol*. Some say he was killed with a Stone, before the Porch of the Temple of *Jupiter*. However that were, after he had received several Blows, he still pushed the Enemy from Post to Post, till such time as he lost his Life and his Triumph together. *Volumnius* who saw him die, ordered his Body to be covered, and took his Place. He had been *Consul*, and signalized himself in Battel. And the *Roman* Soldiers, who did not perceive that *Valerius* was wanting, were Conquerors, before they missed their Commander. As for *Herdonius*, he fought like a Man desperate, and sold his Life very dear. Being robust and of a tall Stature, he made a terrible Slaughter of the *Romans*, and was overcome only by Numbers. The greatest part of his Slaves or Clients, either stabbed themselves, or threw themselves down headlong from the Top of the *Capitol*. The rest who were taken, were treated according to their Condition, and their Punishment was proportioned to their Fortune. After this the *Romans* were wholly employed in purifying ³⁴ the Temple of *Jupiter*, and making a magnificent Funeral

³⁴ To bring armed Men into the Temples of the Gods, was an impious Prophanation of them. This *Tully* reproaches *Antony* with, who had posted some Soldiers in the Temple of *Concord*. That of *Jupiter*

Funeral for the brave *Valerius*. In order to its being done with the greater Pomp the People voluntarily contributed to the Expence of it, and every one threw his Piece of Money ³⁵ into the dead Man's House. Thus Necessity re-established the Affairs of *Rome*, which Discord had put into a very bad Condition.

Year of
R O M E
CCXCIII.
C. CLAUDIUS
Consul.

§. VIII. NEVERTHELESS, the Citizens continued no longer quiet, than while the Siege of the *Capitol* lasted. They were no sooner recovered from their Fright, but the *Tribunes* met again to pursue their Game. They required *Claudius*, the surviving Consul, to perform his Colleague's Promise. *The Manes of Valerius*, said they, *are burdened with it; and it is your Business to ease them of so heavy a Load.* But *Claudius* long evaded the Demand of the *Tribunes*. Sometimes his Pretence was the Funeral of his Colleague, and the Purification of the Temples; sometimes he amused the People with Sports and Shews. And when all his other Pretences failed him, he had recourse to that of electing a second Consul, to supply the Place of the deceased. The Consuls were always chosen by the *Comitia* assembled by *Centuries*, and the Nobility almost always determined the Election. The Senators therefore sought to have a Man elected, who would make Head against the *Tribunes*, and oppose their *Terentian* Law. They all pitched upon *Quintius Cincinnatus* the Father of *Cæso*. His Virtue made him worthy of the *Consulate*; but his private Resentments made him an implacable Enemy to the *Tribunes*. The eighteen *Centuries* of *Roman* Knights, and the twenty four *Centuries* of the first Class, unanimously named *Cincinnatus* for Consul; and they of themselves made a Majority, so that there was no Occasion for the inferior Classes to give their Suffrages. The People were in a Consternation at this Choice; but the Senate sent a Deputation to bring the new Consul with Pomp, from the Hut he had lived in ever since the Banishment of his Son. And it was not without Difficulty that they could force him from it. It was Sowing-time. *Alas*, said he, *my little Field will not be sowed! And we shall therefore miserably perish by Famine.* Nevertheless he left the Care of his domestick Affairs to his Wife, and set out for *Rome*. The *Tribunes* were confounded to see at the Head of Affairs, a Man of known Probity, and Steadiness, adored by the *Patricians*, and a personal Enemy to their College. And to compleat their Dread, *Cincinnatus* had three Sons left, who were scarce inferior to their Brother *Cæso*, in Valour and Eloquence, and excelled him in Prudence and good Conduct. *Quintius* entered on his Office in the Month of *December*. But the new Consul was no less earnest in reforming the Senate, than in putting a Stop to the Sallies of the People. This appeared by his first Harangues.

C. CLAUDIUS
and QUINTIUS
CINCINNATUS,
Consuls.
Livy B. 3.
c. 19.

It is owing to your Indulgence, said he to the Senators, *that the same Tribunes keep themselves so long in their Office, and let loose their Tongues in publick with the same Liberty, as in a House of Licentiousness. Ever since the Exile of my Son, these Tribunes, who have continued such contrary to the Law, have with him banished Modesty and Moderation from Rome. They live here as independent as Kings, and maintain Discord in the City by their Babbling. Not to mention any of them but the seditious Virginius, has not he deserved Death more then Herdonius the Sabine? The one was a declared Enemy, who made War upon us like a brave Man. The other a secret Enemy, who thought to have destroyed us by refusing us the Assistance of the People whom he governs, and whom he disarmed. And give me leave to say, Claudius, that you, and your deceased Colleague conquered our Enemies in the Capitol, before you subdued our domestick Enemies in the Forum. O how shameful a Reproach is it for the Romans! The Temple of Jupiter was profaned before our Eyes, and Tusculum came to our Succour before Rome had taken up Arms in her own Defence. Is this, Tribunes, to protect the common People? to deliver them up unarmed to be cut in pieces by the Enemy? Farther, a Company of Slaves besets our Gods, and you leave them to be insulted! And yet, 'tis through the favour of these Gods, that you think your selves inviolable. You are heard to say, that before the Tear is out, you will make the Teren-*

Livy B. 3.
c. 19.

Jupiter Capitolinus had been polluted by the Blood, which had been spilt, even in the Inside of it, in the Heat of the Battel. It was therefore necessary to purify it according to the Rites of Paganism. In this Ceremony, they made use of Sacrifices, Holy Water, Aspersions, and Fumigations of Sulphur, Olive-Branches, Laurel-Branches, and odoriferous Herbs, to appease the Anger of the Gods.

³⁵ *Livy* says every Citizen threw into *Valerius's* House, the fourth Part of an *As*, that is three Oun-

ces of Copper made into Money. Not that *Valerius's* Family was reduced to want, and stood in need of this Gratification, in order to give the Deceased an honourable Burial: But only the People designed to shew their Honour to the Memory of the Dead by it, and their Desire of contributing towards the Magnificence of his Obsequies. This was a Respect frequently paid at *Rome*, to great Men, who had lost their Lives in the Service of their Country.

L I I I I

tian

Year of R O M E CCXCH. C. CLAUDIUS and QUINTIUS CINCINNATUS, Consuls.

tian Law pass. If so, the Republick must find me a more easy and complaisant Consul than my Predecessor. But I assure you, I will take Precautions against your Attempts. My Collegue and I will make your Citizens march out against the Æqui and Volsci. 'Tis strange, but so it is; the Gods favour us more when we are at War, than when we are in Peace. How great would have been our Danger from those Nations, had they known the Capitol was invested! Happy is it for us, that we only conjecture this, instead of knowing it by Experience!

Livy B. 3.
c. 20.

THESE Words filled the Tribunes and the People with Terror. Claudius did all he could to forward the Designs of his Collegue. He indeed confined himself to that; and that was enough. Quintius was fruitful in Expedients, and Claudius was inclined to second them. So that the Plebeians were afraid, they should have been forced to take the Field: And the Tribunes, to avoid the Blow, threatened Quintius, to hinder his inlisting and swearing any Troops. To which the brave Consul replied with Boldness, *There is no Occasion for bringing the People under new Engagements. The Oaths they took to Valerius, whose Place I supply, are of force as to me, during the whole time of my Office. The Romans will be perjured, if they refuse to follow me.* To this the Tribunes replied with an insulting Air; *When the People engaged themselves to serve a Year under Valerius, you was then but a private Man, a Countryman. What Obligations then have they laid themselves under to you?* But these Answers of the Tribunes seemed, even to the Persons most nearly concerned, more subtle than solid. The Fear of the Gods had then great Power over the Hearts of the People: And the Consul was sensible of the Superiority, which the Sacredness of Oaths gave him over the Multitude. So that he commanded the Roman Forces to appear the next Day at Regillum. And all the Tribunes were able to do, was only to delay the Departure of the Army, for some Days. In the mean time the Consul Quintius caused a Report to be spread, that the 36 Augurs were already upon the Banks of the Lake Regillus, in order to consecrate a Place there by their Auspices, where Comitia were to be held; that there all the Laws the Tribunes had hitherto made, were to be abrogated; that as these Comitia would be held out of the City, the Consuls 37 would be Masters of all Deliberations in them; that there could be no Appeal made to the Tribunes there, because the Consuls were absolute in the Field, and their Decrees not liable to be called in Question; and in short, that if the Tribunes went out of Rome, they must be themselves subject to the Jurisdiction of the Consuls. These Reports alarmed the Tribunes, and the Discourses of the skilful Consul frightened them yet more. He every where declared, that in the present Situation of Affairs, it was necessary to have a Dictator, whose Power should not be curbed by perpetual Oppositions. So that these Stories, artfully spread abroad, struck the Tribunes with Terror. They thought themselves undone. The Senators did not sit in the usual 38 Place; Quintius assembled them in the Capitol. The Tribunes therefore came thither, followed by a Crowd of People: And their Consternation was visible in their Faces. So that these Men who were formerly so haughty, now refused no Submissions. They addressed themselves, as humble Petitioners, sometimes to the Consuls,

36 The Augural Office was in such high Esteem at Rome, that the Romans determined nothing, either in Peace or War, without having first consulted the Augurs, who made their Report, according to the Nature of the Omens they had observed. If they judged, that the Execution of any Enterprize, or the holding the Comitia, or the Publication of any Law, ought to be deferred, they made use of these two Words, *alio die*, i. e. *to another Day*. If the Omen was favourable, they concluded for the Affair in Hand, by pronouncing these Words, *addixit avis Cornix*, or *Corvus fecit rectum*, signifying thereby, that the Bird, whose flying or singing they had observed, promised good Success. Cicer. l. de Divin.

37 Among the Laws made by Valerius Poplicola, in the 245th Year of Rome, that which gave the Citizens of Rome Leave to appeal from the Consuls to the People was inviolably observed; as well as that which gave the Commonalty the right of electing Magistrates. But these two Laws

were interrupted during the Government of the Decemviri. However, they were received in the Year 306, when Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius were Consuls; and in the Year 454, in the Consulate of Marcus Valerius, and Quintus Apuleius Pansa. But tho' the Power of the Consuls was in several things subject to the Suffrages of the People, within the City; yet it was not so, when they were out of Rome, and at the Head of Armies. Their Authority was then absolute, and there lay no Appeal from their Decisions. Tully B. 3. de Leg. quotes two Laws upon this Subject, which run thus. *Ad populum provocatio esto. Militiæ, ab eo qui imperabit provocatio ne esto.*

38 The Senate usually chose to hold their Assemblies in some Temple, as those of Vulcan, Concord, or Jupiter Stator; or at least in some Place consecrated by the Augurs, as that called Curia Hostilia, and another which was near the Gate Capena. Without this Consecration, the Decrees of the Senate were thought null.

and sometimes to the *Senators*; but *Quintius* was inflexible, till after they had promised, to be more submissive to the Senate for the future. At last, the *Consul*, upon their Request, pronounced a Decree, dictated by the Senate; which imported, *That the Terentian Law should no more be brought into dispute all that Year; and on the other Hand, that the Citizens should not take the Field again that Year.* To which it was added, *That it was contrary to the publick Good, for either Consuls or Tribunes to be continued in their Office, beyond their Year.* Thus did the Steadiness and Moderation of *Quintius* re-establish Tranquillity in the Republick. And he made use of these Intervals of Peace, to take from the *Tribunes* all their Pretences for insisting on the *Terentian Law*; and from the People, their Pretences for desiring it. He applied himself wholly to hearing the Causes of private Persons. Domestick Confusions had long suspended the Determination of civil Disputes; and the People had been unwilling to submit the Differences which arose among the Citizens, to the arbitrary Decisions of the *Consuls*. But now *Quintius* was upon his Tribunal from Morning till Night, ready to hear the Grievances of all Parties. The Suitors, who had recourse to him, were received in a gracious manner, and Judgment was immediately given on the Spot, and that with such Equity and Exactness, as to give entire Satisfaction. By this means, the People were brought even to adore the wise *Quintius*. They were heard to say, that the Demand of the *Tribunes* would be useless, if all the *Consuls* were like him. In short, *Quintius* shewed there was no Necessity for the *Terentian Law*.

Year of
R O M E
CCXCIII.
C. CLAUDIUS
and QUINTIUS
CINCINNATUS
Consuls.

Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 645.

IN the mean time the *Tribunes* were not negligent of their own Interests. They found means, by their Intrigues, to get themselves continued in their Office, in spite of the Decree of the Senate. At this the *Patricians* appeared uneasy. This was disconcerting the Measures they had taken, to secure themselves against the Plots of the *Tribunes*. Had they gained their Point, of getting the *Tribunes* changed every Year, they would have had less to fear from the inveterate Persecutions of their College. The Nobility therefore had but one way of guarding against the Attempts they feared would be made the next Year: And this was, to continue likewise the wise *Quintius* in the *Consulate*, who was both the Scourge of the *Tribunes*, and the Idol of the People. The *Patricians* were as much Masters of the Election of the *Consuls*, as the People were of that of their own *Tribunes*. The only Difficulty was, how to bring this rigid Observer of the Laws to comply with their being broken, tho' in his own Favour. Upon the first Proposal of it that was made him, he spoke with more Vigour and Spirit, than he had done throughout his whole *Consulate*. *I am now no longer surprized*, Conscript Fathers, said he to the Senate, *at the little Power you have over the People. Your Levities and Changes make you contemptible in their Eyes, and authorize their Disobedience to your Decrees. You enact, that no annual Magistrate shall continue in his Office beyond his Year, and because the People have despised your Laws, you likewise would, by way of Emulation, break them too. You are in this even more blameable than the People, and your Conduct contradicts the Equity of your Judgments. To imitate the Example of those who break your Laws, is to declare those Laws frivolous; it is even to authorize Licentiousness. No, no, I will not walk in the Steps of the Tribunes. Let them perpetuate themselves in their Offices! For my part, I absolutely refuse to keep mine. And let but my Colleague support me in this Resolution, and I shall be more indebted to him, for preserving me from a second Consulate, than for procuring me the first.*

Livy B. 3.
c. 21.

WORDS so full of Reason, and so disinterested, could not but gain the Applause of the Senate: All were satisfied, that this Conduct was truly wise. So that they unanimously resolved, *That no body should name Quintius for Consul, and that if any Votes were given for him, they should go for nothing.* This great Man, after he had once born the Office of *Consul* with Glory, and refused with more Glory to bear it a second time, retired from the City, to live in Tranquillity in his Cottage. Nevertheless, before he went, he presided in the *Comitia*, in which *Q. Fabius Vibulanus* was made *Consul* a third time, and *L. Cornelius*, ³⁹ surnamed *Maluginensis*, was made his Colleague.

Dion. Hal.
B. 10. Ibid.

³⁹ Diodorus gives *Lucius Cornelius* the Surname of *Curetinus*. There is nothing left of *Cornelius's* Surname, in the *Fasti Capitolini*, but the two Letters U S. We are inclined to believe that this

Consul was surnamed *Cossus*, in those *Fasti*; at least, it's certain this Surname belonged to the *Cornelian* Family.

Year of
ROM E
CCXCIV.

Q. FABIVS VI-
RULANVS AND
L. CORNELIVS
MALUGINEN-
SIS, Consuls.

Livy B. 3.

c. 22.

Dion. Hal.

B. 10. p. 647.

§. IX. UNDER the new *Consuls*, the Pretensions of the *Tribunes*, and intestine Commo-
tions revived together. *Virginius*, being made *Tribune* a third Year, still hotly pro-
secuted the passing the *Terentian Law*. But the News, which came to *Rome* of the
sudden Motion of the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, suspended his Pursuits. The *Romans* were
informed by their Allies, that the Enemies of the Republick, having a little recovered
themselves from their late Losses, were entered into the Country of the *Antiates*;
that the treacherous City of *Antium* had delivered it self up to the *Volsci*; and that
even the *Romans*, who made a Colony in it, suffered themselves to be drawn into
the Revolt of the ancient Inhabitants. This was too desperate a Disease, not to re-
quire a speedy Remedy: But it was then the Policy of the *Tribunes*, to take Advan-
tage of the publick Necessities, by making them serviceable to their own Scheme.
They could not without Difficulty be brought to consent, that Troops should be raised
at *Rome*, soon enough to prevent the Irruptions of ⁴⁰ the Enemy. The *Consuls* chose
the military Expeditions they were to undertake, by Lot. It fell to *Fabius*, to go to
the Country of the *Antiates* to drive out the *Volsci* from thence; and to *Cornelius*, to
continue with his Army in the *Roman* Territory, to defend it against the Incursions
and Pillage of the *Æqui*. It is probable the greatest part of *Cornelius's* Soldi-
ers were *Roman* Citizens. At least, *Fabius*, his Colleague's Army, was reckoned
to consist of two thirds of Allies, and only one third of *Roman* Forces: Which was
an unusual Proportion, since the *Consular* Armies had for a long time consisted of ⁴¹
half *Romans*, and half Allies. *Fabius* marched out of *Rome*, and first encamped near
the Gate *Capena*; where he reviewed his Army, and found it to be made up equally
of *Latins*, *Hernici*, and *Romans*. From thence he marched towards *Antium*, and
posted himself pretty near the Gate of the City, within reach of the Enemy. The
Volsci kept close in their Entrenchments, expecting to be joined by the *Æqui*, who
were to come soon and increase their Army. *Fabius* did not defer besieging the
Camp of the *Volsci*. He divided his Army into three ⁴² Bodies, according to the
Nations of which it consisted, and placed himself at the Head of his *Romans* in the
Center, between the *Latins* and the *Hernici*. He commanded the two Wings to
be very watchful of the Signal both for fighting and retreating, that they might
all act jointly and uniformly. As for his Horse *Fabius* did not post them, as usual,
in the two Wings, but in the third Line, as well of the Center, as of the Wings. In
this fine order the *Roman* Army advanced towards the Entrenchments of the *Volsci*;
who immediately left their Ramparts. They were invested and threatened on all
sides: And it was the more easy to attack the Fortifications of a Camp, which was
full of Terror. Almost all the *Volsci* were drawn up, upon one Spot of the Ground
which they had taken Possession of. But the *Consul* drove them from thence, and
their Flight was followed by a general Slaughter. The *Roman* Cavalry, which had
not acted in the Siege, because only the two first Lines had been employed in the
Assault, had its Share in the Victory. They pursued the flying Enemy, and covered
the Plain with Dead. The Plunder was a great Booty to the *Roman* Army, who
were scarce able to carry away the Spoils of the Enemy. And the *Volsci* had been de-
stroyed at that time, if a neighbouring Forest had not given a Retreat to the Remains
of their routed Forces.

Livy B. 3.
c. 23.

Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 646.

BUT though the *Romans* were victorious on one side, the *Æqui* had the Advan-
tage on the other. Marching out of their Country, to return to pillaging, as usual,
they had entered into the Territory of the *Latins*; and had by Night surprized
the City of *Tusculum*. The Enemies of *Rome* were enraged against these faithful
Latins, who alone of all her Allies had brought her any Succours after the tak-
ing of the *Capitol*. Hence came the inhuman Treatment the *Æqui* gave the
People of *Tusculum*, of whom they made a terrible Slaughter. The Women and
Children especially, who could not escape, all perished by the Sword, or were

⁴⁰ *Dion. Hal.* adds, that the Senate, being alarmed at the Storm which threatened the Republick, had made a Decree, in which they declared all those *Romans* and Allies Enemies to their Country, who should refuse to march against the Enemy.

⁴¹ The Cavalry of the Allies was, in *Polybius's* Time, double to that of the *Romans*. The Infantry of both was equal.

⁴² *Polybius* says the *Consuls* who commanded

the *Roman* Army, reserved for themselves the fifth part of the Foot, and the third of the Horse, of the Troops of the Allies. They had a right to choose them. With these chosen Men the *Roman* Generals formed a Body, which was at their Disposal, either to begin the Attack, or to reinforce the Legions, as there was Occasion. The rest were divided into two Bodies, which were placed on the two Flanks to support the Legions.

reduced to Slavery. As for the Men, a great Number of them saved themselves by flight, and came to *Rome* to tell their Misfortunes. The Republick was bound in Honour and Gratitude to fly to the Assistance of the unhappy *Tusculans*; but, which is almost incredible, the *Tribunes* refused the Consul *Cornelius* any new Levies, till such time as the *Terentian* Law had been accepted. Their Obstinacy, on this Head, got the better of all the Principles of the *Roman* Virtue. *Fabius* therefore applied himself to deliver a City, which could not be abandoned by the *Romans* without Ingratitude. He hastened thither with all the Diligence of one Friend, who is sensible of the Dangers of another. It must be granted, that the *Roman* Magnanimity was then in a manner confined to the *Patricians*. The Consul left the Pursuit of his Victory, which he had gained over the *Volsci* in the Neighbourhood of *Antium*; and without other Provisions, than a little Food, which the Soldiers picked up in haste, he came and appeared before *Tusculum*. It was left to *Cornelius* to take care to send Convoys of Provision to his Collegue's Army.

FABIUS's Design was to attack the Walls of *Tusculum*, and the Camp of the *Æqui*, at the same time. He therefore divided his Army into two Parts. One half he gave the *Tusculans*, to assist them in recovering their City; and with the other he hastened to invest the *Æqui* in their Entrenchments. But these, finding themselves too weak to hold out against the Consul, instantly decamped, and ran to join the *Volsci* in the Defiles of the Hill *Algidus*. So that *Fabius* returned to the Siege of *Tusculum*, with all his Forces. The City was very strong, not only by Situation, but also by the Works the *Tusculans* had raised about it, and the numerous Garrison the *Æqui* had left in it; insomuch that *Fabius*'s Attempts to take it by Force were in vain, and he therefore resolved to starve it out. Accordingly it was reduced to great Extremity, in a few Days: And the *Æqui* demanded a Capitulation. The Conqueror admitted them to Terms, and promised them their Lives, upon the publick Faith; but he left the *Tusculans* the Pleasure of making them all pass under the ⁴³ Yoke, naked and unarmed. In the mean time *Fabius*, though better pleased with restoring his Allies their City, than with his former Victory, yet did not defer pursuing the Enemy, in the By-roads of *Algidus*. He began his March in the Evening, after the Sun was down, and continuing it all Night, came in sight of the united *Æqui* and *Volsci*, by break of Day. *Columa*, now *Colonna*, was the Place where he came up with the Enemy. He found them lying down in a Plain, in Confusion, and without Ditches or Entrenchments. They were upon their own Lands, and were under no Apprehensions from the *Romans*. So that *Fabius* took Advantage of their Security. He made the first Attack in Person, at the Head of his Cavalry. His Infantry followed him, and made the Hill ring with their Shouts. Such of the Enemy as were yet asleep were cut to pieces; those who made any Resistance, were overcome, and if some Historians may be believed, they all, to a Man, were left dead upon the Place. But others contend, that they took a great Number of Prisoners, and recovered those, whom the *Æqui* had taken from the *Tusculans*, at the Surprize of their City. After this, *Fabius* penetrates, with the same Expedition, into the Heart of the Territory of the *Volsci*: And they all fled for Refuge to *Ecetræ* their Capitol. At least their Lands were left exposed to the Plunder of the *Romans*, and their Soldiers; who took the Advantage of it, and were rich for a great while.

THE Consul *Cornelius* likewise had his Turn. He had continued unactive, whilst he had Reason to be under any Apprehensions about the *Roman* Territory. But as

⁴³ It was customary with the *Romans*, to humble a conquered Enemy, and treat them with Ignominy, by making them pass under the Yoke. They gave this Name to a sort of Gallows, consisting of two Stakes, set perpendicular into the Ground, and a third laid cross them. Sometimes, they stuck two Pikes into the Ground, and laid a third cross them, without farther Ceremony. Such of the Enemy as had surrendered to the Conqueror, were obliged to pass under this Yoke, after which they recovered their Liberty, and had leave to return into their own Country. Such as had been taken in Arms, were either punished with Death, or reduced to Slavery, and put up to publick Sale: Which was called *sub corona venire*, because, according to *Au-*

lus Gellius B. 7. c. 4. and according to *Cato*, in a Book he had written upon the Art of War, the Enemies taken in War were put to sale, with a Crown upon their Heads, probably by way of Derision. *Aulus Gellius*'s Words are these. *Sicuti antiquitus mancipia, jure belli capta, coronis induta veniebant, & idcirco dicebantur sub corona venire; namque ut ea corona signum erat captivorum venalium, ita pileus impositus demonstrabat, ejusmodi servos venditari, quorum nomine emptor venditori nihil præstabat, vel quod milites custodiæ causâ, captivorum venalium greges circumstarent: Eaque circumstatio militum corona appellata sit sed id magis verum est quod supradictum.*

Year of
R O M E
CCXCIV.
Q. FABIVS VI-
BULANUS and
L. CORNELIVS
MALUGINEN-
SIS, Consuls.

Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 647.
Livy B. 3.
c. 23.

Livy B. 3. Ibid.
Dion. Hal.
B. 10. Ibid.

Year of
R O M E
CCXCI
Q. FABIVS VI-
BULANUS, and
L. CORNELIVS
MALUGINEN-
SIS, Consuls.

soon as *Fabius's* Victories had secured it, his Colleague wholly applied himself to the Pursuit of Glory, and the doing Service to his Country. He turned his Arms to the Conquest of treacherous *Antium*, and came to finish *Fabius's* Scheme. Upon his Entrance into the Country of the *Antiates*, he found there an Army of *Æqui* and *Volsci*, which waited for him. But one single Battel put them to flight and dispersed them. After this, *Cornelius*, who encamped within reach of the City, expected the Citizens to march out, and give him a second Battel. But Fear kept them within their Walls. *Cornelius* therefore now thought of nothing but wasting all the Country round the Place; when all on a sudden, the *Antiates* opened their Gates, and came out in Confusion to engage him. They were however instantly repulsed by the *Roman* Troops, almost without coming to any Engagement, and driven back fighting, till they came within their 44 Ramparts. And *Cornelius* took the Advantage of their Consternation. He immediately ordered their Walls to be scaled, and their Gates broke open with the *Ram*, without giving them time to breathe. Upon this the Besieged made but a little Resistance, *Antium* was retaken, and once more brought into Subjection to the Republick. The Spoils were divided between the publick Treasury, and the *Roman* Soldiers. The Gold, Silver, and Brass, which were found there, were carried to *Rome*, and put into the Hands of the *Questors*, as well as the Slaves, who were sold for the Benefit of the Republick. The Provisions, Moveables, and other Utensils of the Citizens, were given up to the Plunder of the Troops. The Consul made the Nobility of the Place, and the most considerable Inhabitants of the City, Examples of Severity. They had been the Authors of the Revolt, and were therefore carried by his Order into the Market-place, and first whipped with Rods for a great while, and then beheaded by the *Lictors*. The *Æqui* found themselves so much weakened by so many Losses, that their only Refuge was to have Recourse to the Clemency of the *Romans*. Upon which, the Senate granted them a Peace, on the same Conditions, on which it had formerly been granted to the *Latins*, and the *Hernici*. They were left in Possession of their own Cities, Lands, and Laws; but under the Dominion of *Rome*. They were likewise exempted from paying any Tribute, and put under no Obligations to the Republick, but that of assisting her with their Troops, whenever the Senate should call for them. This warlike and turbulent Nation, would from that time have been thought by the *Romans* a conquered People, if the natural Inconstancy of the *Æqui* had not soon after broke their Union with them.

BUT whilst the *Consuls* were employed Abroad, in gaining Battels, taking Cities, and keeping the Enemy within Bounds, the College of the *Tribunes* at Home still continued to murmur loudly against them. According to them, *Fabius* and *Cornelius* kept their Troops so long out of the City only to obstruct the passing of the *Terentian* Law. If all the Citizens, who are in the Armies, were at *Rome*, the Law, said they, would have been already accepted in lawful Comitia. We will therefore proceed, added they, and go on to pass the Law before the Armies return. *Lucretius*, who was then Governor of *Rome*, was forced to make use of all his Interest, to prevent the *Tribunes* from putting their Designs hastily in Execution. A fresh Accident had just then increased the Discontents of the *Tribunes*. The *Questors* for the present Year were two *Patricians* of great Probity. They discovered that *Volscius* had born false Witness, in the Affair of *Cæso Quinctius*, and had been suborned by *Virginus* to destroy the young *Patrician*. The Proofs they had of his bearing false Witness were unquestionable. It was certain, that the Brother of *Volscius*, whom the *Tribunes* said, *Cæso* had killed with his own Hand, in one of the Streets of *Rome*, before he was recovered from his Sickness, had not stirred out of his Bed, from the

44 Thus far *Livy* agrees exactly with *Dion. Hal.* as to the Defeat of the *Volsci* and *Æqui*, by *Fabius*, before *Antium*; the Revolt of that City from the *Romans*; the taking of *Tusculum* by the *Æqui*; and the retaking it again by the same Consul, who restored it to the *Tusculans*. But the *Latin* Author seems to question whether *Lucius Cornelius* had any part in this War, or even in the taking of *Antium*, the Honour of which is given to *Cornelius* by the *Greek* Historian. *Livy* says he found no mention of this Fact in the antient Annals, which furnished him with his Materials. *Lucium*

Cornelium bellum id gessisse, oppidumque cepisse, certum affirmare, quia nulla apud vetustiores scriptores ejus rei mentio est, non ausim. It is probable *Livy* had not seen the Memoirs, *Dion. Hal.* made use of. Besides the relation of the *Greek* Historian is confirmed by the *Fasti Capitolini*. They tell us that both *Consuls* obtained the Honours of a Triumph. *Livy* himself does not deny it; but is forced to acknowledge it some Lines after. This plainly shews the Inconsistency of the Story, and the Contradiction of its Author.

time that he was seized with that Sickness, but languished till he died of it. It was likewise demonstrated that *Cæso* was in the Army at the time that he was accused of committing this Murder in *Rome*, and that he had not left the Army the whole Campaign. The Question at present, was not indeed, whether *Cæso* should be recalled from his Banishment; for it appears that he was dead, when the *Questors* undertook to justify him. *Volscius* was then one of the *Tribunes*, and his nine Collegues were his Friends and his Defenders. Nevertheless the two *Questors* had the Courage to cite him to appear before the People. But *Volscius* finding they had such very convincing Proofs of his Crime, was suspicious of the Success of his Cause, and refused to appear, though a *Tribune*, and protected: And the *Tribunes* his Defenders protested against holding any Assembly of the *Comitia* by the *Questors*, till the Affair of the *Terentian* Law was concluded. These Contests, which were spun out, were continued till the *Consuls* returned. The Senate went out to meet them without the Gates of the City, and they both entered triumphantly into *Rome*.

Year of
R O M E
CCXCIV.
Q. FABIVS
VIBULANVS,
and L. COR-
NELIVS MA-
LUGINENSIS,
Consuls.

Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 648.
and *Fasti Ca-*
pitoli.

No *Consuls*, for a great while past, had more justly deserved the Honours of a Triumph. They had both won Battels, taken Cities, and had forced a turbulent Nation to submit to the Dominion of *Rome*. Their Administration had not been disturbed by very many Commotions at Home, for so tempestuous a Season. For the remaining part of their Year, neither the *Questors* said any thing of condemning *Volscius*, nor the *Tribunes* of their *Terentian* Law. The latter had a Design in view, which more nearly concerned them; which was to get themselves continued *Tribunes* a fourth, Year. It was probably in this quiet Interval, that the *Consuls* finished the *Census* of the People, which had been begun the Year before, by their Predecessors, and been interrupted by the taking of the *Capitol*. They reckoned up 132419 Citizens of *Rome*, exclusive of the Women, the Children under Age to bear Arms, the Slaves, and the meanest of the Artificers. This was the tenth *Lustrum*, since *Servius Tullius* first established them.

Livy B. 3. c. 24.

§. X. THE illustrious *Consuls* of the last Year left *C. Nautius* and *L. Minutius* 45, who succeeded them, two Affairs to finish, which disturbed the beginning of their Administration. The *Tribunes* were always hotly bent upon their *Terentian* Law; and the Nobility pursued the Prosecution of *Volscius*, who seems to have purchased the *Tribunate*, with the false Witness he gave against *Cæso Quintius*. *Volscius*, as well as his Collegues, were still continued in their Offices by an illegal Election. The whole College of *Tribunes* therefore made use of all their Interest, both to pass the Law, and divert the Condemnation of *Volscius*. As to the latter Article, the *Questors* for the Year were Men of Weight enough to carry it against the *Tribunes*. *T. Quintius* was then *Questor*, after having been three times *Consul*, and was related to the unfortunate *Cæso*. His Relation to him authorized his revenging the Calumny thrown upon his Cousin, and his clearing the *Manes* of the Dead from the Assassination, with which he had been charged. The *Tribunes* had no Refuge left, but to demand that *Comitia* might first be held for the passing the *Terentian* Law, before they suffered any to be held, to try *Volscius*. And the Compromise was this, that they should submit their Law to the Examination of the *Consuls* for two Months, that they might give the People their Opinions of it, that is, shew them the Inconveniencies which would attend it. After which, the *Tribunes* should be permitted to make their Report of it to the *Centuries* in their Turn, and they, on their side, promised that they would then consent that *Volscius's* Cause should be determined by the Suffrages of the People. The *Consuls* thought, by this means, to have gained two Months Tranquillity, but it was soon interrupted by foreign Wars. The *Æqui* were too restless and too proud, to continue long in a peaceable Subjection to *Rome*. The Treaty they had made the last Year became burthensome to them. They therefore found out an Evasion to break it, with some shew of Justice. They had not included the Allies of *Rome*, in the Conventions they had made with the *Romans*, nor had they engaged themselves not to make War with them. This indeed was a meer Shift; for to disturb the Peace of the Allies of any Nation, whom it is obliged to defend, is in reality declaring War against that Nation

Year of
R O M E
CCXCV.
C. NAUTIVS,
and L. MINU-
TIUS, Con-
suls.

Livy B. 3.
c. 25.

45 *Diodorus* gives *Lucius Minutius* the Surname of *Carutianus*. That of *Angurinus* was common in the *Minutian* Family. The same Author, and the *Fasti Capitolini* give *Caius Nautius* the Surname of *Rutilus*. The *Fasti Siculi* make *Nautius* and *Atratinus* *Consuls* for this Year 295.

Year of
R O M E
CCXCV.

C. NAUTIUS
and L. MINU-
TIUS, Consuls.
Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 649.
and Livy B. 3.
Ibid.

itself. But the *Æqui* had no Regard to these Considerations. They placed a Lord of their own Country over them, whose Name was *Cluilius* or *Clælius*. He was a rich Man, who had usurped a sort of sovereign Authority, in his Republick; and had a great deal of Activity, joined with great Ingenuity. He made a sudden Irruption into the Country of the *Latins*, and penetrated into the Territory of *Tusculum*, by *Labicum*. From thence he retired near *Algidus* loaded with Spoil, and there encamped. The People of *Rome* were surprized at this Attempt of the *Æqui*, and the Breach of their Promises. Yet still they treated them as Allies. Before they would declare War with them, they sent them a Deputation of three Men, who were illustrious, both for their Exploits and their Triumphs. These were *Fabius*, the Consul for the last Year, *P. Volumnius*, and *A. Posthumius*. The Envoys demanded of *Cluilius* Satisfaction for his Irruption into the Territory of the *Tusculans*, so soon after a Treaty had been concluded with *Rome*. You can complain, said they, of no Act of Hostility committed against you, by our Allies. Restore therefore the Slaves you have taken from them; make them Reparation for the Mischief you have done them by your Incursions; and withdraw your Army far from their Lands. *Cluilius* long deferred giving the Romans any Answer, and pretended Variety of Business prevented him. But at last he gave them another Audience, and with an haughty Air, said: It is surprizing, Romans, that you should revenge your own Injuries with so much Fury; and yet not suffer other People, who are injured, to revenge the Mischiefs that are done them by their Enemies, by force of Arms. Have we engaged ourselves, by any Treaty with you, to spare the *Tusculans*? If we have done any Mischief upon your Lands, we are ready to give you Satisfaction; but if you only demand that Reparation be made for what the *Tusculans* have suffered, this Oak may answer you for me: Pointing to a great Oak which stood by him, and which spreading its Shade round the Place, served for the General's Tent. Yes, boldly replied one of the Roman Deputies, this sacred Oak, and all the Gods in Heaven will be Witnesses and revenge us of your Perjuries. Our Arms, and the Protection of the despised Gods, will soon make you repent of them. No sooner were the Envoys returned to *Rome*, but the Senate ordered three Armies to be raised, one to defend the City, a second to march against *Cluilius*, and the third to go and lay waste the Country of the *Æqui*. Then the *Tribunes* had recourse to their usual Intrigues. They opposed the inlisting of the People, for fear the passing their *Terentian* Law should be deferred, till the Armies and Consuls returned. But a fresh Danger, which threatened the Republick, made the People themselves neglect the Oppositions of their *Tribunes*. At the same time that the *Æqui* had declared themselves against the *Tusculans*, some Cantons of *Sabines* had conspired to come and plunder the Territory of *Rome*. They entered it with Confidence, and penetrated as far as to the City ⁴⁶ of *Fidena*, which was but forty *Stadia* distant from *Rome*. The Fear of these new Enemies made an Impression on the Minds of the People, and the Citizens themselves demanded that two Armies should be raised. One was committed to the Command of the Consul *Nautius*, and was appointed to march against the *Sabines*. His Colleague *Minutius* was appointed to march with the other, to revenge the Wrongs of the *Tusculans*, and punish the *Æqui*. *Nautius* executed his Commission happily. He came and encamped at *Eretum*, and by little Skirmishes, and Incursions by Night, without attempting a general Action, made Reprisals upon the *Sabines*, for the Plunder they had taken in the Roman Territory. As to the *Æqui*, the Romans shewed them all the Regard, which Clemency inspires, in favour of Allies. They sent some *Feciales* to them to declare War with them, if they refused to give the *Tusculans* Satisfaction. At last, *Minutius* set out from *Rome*, and came and encamped near *Algidus*, in sight of *Cluilius*. Here this Consul, who was a good Citizen, but a bad Officer, immediately disgraced himself by his timorous and irresolute Conduct. Instead of attacking the Enemy boldly, he kept himself hid in his Entrenchments, and his Fear increased the Confidence of the *Æqui*. *Cluilius* judged, by the Posture of the Roman Army, that he might deceive this unex-

Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 648.

Livy B. 3.
c. 26.

⁴⁶ Thus we ought to read the Roman MS. and *Lapus's* Version, according to the Greek Text of *Dion. Hal.* Some, instead of *Fidena*, read with some MSS. as far as *Dyna*. But besides that we no where find any Footsteps of this pretended City, that here spoken of, is a City of the *Sabines*, about

forty *Stadia* distant from *Rome*. This Distance agrees with *Fidena*, and gives room to suppose, that the Copyists have taken some of the Syllables of the Word *Fidena*, and made another City of them, under the Name of *Dyna*.

perienced General by a Stratagem of War. He therefore decamped, with Design to make the *Roman* Army follow him, and lead it into a Valley surrounded by Hills on all sides. As for himself, he marched out of it with his Troops, through a Pass which he kept guarded, and forced the *Romans*, in spite of themselves, to encamp in the Place where they were shut in. There the *Roman* Troops saw themselves without Forrage for their Cavalry, and unable, without the utmost Difficulty, to get any Convoys of Provision. The Enemy had seized all the Passages which lead to the Valley. Then the *Æqui* attempted to attack the *Roman* Camp; but the *Consul* bravely repelled Force with Force. But he had not the same Success when he attempted to break his Way through the Defiles of which the *Æqui* had made themselves Masters. The *Romans* were always repulsed in their Attacks, and forced to continue in their Camp. The *Consul* was in the utmost Danger, when five Horse, who escaped out of the invested Camp, came and brought the News to *Rome*. In the mean time *Clulius*, to make the Escape of the *Romans* yet more difficult, dug a Ditch, and raised Forts round about them. He expected to take them Prisoners at Discretion, and to force them by Hunger to lay down their Arms. The Report of *Minutius's* Danger threw the *Romans* into a Consternation. They were as much frightened, as if *Rome* itself had been besieged. They therefore hastened to recal *Nautius* from *Sabinia*; but he seemed too weak a Man to bear the Weight of the present State of Affairs. So that they were a great while considering what to do; and at last thought no Expedient better, than that of creating a *Dictator*.

Year of
R O M E
CCXCV.
C. NAUTIUS
and L. MINUTIUS, Consuls.

§. XI. THE famous *Quintius Cincinnatus*, whose Retreat seemed to have made him forgotten, was without Delay nominated to the Dictatorship. Poverty did not then stop up the Way to great Honours; it was not so much Pomp, as solid and known Merit, which led to them. In the mean time *T. Quintius* the *Questor* was dispatched in haste with some Troops, to observe the Situation of the Enemy, and give an Account of it. Then a Message was sent to fetch *Cincinnatus* from his Cottage, beyond the *Tyber*, over against the Place, which has since served for a Port to the City. The Train of Attendants that was sent to him, was numerous. Four and twenty *Lictors* with their *Axes* and *Fasces* went before the *Roman* Deputies, and this Train was followed by a good Number of led Horses for the War.

Year of
R O M E
CCXCV.
QUINTIUS
CINCINNATUS, Dictator.

AN Officer brought him the purple Habit, made after the Fashion of those worn by the Kings, which was now only worn by *Dictators*, as a Mark of their sovereign Authority. The laborious *Quintius* was then at Work in his Field⁴⁸ with his Wife *Racilia*.

As he had undressed himself to be the more fit for Work, as soon as he saw a Company coming towards him, he sent *Racilia* to fetch his Robe out of his Hut, that he might receive the Deputation in a decent manner. And when he had got his City-habit on, *How go Affairs*, said he to the Envoys, still keeping his Spade in his Hand? *Rome*, replied they, *being in the utmost Danger stands in need of a Dictator, and has pitched upon you to be the Man. You are the only Refuge your Country has.* At these Words he sighed, as formerly, when he was made *Consul*, and was sorry to be again obliged to leave his Field uncultivated. Nevertheless he obeyed the Orders of the Senate, and after he had cleaned himself, took the Habit of his new Dignity. A Boat lay ready to carry him to *Rome* down the *Tyber*: And when he landed his three Sons were upon the Bank of the River, and lent him their Hands to help him ashore. His Friends and Relations waited for him on the Strand, and the best part of the Senate came to meet him. He entered *Rome*, preceded by the *Lictors*, and attended by a Multitude of the Nobility; and was conducted to his House with the Acclamations of the People. But it must be owned, that the Multitude were afraid, a Man of an austere Virtue, when invested with the supream Authority, would make many Alterations in the Manners and Customs of the City.

⁴⁷ This Port of *Rome* was made near the Bridge *Sublicius*. *Dion. Hal.* assures us it was built by King *Ancus Martius*. Hither the Barks laden with Wine from *Hetruria* and *Campania*, came to unload. So that the Gate, which stood on that side of the City, was called *Porta Vinaria*. It had likewise the Name of *Porta Navalis*, from the Latin Word *Navalia*; which was the Name given to the Port we speak of. This Gate was likewise afterwards called *Porta Portuensis*, because it led towards the Port of *Ostia*.

⁴⁸ This Field contained but four Acres. In *Livy's* time, it was a Meadow called *Prata Quintia*, i. e. *Quintius's Meadows*. *Entropius* speaks of it, *B. 1.* This Meadow lay at a small Distance from *Rome*, in *agro Paticano*, according to *Pliny B. 18.* between the Place where at present lies the Vineyard of *Medicis*, or *la Vigna di Madama*, the Castle of *St. Angelo*, and the Gate of the People. This Field is known at *Rome*, by the Name of *Di Prati*.

Year of
R O M E
CCXCV.
QUINTIUS
CINCINNA-
TUS, Dictator.

Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 651.

Livy B. 3.
c. 27.

NEVERTHELESS, the Harangue the *Dictator* made to the People, removed all their Fears, and filled them with Courage and Confidence. The Night approaching, he only ordered that a good Guard should be kept upon the Ramparts. The next Day, as soon as it was Light, *Quintius Cincinnatus* assembled the *Comitia*, and in them chose himself a General of Horse, as was usual with *Dictators*. His Choice fell upon a Man as poor and as brave as himself. Who was 49 *L. Tarquinius*, a Man born of a *Patrician* Family, but not a very famous one. He had to this time never served but on Foot, and his Poverty had concealed his Merit. The *Dictator* had observed his Valour and good Conduct, in the Campaigns *Tarquinius* had made under him, and his Esteem for him led him to do him Justice. The first Order the *Dictator* made, was that all the Tribunals, and all the Shops in *Rome*, should be shut up. Then he commanded all the Youth in the City and Country to take Arms, and assembled the Troops of the Allies. And now the Army was soon got ready, because the *Tribunes* dared not oppose the Will of the *Dictator*.

THEN *Quintius* ordered his Soldiers to be in the *Campus Martius*, before Sun-set, and every Man to bring with him five Days Provision, and twelve Stakes for Pallisades. He ordered the Veterans to serve as Bakers, and bake the Bread for the young Men; and gave the latter Leave to cut their Stakes wherever they found them. Accordingly the Troops appeared at the *Rendezvous*, ready to march, and to fight. The *Dictator* put himself at the Head of the Foot, *Tarquinius* commanded the Horse, and they marched with incredible Expedition. *Quintius* was perpetually telling his Troops, that the Victory depended upon their Expedition, and that it was of the utmost Consequence for them to come up with the *Æqui* before Day. The Words *March, March, Advance, Advance*, were communicated from Legion to Legion, and from Cohort to Cohort. The Soldiers repeated them, to encourage one another, and to please their Commanders. And indeed every Moment was precious. The Business was to deliver a *Consular* Army, which was likely to be destroyed, if they were negligent. Their March therefore was so quick, and the Vigour of the Soldiers so great, that they came near *Algidus* about Midnight.

Dion. Hal.
B. 10. Ibid.

THE first Precaution the *Dictator* took, was to possess himself of the Eminencies which surrounded the *Æqui*, to prevent their receiving any Succours. Then he rode round their Entrenchments, in order to discover the Situation of them, as far as the Night would give him leave. And lastly, he ordered all the Baggage to be put together in one Place. These Preparations were followed by a March, very like that from *Rome* to *Algidus*. The Troops filed off quite round the Entrenchments the *Æqui* had made, in the same order in which they came, to surround *Minutius's* Camp. So that the Enemies were themselves invested, and to compleat their Misfortune, they had two *Roman* Armies to fight with, one before them, in the middle of the Valley where the *Consul* was shut up, the other behind them, upon the Eminencies, where the *Dictator* had posted himself.

Livy B. 3.
c. 28.

QUINTIUS made known his Arrival to the *Consul*, by his Troops making a great Shout all at once. The Sound of it spread it self through the Valley, and reached the invested Camp. Upon this, the *Consular* Army thought that Succours were arrived, and expressed as much Joy at it, as the *Æqui* did Terror. *Minutius* judged by the Shouts of the *Romans*, not only that a *Roman* Army was come to his Defence, but also that they were already engaged with the Enemy. He therefore called his Troops to Arms, and without tarrying for the Light, began the Battel with another Shout, which was heard in the *Dictator's* Army. The *Æqui* first turned their Arms against *Quintius* to hinder his surrounding them, but they were called back to assist their Troops, which the *Consul*, marching out of his Camp, had already repulsed with Vigour, in order to make himself a Way through the Army which invested him. The *Dictator* therefore took the Opportunity of this Time to finish his Contravallation. The Stakes the Soldiers had brought were of great use to him. They served for building several little Forts, at different Distances, whereby the *Æqui* were so shut in, as to have no Way left to escape.

Dion. Hal.
B. 10. Ibid.

49 In other Editions of *Livy*, we read *Lucius Tarquinius* instead of *L. Tarquinius*. But this is a Mistake of the Copyists. The Family of the *Tarquini* was proscribed at *Rome*. It appears likewise that the Branch of King *Tarquin the Proud* was

absolutely extinct. Besides, *Livy's* adding that *Tarquinius* was of a *Patrician* Family, would have been absolutely useless, if he was speaking of a *Tarquin*.

CLULIUS

CLUILLIUS then saw himself in the same Extremities, to which he had reduced the *Consul Minutius*. He wanted Provisions, and had two *Roman* Armies to engage with. His Enemies did not give him a Moment's time to breathe, and his Troops were not able to support two Attacks at the same Time. It was therefore so absolutely necessary to submit, and have recourse to humble Supplications. Then the *Consul* and the *Dictator* took a Pleasure in humbling the proud *Cluilius*. They sent him backwards and forwards from one to the other, and first made Sport of him, before they inflicted a more severe Punishment upon him. At length, the *Dictator* gave the Envoys of the *Æqui* a hearing; who asked nothing of the *Romans* but Peace and Life. No, replied the *Dictator*, *I don't thirst after your Blood, but I must punish your Perfidiousness. Let Cluilius, and the chief Commanders of your Troops, and Heads of the Revolt, be brought hither in Chains. I will give the rest of the Army leave to return into their own Countries, with Impunity. Only, you shall all pass under the Yoke, to imprint it more strongly on your Memory, that the Æqui are a Nation conquered by the Romans.*

THE Yoke was then a sort of Door-case, made by three Lances, two of which were fixed into the Ground like Side-posts, and the third laid over them like a Lintel. A People, which had passed under the Yoke, was thought subdued. The *Dictator* would likewise have the City of *Corbio*, which then belonged to the *Æqui*, plundered, by way of Reprizal for the Plunder of *Tusculum*; only sparing the Lives and Liberty of the Citizens who were Freemen. All these Articles were accepted. *Cluilius* and his Accomplices in the Revolt were delivered up to the *Dictator*, and the *Æqui* marched out of their Camp, under the *Roman Yoke*, striped and disarmed. *Quintius* distributed the Spoil they had taken in the Enemy's Camp, and out of the City of *Corbio*, only among the Soldiers of his own Army. The *Dictator* thought the *Consul Minutius*, and his Legions, did not deserve to share the Spoil of the *Æqui* with his Troops. *Dastardly Soldiers!* says he to them, *you were almost become a Prey to your Enemies; and it is not therefore just that you should have any Share of their Riches. As for you, Minutius, adds he, you have hitherto behaved your self unworthy of the Consulate, learn therefore to merit it by new Services. Study the Trade of War in an inferior Rank, and barely as a Lieutenant-General in my Army, before you pretend again to command in chief.*

THE Equity of the *Dictator* was applauded, and the *Consul* was obedient: He laid down his Office. *Minutius* and his Army were so far from thinking themselves ill-used by the *Dictator*, that they presented him ⁵¹ with a Crown of Gold of a Pound Weight, and called him their Deliverer. So impartially just were the *Romans* at that



⁵⁰ *Dion. Hal.* differs a little from *Livy*, in his Account of the Circumstances of this Battel. *Cluilius*, says the *Greek* Historian, was personally brave. Far from being surprized at the Approaches of the *Roman* Army, he received it with Steadiness. The Action was sharp on both sides, and the Victory was long disputed. But the *Romans* understood so well how to distribute their Cavalry and Infantry, as occasion offered, and came so seasonably to the Assistance of their Troops, wherever the Enemy seemed to have the Ascendant, that they at last tired out *Cluilius's* Army, which was entirely defeated. The General of the *Æqui* chose, in this Extremity, to fly to his Camp, in order to sell his Life the dearer. But the *Dictator*, who pursued him without Intermission, left him no Way to escape, by means of the high Pallisades he had planted all round the Enemy's Camp, and of an Entrench-

ment he made, and fortified with several Towers, at proper Distances. And he at the same time gave Orders to *Minutius*, to extend his Army behind the *Æqui*, and stop all the Passes, whilst he himself should continue to tire out *Cluilius* with the most vigorous Attacks.

⁵¹ *Aurelius Victor* says, *Cincinnatus* received a *Corona Obsidionalis*, at the Hands of *Minutius*, who gave it him in the Name of the whole Army. This was one of the Marks of Distinction that could be given a Soldier. This military Reward was not given by the General to private Men. The right of giving it belonged to the whole Army, who generally ordered it for him, who had forced the Enemy to raise a Siege, or had delivered Troops which were so posted, that it was difficult for them to escape. This Crown was made of Herbs or Grass gathered upon the

Year of
R O M E
CCXCV.
QUINTIUS
CINCINNAT-
US, Dictator.

Flor. B. 1. c.
11. Orosius
B. 21. c. 12.
Livy B. 3.
c. 29.

that time! *Fabius* the Governor of the City assembled the Senate: Who, as soon as they received the News of so important a Victory, decreed the *Dictator* a Triumph. No General had ever more justly deserved it; and the new Magnificence with which it was adorned, seems to have been a Reward due to *Quintius's* Modesty, who was always averse to Ostentation. It was appointed that when he entered *Rome*, the two Armies, namely that of *Minutius* and his own, should march before him. The General of the Enemy's Army ⁵², and the other Officers of the *Æqui* walked before his Chariot in Chains, two and two, with such *Tokes* as were put upon Oxen about their Necks. Which was doubtless to shew, that the triumphant Victor had been taken from the Plough. Tables were spread before all the Houses in the Streets of *Rome*, and covered with Refreshments for the victorious Soldiers. *Quintius's* Chariot was followed by People who sung triumphal Songs, and by Buffoons ⁵³, who diverted the Spectators with their Drollery. On this glorious Day, the *Dictator* made *L. Mamilius* a Citizen of *Rome*, and rewarded him for his Fidelity, in having formerly run to defend the *Capitol*.

THOUGH *Quintius Cincinnatus* had finished his Expedition in sixteen Days, and had yet near six Months ⁵⁴ to come, before his *Dictatorship* expired, he had Thoughts of laying it down immediately. His beloved Solitude, and his Husbandry, called him into the Country. But his Friends persuaded him to continue in his Office for some Days, to finish the Prosecution against *Volscius*, and to do Justice to the Memory of his Son *Cæso*. The *Curiae* were therefore assembled, by his supreme Authority, and the *Tribunes* durst not oppose it. *Volscius* was condemned by the free Suffrages of the People, to suffer ⁵⁵ according to the Law of Retaliation. He had by a false Calumny forced *Cæso Quintius* to banish himself: And he was now, in his Turn, condemned

to

the Ground which the General had by his Valour brought again under the Dominion of its first Masters. But *Quintius's* was of Gold. It was most commonly made of nothing but *Grass*, and was therefore called *Corona Graminea*. It differed from the *Corona Civica* in this, that the former was the Reward of him, who had saved a City or an Army; whereas the latter was given to him, who had saved only the Life of one of his Fellow-Citizens. *Aulus Gellius* speaks of the *Corona Obsidionalis*, in his fifth Book, thus: *Obsidionalis est, quam ii, qui liberati sunt obsidione, dant ei Duci qui liberavit.* *Pliny* mentions it, B. 22. *Graminea nunquam nisi in suprema desperatione contigit. Nulli, nisi ab universo exercitu servato decreta. Ceteras Imperatores dedere, hanc solum miles imperatori.* The same Author declares how honourable this Reward was, in these Words: *Gemmata [coronæ] & aurea, vallares, murales, rostrata, civica, triumphales, post hanc fuere, suntque cunctæ magno intervallo.* The *Corona Obsidionalis* was almost of the Form it is here represented.

⁵² It was customary for the Victor to be preceded, in the triumphal Procession, by Kings, the principal Commanders of the Enemy's Army, and the Prisoners of War, all loaded with Chains. And it was not uncommon, for the most guilty Persons, who had been the Authors of the War or the Revolt, to be carried to Prison in order to be put to death, whilst the triumphant General was passing from the *Forum* to the *Capitol*; as we learn from *Josephus*, B. 7. and from *Strabo* B. 12. The former adds, that the Victor suspended his offering up the Victims to the Honour of *Jupiter*, till such time as News was brought him, that the Prisoners condemned to die were executed. *Livy* says, that in order to increase the State of *Quintius's* Triumph, the Standards and Ensigns were carried before him. His Troops, loaded with the Spoils of the Enemy, followed the triumphal Pomp. According to the *Capitoline Marbles*, the *Dictator* triumphed on the *Ides*, that is the 13th Day, of *September*.

⁵³ In these publick Rejoicings the Soldiers often mixed with their Songs satirical Reflections, even upon the General himself. We shall meet with more than one Instance of this licentious Custom,

in the Course of this History. It is hard to trace so extravagant a Custom up to its Origin. Indeed, if *Bacchus*, as *Pliny* assures us, was the Author of the first Triumph, the Rise of this Custom is to be sought for in him. The first Footsteps we find of this Licentiousness of the Tongue, are in the Festivals celebrated to the Honour of this God. It is well known, that in the Triumph, which *Alexander* decreed himself, in Imitation of that of *Bacchus*, the common Soldiers gave themselves the Liberty of passing severe Jokes upon the triumphing Victor. But it is nevertheless more probable, that the Liberty which was always given the People by the *Romans* in the Celebration of their Sports, and of some particular Festivals, gave Birth to this Abuse. Their *Saturnalia* were Times of Licence for the Servants with respect to their Masters. In like manner, the Women Servants had the Liberty of reflecting, in the most bitter manner, on their Mistresses, in the *Matronalia*. The Sports of the *Circus* had their Buffoons, in the pompous Procession from the *Capitol*. Men disguised in ridiculous Habits, often turned the most venerable Things into ridicule. This Buffoonery took place even in their funeral Processions. Persons who were hired to play the Buffoon, wore a Mask, which was like the Deceased, and mimicked him in his Gesture, in his Manner, and in whatever was most remarkable about him.

⁵⁴ The *Roman* Laws had limited the time of the *Dictatorship* to six Months. When this Term was expired, the *Dictator* quitted the Marks of his Dignity, and returned the Republick the Power he had entrusted him with. *Dictatorem majores nostri dixerunt, & imperium illi, non ultra sextum mensem dederunt.* *Tully* B. 3. *de Legib.* This Precaution was necessary to prevent the Projects of an ambitious Magistrate. Sometimes, in Cases of great Necessity, the *Dictator* was continued for six Months longer.

⁵⁵ The *Lex Talionis*, or Law of Retaliation enacted, that the Punishment should be equal to the Offence. This Law, which is founded upon natural Principles, and is commanded in the *Old Testament*, was introduced among the *Greeks* by *Solon*. From them it passed to the *Romans*, who made it one of the Laws of the twelve Tables. Never theless

to Banishment, and the Place of his Exile was *Lavinium*. After this, the *Dictator* deferred no longer to quit the Purple. He gave the People an Account of his Administration in an Harangue, wherein he did not say so much of his Services, as of his Zeal for the publick Good. In vain did the Senate offer him a vast Tract of Ground, in the Country he had conquered. In vain did the *Romans* labour to make him accept of a certain Number of Slaves, which he had taken from the Enemy, and to take a Proportion of their Spoils. The virtuous *Quintius*, who so highly deserved great Riches, was afraid he should be corrupted by them. He left *Rome* for his little Field, where he was more glorious in his Poverty, than the richest *Romans* in the midst of their Wealth.

THE Abdication of the *Dictator*, revived the *Tribunes* Earnestness for passing the *Terentian* Law. They again made some Attempts towards it; but there were then two *Roman* Armies in the Field, and the People were not numerous enough to determine the Dispute. The *Consul Nautius* had indeed turned his Arms against the *Sabines*; and given them Battel near *Eretum*, where he came off Conqueror, after he had plundered all their Country. *Fabius* ⁵⁶ on the other Hand, was taken up with pursuing the *Dictator's* Victory, and keeping the *Æqui* to their Duty, whilst Superstition was all the Business at *Rome*. Some Wolves had gone up to the *Capitol*, and been driven from thence by Dogs. The People therefore to avert the Omen, offered expiatory Sacrifices, in the Temple of *Jupiter*.

§. XII. IN the mean time *Rome* changed her *Consuls*. The *Centuries* nominated ⁵⁷ *C. Horatius Pulvillus*, and *Q. Minutius Augurinus*. This last was of the same Family with the deposed *Consul*. The People also chose their *Tribunes*, and in spite of the Decrees of the Senate, *Virginius* and his Collegues were continued a fifth Time. What is most surprizing is, that they recalled *Volscius* from his Banishment, and reinstated him in his Office. The Boldness of the *Tribunes* was then carried to excess. Peace Abroad gave room for their Attempts at Home, and the *Terentian* Law, had long furnished them with Pretences for new Broils. The People were all ready to be in a Flame, when the News of the retaking of *Corbio* by the *Æqui*, came very seasonably, to put a Stop, for some time, to the Animosity of the two Parties. The *Æqui*, tho' they had all passed under the Yoke, yet presumed to make War. Their Humiliation had increased their Audaciousness, and the Clemency of the *Romans*, made them not less Enemies to their Republick. It has been observed already that *Corbio* became subject this last Year to the *Romans*, who had put a Garrison into it. It is probable, the *Æqui*, to whom the antient Inhabitants were still well affected, were by their Treachery introduced into the Place by Night, where they massacred the *Romans* in their Sleep. Nor was this all. Because they durst not penetrate into the *Roman* Territory, they turned their Revenge against the Allies of the *Romans*.

THESE antient Enemies of *Rome* took *Ortona*, a City of *Latium*, by Assault, and sacked it. And not content with having plundered the City, they killed all the Men who were capable of bearing Arms, and carried the old Men, Women, and Children into Slavery. And the whole Expedition was finished with such Dispatch, that the Enemy was already retired into their own Country, before the *Latins* were in a Condition to defend themselves. This Insult enraged the *Romans* against a subjugated Nation; but another Enemy obliged them to divide their Forces. The *Sabines* entering upon the *Roman* Lands, on their side, had made themselves Masters of all the Country from *Crustumium* to *Fidena*. To remedy therefore so many Evils, the *Consuls*, by the Advice of the Senate, ordered two Armies to be raised. But they found the *Tribunes* chicaning with them in the same manner as they had done with the former *Consuls*. They opposed the inlisting Men till the *Terentian* Law was accepted. It is incredible, with what Fury the two Parties fell upon one another with reciprocal Invectives, both

theless this Law of Retaliation was thought unreasonable, in some Cases, wherein this Equality of Punishment could not always be inflicted, without violating the Rules of Equity. Then the *Prætor* permitted the Person injured, to make an Estimate of the Injury or Damage which had been done him; leaving to the Judge a Power to moderate that Valuation, if it was excessively great. Retaliation, understood in this last Sense, was called *Equivalent Retaliation*. We shall soon speak of it, when we come to treat of the twelve Tables.

⁵⁶ After *Minutius's* Abdication, *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, who had performed the Office of Governor of *Rome*, in the *Dictator's* Absence, seems to have been substituted in his Place. At least *Livy* gives us Reason to think so. *Minutius Fabius Quintus* Successor in *Algidum* missus.

⁵⁷ *Diodorus Siculus* is mistaken, in making *Lucius Posthumus* one of the *Consuls* for this Year. The same Author, as well as *Cassiodorus*, gives *Horatius* the *Prænomen* of *Marcus*, instead of that of *Caius*. Against them we have the Authorities of the *Fasti Capitolini*, and *Dion. Hal.*

Year of R O M E CCXCV.
QUINTIUS CINCINNATUS, Dictator.

Year of R O M E CCXCVI.
C. HORATIUS PULVILLUS, and Q. MINUTIUS AUGURINUS, Consuls. Fasti Capitol. Livy B. 3. c. 30.

Dion. Hal. B. 10. p. 652.

Year of
R O M E
CCXCVI.

C. HORATIUS
PULVILLUS,
and Q. MINU-
TIUS AUGURI-
NUS, Consuls.
Livy B. 3.
c. 30.

in the Harangues made to the People, and in the Senate. The *Consuls* were not staggered by the Fury of the *Tribunes*, nor the *Tribunes* brought to any Compliance by the Approach of the Enemy. In the mean time the Republick began to be in imminent Danger: And then the *Tribunes* affected Moderation. But they contrived to take a new Advantage of the publick Distress. Their Project was to demand that the Number of their College should be doubled; and that instead of five, ten *Tribunes* should be created. The Reason of this was, that they had in vain attempted to get a necessary Law passed for five Years together; and that the Reason why the Senate rendered their Attempts fruitless, was only because there were not *Tribunes* enough, to be a match for three hundred Senators. In short they resolved not to consent to the levying of the Troops, till the Senate should have at least consented, to the increasing the Number of the *Tribunes*.

Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 653.

It must be granted, that if the *Patricians* had among them the greatest Share of true *Roman* Wisdom, accompanied with Greatness of Soul; the *Plebeian* Faction, on the other Hand, assisted by the *Tribunes*, was more artful, and generally speaking took more effectual Means to gain their Ends. In the present Instance the Senate was over-reached by the People; whose Power was exceedingly increased by augmenting the Number of their *Tribunes*. In short, the Senators had better have accepted the *Terentian* Law, at that time, than suffered the College of *Tribunes* to get such an Ascendant, as would make them Masters of Affairs ever after, and put them in a Condition to exact the passing of the Law they requested, whenever they pleased. The Steps the *Tribunes* took to obtain this Addition to their College were these. It has been observed that the *Aequi* and the *Sabines* committed Hostilities in the most cruel manner, both in the *Roman* Territories, and those of the Allies of the Republick, with Impunity. *Rome* seemed deaf to the Complaints of her own Subjects in the Country, and to the repeated Cries of the *Latins*. The Enemies over-run the most fruitful Plains, as if they had been a Desert, without meeting with any Resistance. On the other hand, the *Tribunes* rejoiced at it, and thought of nothing but turning it to their own Advantage. Compassion was no where to be found, but in the Breasts of the *Patricians*. Till at last the Obstinacy of the People in opposing the Levies, and the Necessity of raising an Army, were at the same time so great, that the *Consuls* thought themselves obliged to summon an extraordinary Assembly of the Senate to deliberate about the present Troubles. And *Quintius Cincinnatus* was called from his Solitude to assist at it. He, as having been *Dictator*, first gave his Opinion: The Rectitude of whose Intentions, and whose Capacity for publick Business, were well known. *Conscript Fathers*, said he to the Senate, *it is equally dangerous for you, either to grant the People the Law they propose, or to leave our Lands, and those of our Allies, defenceless. To consent to this Law, is to destroy the Authority of the Consuls; it is even degrading the Patricians. To give up our Lands to be plundered by the Enemy, is to lose our Credit among the Nations, which are our Friends; and to increase the Pride of those who are jealous of us. What Method then can we find out to prevent these two Evils at the same Time?* *Conscript Fathers, the present Wounds of the State are not to be cured but by violent Remedies. Consult your own Hearts, what say they? Have you Courage enough to take it upon your selves to deliver our Lands, and to raise an Army of Patricians alone, for the good of our Country? If you dare do it, let the People and their Tribunes continue idle! Let us with our own Forces only, assisted by our Clients, and perhaps some of the wisest of the Citizens, undertake to repulse the Enemy. Happy shall we be, if we die in defence of the common Cause, and yet more so, if we reap the Fruits of a Victory, without suffering the Commonalty to have any Share in it! Let us overlook them, and march against the Enemy our selves. I am not afraid to expose my self to the same Dangers with you; Nor can I imagine that the most antient Senators will refuse their Services to preserve the publick Liberty.*

THE Advice of the illustrious *Quintius* was received with Applause. All the *Patricians*, the oldest not excepted, promised to take the Field, and incorporate themselves into the Legions like common Citizens. And indeed the Number of the Nobles was almost equal to that of the People; they, when joined with their Clients, were capable of making a formidable Army. The *Consul Horatius* was entrusted with putting this Design in Execution. But before he engaged in so uncommon an Undertaking, he thought himself obliged to inform the People of it.

Horatius

Horatius declared the Resolution of the Senate, to the *Curia* assembled; and asked whether they were willing to join with the *Patricians* in their Designs. *Virginius*, who spoke for the *Tribunes*, refused, in the Name of the People, to serve in the Army, till the *Terentian Law* was accepted. Upon this, the Consul addressed himself to him personally in this manner. Great Glory indeed it is for you, *Virginius*, and your *Colleagues*, to have divided the People and the Senate! Shall our Conquests and those of our Ancestors be by that means brought to nought? No, *Virginius*, no. We alone will our selves preserve the Fruits of the Sweat and Blood of so many illustrious Romans. Perhaps the Gods, who have so often blessed this State with their Assistance, will yet protect it. At least we shall find a glorious Death, in endeavouring to save it. As for you, keep your selves shut up like Women, within these Walls, and betray the common Interest, by seeking your own Safety! But what am I saying? Will your Inactivity secure you? Can you possibly avoid losing, either the Glory of the Enterprize if we conquer, or Life and Liberty, if we are conquered? No, all our Misfortunes will rebound upon you. Vain hope, to think to escape the Enemy, when the whole Body of the *Patricians* is cut in pieces by them. You will then see your selves made Slaves by those, whom you have made pass under the Yoke; whose Cities you have sacked; and whose Spoils you have so often turned into Trophies. Where will you then find Commanders to resist and overcome them? Have not all the Generals the Republick has yet had, been taken out of the *Patricians*? These, inconsiderate People, are the Misfortunes into which you are going to plunge your selves! But why do I apply my self to the Multitude, whose only Fault is being too credulous? It is you, *Virginius*, it is you, *Tribunes*, who are the Causes of all our Misfortunes. Your insatiable Desires draw the People on to their Ruin against their Will. But let them run headlong into Destruction; whilst we obtain certain Glory, either by saving our Country, without their Assistance, or by perishing in attempting to save it! As for you, go on with your Schemes for making Laws, when you should be fighting, and continue in an idle Indolence, which may prove fatal to you!

SCARCE had *Horatius* ended his Discourse, when the deep Sighs of the oldest and most venerable Senators, who came to the Assembly with the Consuls, were heard by the People, who began to be moved; when *Horatius* went on in this manner, addressing himself to those wise old Men. Venerable Fathers of your Country, be not afflicted! You have yet some true Sons of *Aeneas* left among the Nobility of Rome, who will carry their Fathers upon their Shoulders, to rescue them from the Sword, and the Flames. When the People, moved at this Sight, and the Consul's Words, began to shew their Concern, the artful *Virginius* took this Opportunity to discover the Design he had in view. No, says he, we don't pretend to obstruct the publick Good. If it be necessary to suspend our Pursuits, as to the *Terentian Law*, we are ready to sacrifice our Interests to the common Necessity. We have only one Favour to ask, which may perhaps put an end to our Desires of obtaining a Law to restrain the arbitrary Proceedings of the Consuls. Double the Number of the *Tribunes*, and the People will readily consent to enter into military Service. But if your Contempt, or your Suspicions, make you give us another Refusal, in an Affair of so little Importance; then accuse your selves only of the Misfortunes you shall bring upon the Republick.

THIS unexpected Request of the *Tribunes* divided the Senate. Very few of them foresaw the Consequences of it. *Quintius Cincinnatus* himself declared for it. Perhaps his Love for his Country, and the Necessity of repulsing the Enemy, might blind him. Or he might be of Opinion, that when the College of the *Tribunes* was increased, it would be the more easy to sow Divisions among them, and their Number would prove fatal to them. The Authority of so wise a *Patrician*, engaged a Majority for his side of the Question. But *Appius Claudius* was of a different Opinion. He seems to have derived from his Fathers an implacable Hatred to the People, and the *Tribunes*. He might likewise be perhaps governed only by the hereditary Maxim of his Family, that all the Requests of the *Tribunes* ought to be suspected, without seeing into all the fatal Consequences that might attend the granting them this Request. He therefore remonstrated to the Senate, that by increasing the College of the *Tribunes*, they would increase their Insolence; that they would not fail of abusing the Readiness of *The Fathers*, in complying with their Demands; that they would not stop there; and that one Favour granted would only be a Step towards asking many more. But it was the Fate of the *Claudii* not to be believed, even when their Remonstrances were of most Advantage to the Republick. *Quintius's* Opinion took

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CCXCVI.

C. HORATIUS
PULVILIUS,
and L. MINU-
TIUS AUGURI-
NUS, Consuls.
Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 657.

took place; and the Senate made a Decree, whereby they gave the People leave to choose ten *Tribunes* for themselves annually; provided they would not continue them above one Year in their Office. The *Centuries* confirmed the Decree with their Suffrages, and then it became a Law. And the People did not delay making use of this new Concession. The *Tribes* were assembled, and they chose two *Tribunes* out of each of the five first Classes; for as to the sixth, it was too contemptible to have any Magistrates taken out of it.

§. XIII. WHEN the *Tribunes* were satisfied, there was no longer any Opposition made to the legal Enrolments. Two Armies were immediately raised. The first fell by Lot to the *Consul Minutius*, to be led against the *Sabines*: the second was committed to the Conduct of *Horatius*, who was to march with it against the *Æqui*. *Minutius* upon his Entrance into *Sabinia* found no Enemies. They were retired into their Cities, and had left their Territory open to the Plunder of the *Romans*. But *Horatius* made a more glorious Campaign. He came up with the *Æqui* near *Algidus*, and gave them Battel. Who being routed, after a considerable Loss, left the Conqueror Master of the Country. He retook *Corbio* and *Ortona* from them, and restored the latter to the *Latins*. But he punished the Inhabitants of *Corbio* with Severity. He razed the City, and it is now difficult to say exactly where it stood.

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LACTUCINUS,
and SP. VIR-
GINIUS TRICO-
STUS, Consuls.
Livy B. 3. and
Dion. Hal.
B. 10. *Ibid.*
Livy B. 3.
c. 31.

THE *Consuls* after this led back their Armies to *Rome*, only to choose their Successors. The Choice of the *Centuries* fell upon ⁵⁸ *M. Valerius Lactucinus* and *Sp. Virginius Tricostus*: And these two weak *Consuls* suffered the *Tribunes* to take great Advantages. They, being now grown strong by their Number, assumed a Superiority over the *Consuls*, which soon turned to their Destruction. The present Circumstances of Affairs favoured their Attempts. There was now no War Abroad, and a Scarcity at Home. This was therefore the critical Time for the People to weaken the *Patrician* Party. Nothing was now said about the *Terentian* Law, which they thought would easily be brought to bear at a proper time. All Efforts were now ⁵⁹ made to gain Ground upon the Senate and the *Consuls*. But whatever some Historians may say of it, it is not probable, that the same *Tribunes* were continued in their Office, notwithstanding the last Law. At least the *Tribune Virginius* will not appear to act any part in the succeeding Affairs. One *Icilius* took his Place, and was put at the Head of the College of the *Tribunes*. *Icilius* was an expert, enterprising Man, and had Eloquence enough to raise great Commotions. He undertook to make the Senate assemble at the Pleasure of the *Tribunes*; and to force the Senators to appear, upon their Orders, at the Place appointed for their Deliberations. Hitherto ⁶⁰ the *Consuls* only had the right of assembling them: And by that means they shifted off the Proposals of the *Tribunes*, and found out an hundred Pretences to defer the assembling of the Senators. The Method he took was to offer the *Consuls* a Petition in favour of the People. He desired that a large uninhabited piece of Ground on the Hill *Aventinus* might be given to the poor Citizens, to build them Houses there. As populous as *Rome* was, there was yet a great deal of waste Ground in it: It was not

Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 657,
658.

⁵⁸ *Marcus Valerius* is surnamed *Lactuca* by *Diodorus Siculus*. The *Fasti Capitolini* give him both the Surnames of *Maximus* and *Lactucinus*. The latter was, according to *Pliny B. 19.* affected by some of the *Valerian* Family. The *Fasti of Cuspinian* give these two *Consuls* the Surnames of *Maximus*, and *Caelimontanus*.

⁵⁹ If we may believe *Livy*, the *Tribunes* for the Year 296. were continued for the Year 297. in contempt of the Regulation made both by Senate and People, that the same *Tribunes* should not be continued above one Year. But what makes *Livy's* Testimony in this Case suspected, is, that *Dion. Hal.* who is generally very exact in his Account of Facts of this Nature, says nothing of this Continuance. He even seems to insinuate the contrary, when he says, that the *Tribunes* for this last Year usurped the right of assembling the Senate. To speak in this manner, is to suppose, that the *Tribunes* for the former Year were different from these.

⁶⁰ It is true, the right of assembling the Senate belonged only to the *Consuls*, and a *Fortiori* to the

Dictator; with this Proviso, that in the Absence, or for want of these chief Magistrates, the *Prætors*, the Governor of *Rome*, the *Interrex*, and after them the *Tribunes of the People*, had the same Prerogative; as we learn from *Varro*, as quoted by *Anulus Gellius, B. 14. c. 7.* The *Decemviri*, the *Military Tribunes*, and the *Triumviri*, who were invested with the Power of the *Consuls*, could likewise assemble the Senators at their Pleasure. The General of the Horse, who was the second Person after the *Dictator*, had also the same Authority in *Rome*, when this first Magistrate was engaged Abroad. *Livy B. 8.* gives us an Instance of it. *Magister equitum clam ex castris & patre auctore M. Fabio, vocato Senatu, &c.* In order to have the Assembly a lawful one, it was necessary it should be called by the unanimous Consent of both *Consuls*, or at least without any Opposition from either of them. This *Appian* declares, *B. 2. de Bello Civili. Neque enim Senatus haberi poterat, sine voluntate & auctoritate utriusque Consulis.*

every

every where full of Buildings. Before they could take Possession of the Ground, it was necessary that the Senate should agree to the *Tribunes* Request; but the *Consuls* were not inclined to assemble it. They delayed the Affair, just as *Icilius* forefaw they would. He therefore sent to require the *Consuls*,[†] by an Officer of his College, to assemble the Senate without delay. The Boldness of the *Tribune*, his Summons, and the manner in which he presumed to send it, by an inferior Officer, were equally shocking to the *Consuls*: So that they used the Officer ill; but the *Tribunes* made Repetals, in their Turn, upon one of the *Consul's Liētors*, whom they seized. They threatened him with nothing less than getting him condemned by the People, to be thrown down headlong from the Top of the *Capitol*. Never were the *Consuls* more sensible of their Weakness. In order to deliver the Man out of the People's Hands, they endeavoured to sow Division among the *Tribunes*. It was formerly enough to make any of the Decrees of that Body ineffectual, if one only opposed it. But latterly, especially since the *Tribunes* had been increased in Number, the Members of the College had agreed, that Affairs should be determined among them by a Plurality of Voices. This they thought an important Article, to hinder the *Patricians* from corrupting any one of their Collegues, in order to bring their Deliberations to nothing. As soon as they entered upon their Office, they swore upon the Altars, to keep this Regulation inviolate. The *Consuls* therefore had no Hopes of saving their *Liētor* any other Way, than by getting the most antient Senators to intercede with the *Tribunes*. And their Officer was released after long Debates in the Senate between the *Fathers* and the *Tribunes*. But *Icilius* then proved to the Assembly, that the *Tribunes* had a right of assembling the Senate, when they pleased; and by his Eloquence and Interest, he gained a Point so contrary to the Dignity of the *Conscript Fathers*. Nay the *Tribune* did more. He forced the Senators to pass four Laws, which he had drawn up, in relation to this new piece of Ground, which was going to be inhabited. The first was thus expressed. *Every private Person, who shall once legally get a Place in it, shall be maintained in the Possession of it.* The second ran thus, *Whoever shall have usurped any Ground from the Publick, shall be obliged to restore it.* The third was this: *When any Building shall be finished by the Undertaker, Appraisers shall be appointed to set a Value upon it.* And the fourth enacted, *That all the Ground which belonged to the Publick, and was not built upon, should be distributed among the People gratis.* This Law, or rather these four⁶² Laws, which were called *The Icilian Law*, was passed in as solemn *Comitia*, as those in which the *Consuls* were elected. It was engraven on a Pillar of Brass, which was set up in the Presence of the *Pontifices*, *Augurs*, and some Sacrificers, in the Temple of *Diana*, on the Hill *Aventinus*. But if the *Icilian Law* passed in a manner without Opposition, it was in hopes that the People, who had been long refused Lands Abroad, would now be content with having Room to build themselves Houses in the City. Nevertheless these Hopes were vain; this Precaution served only to revive the next Year the Peoples Earnestness to have a Share in the Distribution of the conquered Lands. However, the rest of the Year was spent only in building Houses. The richest built whole Houses for themselves. The rest joined several together, in the Expence of these new Buildings, and some had the Ground-Floors, others the upper Stories.

§. XIV. THE Authority of the *Consuls* had received a great Wound, which was felt by *T. Romilius*, and⁶³ *C. Veturius*, the *Consuls* for the succeeding Year. It was then the Fate of the Republick not to enjoy any Tranquillity at *Rome*, but whilst the Enemy was at the Gates of it. All Intervals of Peace Abroad, were remarkable for publick Disturbances at Home. *L. Icilius* and his Collegues had just been continued in their Office as *Tribunes*. The People either had no Regard for the Decree of the Se-

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⁶¹ That is, that they who had built on a piece of Ground, usurped either by the Violence or Fraud of another, should have their Expences paid them, according to the Arbitration and Estimate of experienced Workmen.

⁶² These four Laws ran thus. 1. *Privati homines bono jure parva possident.* 2. *Per vim aut fraudem aedificia ex publico occupata restituant.* 3. *Ex arbitratorum sententia precium aedificationis reddant.* 4. *Quae publica sunt, ea sine precio, plebi dividant.*

⁶³ *Diodorus* gives *T. Romilius* the Surname of *Vaticanus*, and *C. Veturius* that of *Cicurrinus*. The *Fasti of Cuspinian* call these *Consuls Geminus* and *Vaticanus*. In the *Fasti Siculi* we read *Rocus* and *Veturius*, and in the *Fasti Capitolini*, *T. Romilius*, *T. F. T. N.* with the Surnames of *Rocus* and *Vaticanus*. This *Romilius* is the same *Pliny* mentions *B. 7.* This Variety in the Annals proceeds from the Multiplicity of Surnames.

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Livy B. 3.
c. 31.

Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 659.

nate, which forbade these Continuations in Office; or else really thought, that the Decree was to be understood only of the Year in which it passed, and in which *Virginius* had been deprived. These *Tribunes* then made more Noise than ever in the Assemblies of the People; and revived again the Affair of the *Terentian* Law. They were heard to say among themselves, that it would be a Shame for them not to execute in two Years, what *Virginius* and his Collegues had projected five Years ago; and that there would be just Cause to reproach them, that their Number had been doubled in vain. The *Consuls* were sensible enough, that these rising Troubles would grow to a Head, if some Method was not found out, to stop the Progress of them. The only Refuge was, to raise Armies; and give the Vivacity and Uneasiness of the *Romans* room to vent it self Abroad. This was a wise Design, but it was imprudently executed. Instead of being contented with a moderate Army, which might have been raised without Violence; the *Consuls* were obstinately bent upon shewing Favour to none, and not admitting of any Excuse for those, who really were not able to march into the Field. The Citizens were pressed into the Service. For *Romilius* was of an haughty Temper, and did not regulate the Sallies of it by his Strength. He imprisoned those who refused to enlist themselves, and ordered their Goods to be seized. Whence it is easy to judge, that the *Tribunes* would not neglect so favourable an Opportunity of gaining the Affections of the People, by undertaking their Defence. They inveighed bitterly against the *Consuls*, in *Comitia* assembled for that Purpose. They accused them of having imprisoned a great many Citizens, though they implored the Assistance of the *Tribunes*: Which was an Infraction of the Privileges of *Roman* Citizens. But these Complaints and Invectives did not stop the Fury of the *Consuls*. They became thereby only the more implacably severe, in the Affair of enlisting Men. In short the *Tribunes* found themselves under a Necessity of making use of the People to repel the Violence of the *Patrician* Magistrates by Force: And the two Parties often came to Blows. The young Nobility fought for the *Consuls*; and a Company of idle Fellows, of the vilest part of the Populace, for the *Tribunes*. It is not therefore to be wondered at, if in these Scuffles the *Consuls* Party had the Advantage. Which made the *Tribunes* think of an Expedient, to enlarge their Faction, and increase their Strength. One Day when the Country People were come into the City, the *Tribunes* assembled then in *Comitia*, with the rest of the Citizens, were under no Apprehensions of the Insults of the young *Patricians*. *Icilius* ascended *The Tribune*, and complained to the People of the ill Usage the Officers of the *Tribunes* had received. He represented to the Assembly, that he and his Collegues must lay down their Offices and leave the People defenceless, if they were not protected from the Outrages of the *Consuls*: Upon which, the Resentment of the People made them come to violent Resolutions. They cried out that it was necessary to cite the *Consuls* to appear before the Tribunal of the *Curia*, to answer for the Disorders they had caused. On the other hand, the *Consuls*, enraged at the Insolence of the *Tribunes*, refused to appear. Then the *Tribunes* brought their Complaints to the Senate: Which happened to be accidentally assembled that Day. Standing in the midst of the Hall, as the *Tribunes* usually did, when they harangued the Senate, they exposed the seditious Fury of the young *Patricians*, in a long Discourse. *They have*, said they, *extended their Violences even to us, and have in our Persons done Dishonour to a Character, which both the Laws and Religion have made inviolable. If the Consuls don't own themselves to be the Authors of these Outrages, let them here deny it upon Oath, or if they are afraid of being perjured, let them come and clear themselves before the People. If not, we are resolved to assemble the Tribes together, to determine their Fate by their Suffrages.*

Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 660.

UPON this the *Consuls* were obliged to make their Apology. Without disowning that they were partly concerned in the late Troubles, they pretended the *Tribunes* had been the Aggressors. *It was you*, said they, *who first presumed to offer Violence to the chief Magistrates of the Republick. You, by your Officers and Ediles did your utmost to get them cast into Prison. You, in Person, surrounded by a Guard of Plebeians, fell upon us, to seize us. Have you forgot, Tribunes, what a Distance, both your Birth and the Laws make between you and us? A Consul represents the Majesty of a King. They are their Successors, and inherit their Power. A Tribune is one of the common People, whose usurped Authority was from the beginning confined to undertaking the Defence* of

of the oppressed Plebeians by way ⁶⁴ of Intercession. What right have you to cite the Consuls ⁶⁵ to appear before your Tribunal? Can you bring even the lowest of the Patricians before the People, without the Consent of the Senate? You say you will call the Tribes together to condemn us by their Suffrages. Do you imagine then that the Nobility of Rome will tamely submit to the Affront you offer its chief Magistrates? No, no, the Love of their Country, and their Zeal for Equity and Justice will make them take up Arms. You know their Valour, dread therefore their Resentments.

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THESE warm Contests extremely embarrassed the Senate. It was equally dangerous to provoke the Tribunes, or debase the Consuls. The Sitting was therefore adjourned to another Day. In the mean time Icilius called an Assembly of the People, wherein every one had a right to give his Opinion. The most factious thought the People ought to leave Rome once more, go up to *The sacred Hill*, take Arms, and make War upon the Patricians. But the more moderate were of Opinion, that it would be best to proceed against the Consuls in a legal manner, and to get them condemned by Law, either to Death or Banishment, for having been guilty of offering outrageous Violences to the sacred Persons of the Tribunes. The most mild Opinion of all was, that the most furious of the Patricians ought to be brought to Justice, without meddling with the Consuls. This was the wisest Advice; for if they had decreed that any painful Punishment should be inflicted on the Consuls, these Divisions would have been changed into a civil War, and Rome would have been utterly destroyed by its own Citizens. At length the People contented themselves with summoning the Consuls to appear twenty seven Days after, that is, on the third Market-day.

§. XV. IN the mean time the Tribunes considered better of the furious Steps they had taken. They desisted from the Summons given the Consuls, and declared in an Assembly of the People, that out of regard to the most venerable Citizens of Rome, they would forgive the Consuls the personal Injuries they had received from them; but could not be guilty of any neglect in maintaining the Interests of the People. *Two Laws*, said they, *have long laid before the Republick.* Because they are favourable to you, Romans, therefore they are opposed by the Senate. The first ⁶⁶ passed thirty Years ago; and tho' it was enacted in due Form, the Patrician Party has all along suspended the Execution of it. It grants the People their Share in the conquered Lands. Our Conquests have been enlarged, but are the Plebeians the richer for it? The second Law, in which we are nearly concerned, is the Terentian. But though it was solicited for five Years together by the Tribune Virginius, and several Years since by his Successors, yet would the Senate ever suffer it to pass in the Comitia? And yet, what can be more just, than to make the Decisions of our Law-Suits uniform and consistent, and to establish Rules to be observed in giving Judgments, independent of the Humours of the Judges? These are the two Things we are now to deliberate upon. Speak, Romans, declare your Opinions without Fear.

AT these Words, many brave Plebeians made loud Complaints about the Law which was called *Agraria*, because it appointed the Distribution of the Lands belonging to the Publick. *We have spilt a great deal of our Blood*, said they, *to enlarge the Demesns of the Republick, but what are we the better for it? Money and Favour cause*

⁶⁴ According to *Val. Maximus* B. 2. before the Tribunes were admitted into the Senate, they waited at the Door where they placed their Tribunals. Thither the Decrees of the Senate were brought to them. There they examined them carefully, and either approved of or rejected them as they thought fit; subscribing the Word *Veto* for the Negative, and the Letter *T* for the Affirmative, which signified the Acceptance and Consent of the Tribunes. Sometimes they suspended the Execution of the Decrees of the Senate, till they had more maturely considered them. But this Custom was afterwards changed, as will appear by the Sequel of our History.

⁶⁵ The Tribunes of the People had, strictly speaking, no right of citing the Magistrates, or even private Persons, to appear before their Tribunal; but they could imprison any Citizen, as *Aulus Gellius* says expressly, B. 13. *In magistratu, habent alii vocationem, alii prensionem: vocationem ut Consules, et ceteri qui habent imperium; prensionem ut Tri-*

buni plebis: neque prensionem, neque vocationem, ut Quæstores, &c. For this Reason, *Labeo Antistius*, who was very learned in the Laws and Customs of Rome, refused to appear before one of the Tribunes who had cited him by an Officer. He gave no other Reason for his Refusal, but this, that the Tribunes could not justly assume an Authority which did not belong to their Office; that they might indeed come themselves to his House, and cause him to be taken up, if they thought fit; but that their Summons was null, because it was not sent by a lawful Authority. We have this Story in *Aulus Gellius* B. 1.

⁶⁶ The Law here spoken of, is that which was made by the Consul *Cassius*, in the Year 267. notwithstanding the Opposition of his Collegue *Virginius*. We have already spoken of it. This Law raised many Troubles then, and became one fatal Source of the Divisions which afterwards arose between the Patricians and the People.

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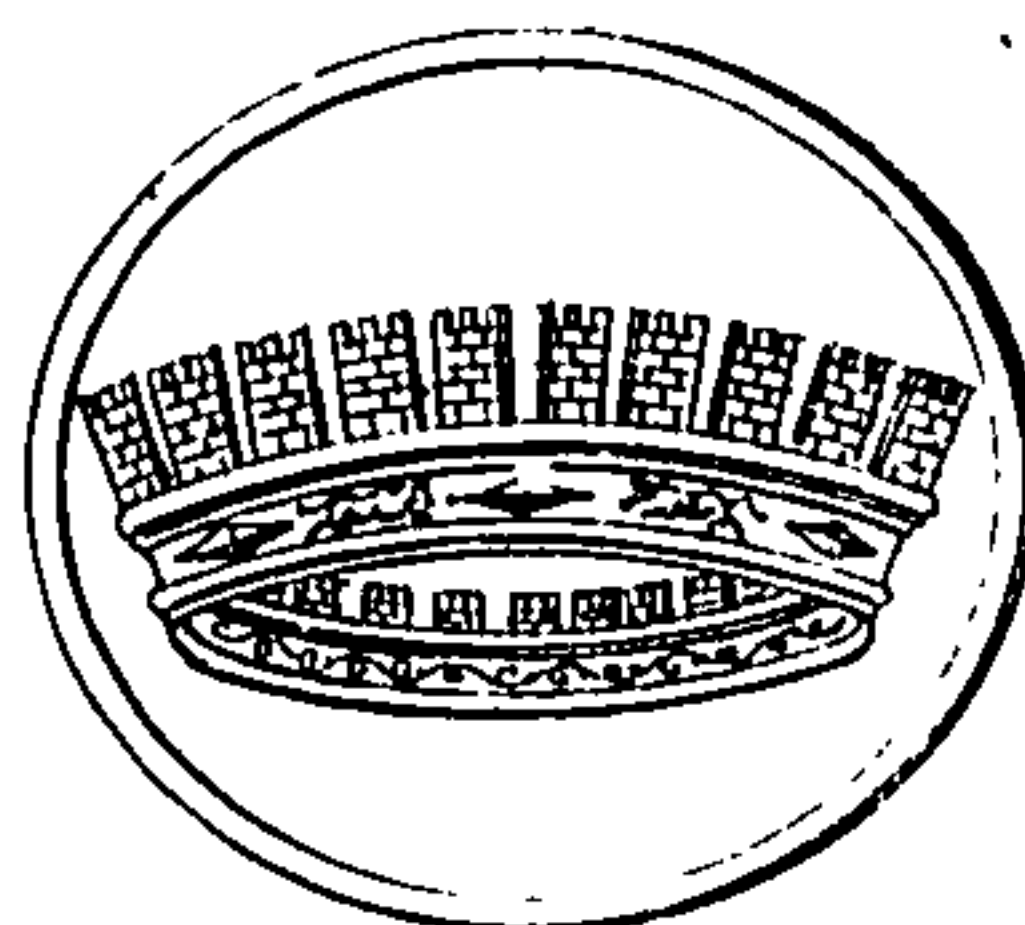
the Reward, which is due to our long Services, to be given only to the Patricians. This was the common Complaint of all the People, but none of them represented it in stronger Terms than the incomparable *L. Sicinnius*, who was surnamed *Dentatus*. His Fame is celebrated by all the Antients, as an Hero, of an ⁶⁷unparallel'd Valour. He was then of a proper Age to procure Reverence and Respect; and his Merit, as a Soldier, gained him great Distinction among the *Plebeians*. He spoke as follows, with the plain unaffected Eloquence of a Soldier, which charmed the whole Assembly.



Silver

Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 662.
Val. Max. B. 3.
Aul. Gel. B. 2.

A WHOLE Day would not be sufficient for me to give you a particular Account of all the important Actions in which I have been engaged. This is the fortieth Year of my bearing Arms for the Service of my Country. Yet was I not raised to the lowest Honours in the Army till within these thirty Years. Under ⁶⁸the Consulate of Sicinnius, in a War with the Volsci, the Centurion of my Cohort was killed in Battel, and our Colours taken. I alone resisted the Enemy. I put them to flight, and recovered our Standards. And what was my Reward? The Consul only gave me a Crown of Gold, and made me a Centurion. In another Battel, the Tribune of my Legion was wounded, and thrown down upon the Ground, and his Eagle taken. I flew to the Tribune, saved him and retook the Eagle. This Commander offered me the Place of that first Standard-bearer. I refused it, because I would not be honoured to the Prejudice of a poor Man. Then the Consul rewarded me. He made me the first Ensign, in the first Legion, in his Army. From that time I rose till I came to have a Command in the Roman Troops. Then the Reputation I had acquired, kept me in the Service, more than the Advantage I got by it. There was not one Battel, in which I did not hazard my Life. In these forty Years which I have been in the Service, I have been in an hundred and twenty Actions. I have received five and forty Wounds, all before, and not one behind. I was wounded twelve times in one Day; which was at the taking the Capitol from Herdonius. And yet all the Recompence I have had, has been military



⁶⁷Dion. Hal. B. 10. Pliny B. 7. Solinus c. 6. Val. Maximus B. 3. and above all Aulus Gellius B. 2. have exceedingly commended this Roman, whom we shall soon see Tribune of the People, under the Consulate of Spurius Tarpeius, and Aulus Aternius. What this last Author has collected out of the ancient Annals of Rome, concerning *Sicinnius Dentatus*, is this. This Hero by his Strength and Valour merited the Surname of *The Achilles of the Romans*. Multitudes of Battels in which he fought, the Wounds and the military Honours he received, all testify the Bravery of this great Man. And besides all this, he had a part in nine Triumphs of his Generals. Antiquaries conjecture, and with Probability enough, that one *Sicinnius* caused the Medal above to be struck, as a Monument of the Glory of his Family, and the heroical Actions of *Dentatus*, one of his Ancestors. The Words *FORTITUDO POPULI ROMANI*, engraven round the Head on the Medal, the Palm, and the Crown, are de-

signed to express the Exploits of *L. Sicinnius*. By the *Caduceus*, the Coiner perhaps intended to represent this Roman, as one who was by his Valour become the Arbiter of Death, as *Virgil* and *Horace* represent *Mercury* to have been. Or perhaps, this Symbol was designed to represent the Peace and Happiness which he procured for Rome by his Victories.

⁶⁸*Dentatus* was, according to *Dion. Hal.* fifty eight Years old when he harangued the People. He fought in the Year 266. when *Aquilius Tuscus* and *T. Sicinnius* were Consuls; for *Dentatus* is called *Licinius*, in *Val. Maximus* B. 3. in *Pliny* B. 7. in several MSS. and in *Lapus's* Version. Now from the Year 266. to that we are now speaking of, thirty two Years complete. Why then does *Dentatus* reckon but thirty Years from *Sicinnius* to this time? This is the Foundation of *Glarean's* Correction, who thinks that instead of *τριακστόν*, we ought to read *τριακστόν καὶ διττὸν*.

Toys, which are made the Rewards of Valour, fourteen Civick Crowns, one Obfidional, three ⁶⁹ Mural, eight others for different Services, fourscore and three Collars, threescore Bracelets, eighteen ⁷⁰ Lances, and five and twenty Sets of Furniture for Horfes. I likewise got nine ⁷¹ other Sets from as many Enemies whom I conquered in single Combat, at the Heads of the Armies. This is all my Fortune, after so many Fatigues, and so much Glory. What Share have I had of those fruitful Fields, which I helped to conquer from the Hetrurians, the Sabines, the Æqui, the Volsci, and in the Country about the Pontine Lake? Impudent Usurpers have possessed themselves of them. Have the People ever consented to give them the Property of them? If they had served as long as I, yet they ought to have confined their Pretensions to an equal Distribution of the conquered Lands. But by what military Exploits have they deserved to be preferred before me? Let them appear! Let them shew their Wounds, or the Rewards they have received after Battel! These are not doubtful Proofs of Merit. All the Glory they have, they derive from their Birth, and they owe their new Possessions to the Number of their Friends. Being Patricians, as our Kings were, they imitate their Tyranny. They even carry it so far, as to attempt to hinder our Complaints by Violence, and not permit us to speak of our Misfortunes. It was a violent Act of Tyranny in them, to throw down the famous Consul Cassius, the Author of the Agrarian Law, headlong from the Capitol. It was likewise by another Act of the same kind, that they destroyed the Tribune Genucius, who would have renewed that Law, eleven Years after. And to this Day, they are as tyrannical as ever. Our Tribunes abused, their Ediles and their other Officers beaten, the Plebeians insulted, all these things, Roman People, shew how little Liberty you have left! But what am I saying? You have enough yet, to revenge your selves on your Tyrants, by your own Suffrages. Let us revive, I say, let us revive the Agrarian Law! If the young Patricians oppose it, do you, Tribunes, let them feel all the Effects of your Power. But let us not be rash in our Revenge. Let us keep the Punishment of the Consuls in reserve, till after their Deposition. Let us at present content our selves with punishing the factious Youth, whom they make use of, to obstruct our just Pretensions.

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THUS spake Sicinnius, and in so numerous an Assembly, none durst contradict him. The Tribunes appointed *Comitia* for the next Day, in which the Affair of the Law was to be determined. The Consuls were alarmed at this Design, and assembled the boldest of the Senators together at their own Houses, and came to a Resolution, to try all Ways to disturb the next Day's *Comitia*, first by gentle Means, and then by Force. The Methods the Consuls took to put their Design in execution, were these. Early in the Morning the Patricians appeared in the Forum, attended by their Friends and Clients. They invested the Tribune, from whence the Consuls and Tribunes were to harangue; and surrounded all the Pallisado, within which the People were to be. Others who were scattered about in the Forum in little Parties were to stop the Citizens, and hinder them from entering within the Bar of the Voting-place. Nevertheless there was a Mixture of both Plebeians and Nobility round about the Tribune.

THE Consuls and Tribunes had already taken their Places, when Orders were given for those who had any thing to say against the Law, to declare their Sentiments. Accordingly some Patricians spoke, but they were not regarded. On one Hand, those of their own Party encouraged them, and the Plebeians on the other insulted them; and on both Sides they made so much Noise, that the Speakers were not

⁶⁹ The Mural Crown was the Reward the General gave to him, who first scaled the Walls of a besieged City. It was at first made of nothing but Leaves. Pliny says, B. 6. c. 4. that Romulus gave a Crown of Leaves to Hostus, who was the first Soldier who mounted the Walls of Fidenæ, which was then besieged. Afterwards, this Crown was made of Gold according to Aulus Gellius; it was embattelled like the Walls of a City, in the manner we have represented it above. *Muralis est corona quæ donatur ab imperatore, cui primus murum subiit. Idcirco quasi muri pinnis decorata est.* B. 5.

⁷⁰ The Lance here meant, is that Lance, or rather that sort of Pike, which the Romans called

Hasta pura. It was so called, because it was not pointed with Iron. It was often given as a Reward to those Soldiers, who distinguished themselves in Battel. Virgil mentions it,

Illa vides purâ Juvenis qui nititur hasta. Æn. 6.

Cato calls this military Reward *Hasta donatica*.

⁷¹ Pliny B. 7. Val. Maximus B. 3. and Solinus c. 6. say that Dentatus was eight times victorious in these single Combats. And at this rate he could have got but eight Sets of Furniture, for the Rewards of his eight Victories. But to make him Amends, Val. Maximus gives him a hundred and eighty Collars, and Pliny B. 7. above a hundred and sixty Bracelets.

Q q q q q

heard.

Year of heard. The *Consuls* complained of it to the *Tribunes*, who answered; *This Law*
R O M E *has been long discussed. What more can be said upon it? The Peoples not bear-*
CCXCVIII. *ing has been no Loss to them.* The greatest part of the Day was spent in these Al-
 T. ROMILIUS tercations, when the People prepared to divide themselves into their *Tribes*, to give
 and C. VETU- their Suffrages. Then the young *Patricians* contained themselves no longer. They
 RIUS, *Consuls.* hindered the People from uniting themselves into Bodies according to their *Tribes*.
 They overturned the Baskets, wherein were thrown the Tablets on which the Votes
 were written, snatched away the Tablets, and offered Violence to the Officers, who
 were appointed to take them. The *Tribunes* ran into the midst of these bold young
 Fellows to stop their Fury. They were allowed to pass, without suffering any Dis-
 respect; but at the same time the young *Patricians* were nevertheless active in dispersing
 the People, and driving them from the Place of the Assembly. In short the Nobility got
 the better of the Citizens, and the Law did not pass. The *Patricians* who signalized
 themselves most in these Troubles, were the *Sempronii*, *Posthumii*, and the *Clælii*, all
 illustrious Names, and whose Families had most Interest in *Rome*. On these therefore
 the *Tribunes* thought it proper that the Punishment of this seditious Enterprize should
 fall. The *Consuls* were not any more cited to appear, lest the Animosities should be
 increased by it. Only the young *Patricians* were summoned: And the Difficulty was
 to fix upon the Punishment which should be decreed them.

It was then customary in *Rome*, to determine what Punishment the Accused de-
 served, in case he was convicted, before his Crime was reported to the People. The
Tribunes judged beforehand of the Law, and the People were Judges of the
 Fact. The *Tribunes* therefore, in an Assembly of some considerable Citizens, delibe-
 rated what Punishment they should affix to the Crime of the three *Patricians*. Some 72
 voted for Death, others for Banishment: But the grave *Sicinnius* was for the least Pu-
 nishment the Laws enjoined, which was the Confiscation of all their Goods 73, to the
 Use of the Temple of *Ceres*. At length the Day came for the Trial of the *Sem-*
pronii, *Posthumii*, and *Clælii*. The Senate gave their Consent to it for fear the
 People should run into greater Excesses, if they refused it. Besides, Confiscation was
 thought a reparable Misfortune. The Accused did not appear, and suffered themselves
 to be condemned. So that the Judgment of the People passed upon them, by de-
 fault: But the Body of the *Patricians* raised a Tax among themselves, and redeemed
 the confiscated Estates of their condemned Brethren. However, this Deference of
 the Senate for the *Tribunes*, restored the Republick some Moments Tranquillity 74.

§. XVI. BUT this domestick Peace was soon disturbed by foreign Enemies. News was
 brought to *Rome*, that the *Æqui* were entered into the Territory of *Tusculum*, and had
 ravaged the Country, and that the City was exposed to a Siege. It was a Debt due to the

Livy B. 3.

c. 31.

Dion. Hal.

B. 10. p. 668.

72 In a criminal Affair, wherein the Question was, whether the guilty Person should be condemn-
 ed to death, the *Comitia by Tribes* had no Jurisdic-
 tion. The Cognizance of it belonged to the *Comi-*
tia by Centuries. How then could any vote for the
 Death of the *Sempronii*, *Posthumii*, and *Clælii*,
 who were only accused before the *Tribes*? In an-
 swer to this, it must be said, either that the most
 Mutinous, in the Heat of their Zeal against the
 young *Patricians*, assumed a Right which did not
 belong to them; or that in case they had concluded
 for Death, the Affair would have been brought be-
 fore the Tribunal of the *Centuries* when assembled
 upon the Summons of the *Tribunes*; or lastly, that
 the Sentence of Death which should have been pro-
 nounced by the *Tribes*, ought not to have passed
 for a formal Judgment, but only for an Observance
 of the sacred Law, which declared all those pro-
 scribed, who should offer any Violence to the Per-
 sons of the *Tribunes*, or hinder them in the Execu-
 tion of their Office. What confirms this last Opi-
 nion is, that the *Tribunes*, in the Assembly which
 was before held on this Subject, did in effect pro-
 pose to regulate their Deliberations, by that sacred
 Law, which guarded them against the Outrages of
 the Nobility, under Pain of Death, and Confisca-
 tion of Goods to the use of the Goddess *Ceres*.
Si quis contra faxit, sacer esto, bonaque ejus Cereri
dicata sunt.

73 That is, that the Goods of the Accused should
 be consecrated to *Ceres*. This Consecration had
 its particular Form, and Ceremonies. We learn
 from *Tully, pro domo sua*, that the *Tribune* ascend-
 ing *The Tribune* from whence Harangues were made,
 in the sight of the People assembled, first veiled his
 Head, and then pronounced from thence, an antient
 Form of Consecration, in the Presence of one of
 the *Pontifices*, and before a Pan of burning Coals:
 And this Ceremony was accompanied with a Sacri-
 fice to the Divinity, to whose use the Goods were
 confiscated. *Tully* likewise speaks of a Player on
 the Flute, who pronounced the same Form, with a
 loud Voice, jointly with the *Pontifices* and the *Tri-*
bune. It was customary in *Rome*, to admit Musi-
 cians to bear a part in the solemn Acts of Religi-
 on. *Si Tribunus plebis verbis non minus priscis, &*
pene solemnibus, bona civis cujuspiam consecrarit.—
An consecratio nullum jus habet? Dedicatio est reli-
gioſa. Quid ergo illa tum obtestatio Tibicinis? Quid
Foculus, quid preces, quid prisca verba voluerunt?

74 *Livy* passes over in Silence the Debates about
 the *Agrarian Law*, which incensed the People a-
 gainst the *Patricians*, *Sicinnius Dentatus's* Harangue,
 and the Decree passed against those of the three *Pa-*
trician Families, who opposed the Publication of
 the Law with most Vigour. The Learned, and
 among others *Glarean*, charge this Omission on the
Latin Historian as a Fault.

Fidelity

Fidelity of these good Allies, not to delay sending them Succours. So that the Senate ordered the two *Consuls* to march immediately to their Defence. But the *Tribunes* started the usual Difficulties against raising an Army of Citizens. However this did not seem to embarrass them. The Senate following the former Advice of *Quintius Cincinnatus*, made a Decree, that the *Patricians* with their Clients should go and end the War: adding, that if any *Plebeians* would join them of their own accord, Prayers should be offered up to the Gods, to be propitious to them, and to confound the Designs of all those who should desert them. The Decree was read to the People, and many honest *Plebeians* enlisted themselves, though not so much out of Affection to the *Consuls*, as to the People of *Tusculum*, they thinking it shameful to suffer them to perish. The brave *Sicinnius* was one of the first who offered to join the *Consular* Army. He put himself at the Head ⁷⁵ of a *Cohort* of eight hundred Soldiers, all Men of Experience and Resolution, who had already served the Republick as long as the Laws required. These brave Veterans, whom no Body could have forced into the Army, voluntarily put themselves under *Sicinnius's* Command, to gain themselves Glory by following his Steps. This may be said to have been the finest and best Troop the Republick had a great while seen.

THE *Consuls* marched out of *Rome* in great State, with an Army, which was pretty numerous, and well provided. But the *Æqui* did not wait for them in the Neighbourhood of *Tusculum*; they retired to their own Frontiers, near *Algidus*. There they encamped on a steep Rock, and soon saw the *Romans* advance towards them, and entrench themselves near them. The *Æqui* observed for some time the Posture of the *Romans*, and judged that their Army was not strong, because they had not attempted to make any Attack. This inspired them with Contempt for the *Consuls*, and this Contempt begat Confidence in them. They therefore often attacked little Parties of them, as they were leading their Horses to the Water, and fetching Necessaries to the Camp: And the *Consuls*, provoked by these Insults, thought it necessary not to delay giving Battel any longer. It was the Day *Romilius* was to command; it belonged to him to give order for the Battel, and to draw up the Troops: And it was likewise his Province, to appoint the Time when the Action was to begin and end. When his Army was marched out of his Camp, and was ready for the Engagement, *Sicinnius* and his Troop were left behind alone, and not posted any where. A few Minutes before they sounded a Charge, the General sent for *Sicinnius* and spoke to him thus. *I have reserved you for an important Expedition, upon which the entire Defeat of the Enemy depends. Whilst we are fighting in the Plain, march you up to the Enemy's Camp by the winding Path that leads to it. Then either the Army of the Æqui, frightened at the Attack of their Entrenchments, will leave the Plain in Disorder, to go and defend their Tents; or if they leave them defenceless, you will infallibly make your selves Masters of them. The Troops the Æqui have left to guard them, will not be able to hold out against the Efforts and Valour of you and your Veterans.* *Sicinnius* saw the Snare; but gave the *Consul* this respectful Answer. *I never yet declined any dangerous Enterprize out of fear; but is this, Sir, that you mention, practicable? The Rock you command me to climb up, is very steep on all sides, and not accessible, unless by a narrow Way, which an Handful of Men may defend against a whole Army. If you are resolved this Attack shall be made, enlarge my Troop, and put us in a Condition to shew our Bravery, without dishonouring our selves by a rash Attempt.* At these Words, the *Consul* replied to *Sicinnius* with a Sneer and an insulting Air; *This then is the brave Man, who has signalized himself in an hundred and twenty Battels, who has been forty Years in the Service, and boasts of his Wounds and his Crozens! He draws back at the sight of Danger, and has no Courage but in Words.* Go, *Sicinnius*, go to the *Comitia*, and fight the *Patricians* with your Tongue! What you refuse to undertake, others shall put in execution for you. I see the extreme Danger, the brave *Plebeian* answered, to which you expose my Honour or my Life. I have hitherto always preferred the former to the latter, and I choose to die. As for you, my dear fellow Soldiers, says he to his Troop, let us go wherever Ho-

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T. ROMILIUS,
and C. VETU-
RIUS, Con-
suls.

Diom. Hist.
B. 10. 1512.

⁷⁵ This was probably a chosen Body; as every 6th *Cohort* in a *Legion* was; especially under the Emperors; and was distinguished from the other nine, either by the Number or the Choice of the

Soldiers, which were in it. Or perhaps this was a Troop of experienced Veterans, who enlisted themselves under the Command of *Sicinnius Dentatus*, as Volunteers.

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RIUS, Consuls.

nour and the Command of the General call us. You will bear me Witness after I am dead, that I am destroyed only for having defended the publick Liberty.

BUT *Sicinnius's* Anger did not rob him of his Presence of Mind. The more difficult his Commission was, the more cautious he thought he ought to be, in order to succeed in it. To go up to the Camp of the *Æqui*, he did not take the Path to which he had been directed: But went round the Rock, and found he could ascend it through a Wood into which he marched his Troop. He accidentally met with a Peasant belonging to the Place, who knew all the Ways in the Wood, and brought him up to an Eminence which overlooked the Enemy's Camp. From thence he had a sight of the two Armies, which were already engaged, and neither appeared yet to have the Advantage. He likewise saw, that the Soldiers who were left to guard the Enemy's Camp, were all drawn up, on that side only, which was next the Plain, that they might be Witnesses of the Battel. So that the side he was to attack, was left intirely unguarded. He therefore leaped over the Entrenchments without any Opposition, and marching into the middle of the Camp with his Troop, came and fell upon these Spectators, who little expected to be surprized. They were superior in Number to *Sicinnius's* Troop, but they thought they were fallen into the Hands of a whole Army, commanded by one of the *Consuls*. They therefore hastily slid down the Rock, without so much as taking their Arms. The *Romans* followed them, made a great Slaughter of them, and when they had made themselves Masters of the Camp, descended into the Plain, to bear their part in the general Battel. Upon this, the *Æqui* held out no longer against the *Romans*; they fled in Disorder, and the *Consuls* Army continued pursuing and cutting them to pieces, till Night. They lost above seven thousand Men. Then *Sicinnius* ⁷⁶, being victorious both in the Enemy's Camp and in the Plain, and very proud of having turned the Enmity of his General to his Advantage, but more so, that he had determined the Victory for his Countrymen, went back again to the Camp he had taken with his Troop, of which he had not lost one Man, and kept Possession of it, as his own Conquest. But he did not take that Advantage of the Plunder, which he might have done. He killed the Slaves, and Horses and other Cattle which he found in it. He set fire to the Tents, Arms, and Magazines of Corn, and in short to all the Spoils the Enemy had brought from the Territory of *Tusculum*. So that he marched away by break of Day the next Morning, without Baggage or any Incumbrances; and with his Troop, who adored him, returned to *Rome* long before the *Consuls*. His Design was to prevent the granting the Honours of a Triumph to Men, who would have destroyed him; and who would have been too proud, had they conquered and triumphed, with the help only of a *Patrician* Army.

Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 672.

THERE was scarce any Body left in the City but *Plebeians*; who, when they saw *Sicinnius* approaching with his eight hundred Veterans, who made the Air ring with their Shouts of Victory, flocked round them, and conducted them with great Acclamations to the *Forum*. The *Tribunes* assembled the People, and ordered *Sicinnius* to relate his Adventure: Which he did in such a manner, as both raised the Indignation of the People against the *Consuls* who would have destroyed him, and their Compassion for this great Man, whom the Gods, and his own Valour had saved from Death. Their Murmurs against the Generals were so great and so just, that the Senate it self durst not decree *Romilius* and *Veturius* the Honours of a Triumph. As for *Sicinnius*, the People did him all the Honour he could expect from them. In the next *Comitia* they nominated him to be *Tribune*. So that the *Consuls*, being prevented at *Rome* by *Sicinnius*, returned without Honour, and loaded with fresh Odium. Instead of distributing the Booty they had taken from the Enemy among their Soldiers, they sold it, and put the Money into the publick Treasury.

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§. XVII. THE next Year *Rome* was governed by more popular, and less odious *Consuls*; who were *Sp. Tarpeius*, and 77 *A. Æternius*. The Republick was then in no Danger

⁷⁶ *Sicinnius Dentatus's* Victory has also escaped *Livy*, who ascribes all the Glory of the Defeat of the *Æqui* to the two *Consuls* for the present Year.

⁷⁷ Most antient Writers differ about the Names of this last *Consul*. *Livy* calls him *A. Æternius*: And *Pliny* B. 7. gives him the same Name. In

Dion. Hal. we read Ἀἰλὸν Τερμίνον; in *Gellius* B. 11. *A. Thurmum*; and in *Diodorus Siculus*, Ἀἰλὸν Ἀσίου Φερτίου. *Sigonius* has followed some Copies of *Cassiodorus*, and *Solinus*, who give this *Consul* the Names of *Anlus Aterius*; because the *Aterian* Family is better known in History than any of the others, whose Names are given him by the Authors

Danger of a foreign War: And the *Tribunes* therefore took hold of this Opportunity to put in execution the two Designs they had most at Heart. One was to get the *Consuls* for the last Year condemned, the other to pass the *Terentian Law*. *Sicinnius* was at the Head of the *Tribunes*, and their Speaker. He therefore took upon him the Management of the Prosecution he intended to carry on against his Enemy *Romilius*: Whilst the *Edile Alienus* accused *Veturius*. It may be observed, that *Sicinnius* either had, or affected to have, some Moderation, in the Punishment he got decreed against the Accused, in case they should be convicted; it was neither Banishment nor Death. Perhaps there was Policy in the *Tribune's* Moderation. He thought the Slightness of the Punishment, would make the *Patricians* less active in defending the Accused. Or perhaps, the Generosity, common with great Men, hindered *Sicinnius* from carrying his Revenge to the utmost Extremity, against his personal Enemy. However, the two *Consuls* were summoned to appear before the People. It is true, the present *Consuls* made some Opposition to the Affront that was going to be offered to two Men who were venerable for their Employments, and had been their Predecessors in the *Consulate*: But the Senate had already suffered the *Tribunes* to assume a right of citing those who had been *Consuls* to appear before their *Tribunal*. On the Day appointed, the proud *Romilius* appeared, and was tried first. He depended on the Promises the *Patricians* had made him, never to permit the Suffrages of the People to be taken, in order to his Condemnation. But the wise *Sicinnius* had taken proper Measures to prevent the young Nobilities disturbing the *Comitia*. He had gathered together all the vilest People in the City and Country, even to the very Beggars. A Company of Vagabonds and Hirelings, who had nothing to lose, would naturally have less Regard for the Nobility and Senate, than substantial Citizens. These therefore the *Tribune* set to guard the Ends of the Streets, which came into the *Forum*. So that the People came within the Bars of the Voting-place, without Difficulty, and proceeded regularly to *Romilius's* Trial.

SICINNIUS mounted the Place whence Harangues were made, and proposed to the Assembly the two Grievances which were laid to the old *Consul's* Charge. The first was, that he had offered Violence to the *Tribunes*, and disturbed them in the Execution of their Office. The second was that he abused his Authority in the Army, in order to destroy him, and the eight hundred Veterans in his Cohort. The Witnesses which appeared, were not only *Plebeians*, but also some venerable *Patricians*, whose Love of Equity made them bear Witness against the seditious and cruel *Romilius*. Among others, a young Man, of a *Consular* Family, named *Sp. Virginus*, who had got himself a great Reputation for Valour, in the late Battel, could not refuse deposing what was very prejudicial to his General. *I had*, said he, *a Friend in our Troops, of about my own Age, whose Father was in the Cohort which Sicinnius commanded. This Son, out of Affection to his Father, got me to desire my Uncle, who was then Lieutenant-General in Romilius's Army, to intercede that his Father might not go to the Attack of the Rock. So much were People persuaded, that it was sending Sicinnius and his Troop to*

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SP. TARPEIUS
and A. ÆTERNIUS, Consuls.

Livy B. 3.
c. 31.

Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 673.

just now quoted. Some give him the Surname of *Fontinalis*. As to the other *Consul*, the *Fasti Capitolini* call him *Spurius Tarpeius*, M. F. M. N. MONTANACA, instead of MONTAN. CA. that is, *Montanus Capitolinus*. We also find the Surname of *Capitolinus* in the *Fasti Siculi*, and those of *Cuspinian*. As to the Surname of the former *Consul*, we thought our selves obliged with *Pighius*, to follow the most correct Copies of *Livy*, *Pliny*, and *Cassiodorus*, which call him *A. Æternius*.

78 *Livy* B. 3. says it was another *Tribune* of the People, named *C. Claudius Cicero*, who undertook the Prosecution of *Romilius*. Possibly *Sicinnius* and *Claudius* joined together in accusing *Romilius*, on different Articles.

79 We have already observed that the *Comitia by Tribes* could not legally inflict Death on a *Roman* Citizen. This *Tully* confirms in his Oration for *Sextius*, and his *second Book of Laws*. For this Reason he concludes in his third Book, that *Lucius Cotta* had Reason to protest against *Claudius's* Proceedings as null, who had cited *Cicero* to appear before the *Tribes* to receive Sentence of Death. It is credible that, before these latter times, the Popu-

lace, animated by the *Tribunes*, had in fact usurped a right which did not belong to them. Thus *C. Gracchus*, as we learn from *Tully*, *Orat. pro Rabirio*, made an express Law, about the Year of *Rome* 230, or rather revived the antient Custom, that capital Cases should be brought before the *Tribunal* of the *Centuries*. *C. Gracchus*, says the *Roman* Orator, *legem tulit, ne de capite civium Romanorum, injussu vestro, judicaretur*. *Cicero* was then pleading the Cause of *Rabirius* before the *Centuries*. In his Oration for *Sextius* he expresses himself thus; *Cur, cum de capite civis, & de bonis prescriptio ferretur? Cum & sacris legibus & duodecim tabulis sancitum esset—neque de capite, nisi comitis centurialibus rogari. Nulla vox est audita Consulum*. After which he adds, that the Laws had wisely provided for the Safety of private Persons, in not suffering their Lives to depend on the Humours of a Magistrate, or a mad Populace: *Atque his quidem legibus firmata in primis libertas civis Romani putatur. quod caput ejus, nec magistratum libidini, nec plebis arbitrio, sed totius populi Romani judicio, esset commissum*.

R r r r r

certain

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and A. ÆTER-
NIUS, Consuls.

certain Death. Accordingly, my Uncle interceded, and was refused by the Consuls. The Son therefore followed his Father, being firmly resolved not to abandon him, but resolutely to die with him. This Deposition was full of affecting Circumstances, and the People were moved at it. But they could not refrain from Tears, when the Father and Son appeared also; and set in a clear Light the Inhumanity of the General, who had devoted so many brave Men to Destruction, for no other Reason but because they were *Plebeians*, and in Credit among the People. The whole Assembly were full of Indignation against the Criminal, when the *Tribune* ordered him to answer, and make his Defence. Nevertheless he did not lay aside his haughty Air, even in this Crisis. He insisted upon this Maxim, which he said was authorized by Custom, that a *Consul* was not accountable to any Body for his Administration. The *Tribes* therefore immediately united, to give their Suffrages, and *T. Romilius* was unanimously declared guilty of a wicked Attempt against the publick Welfare, and was fined ten thousand *Asses* ⁸⁰ of Brass. A few Days after, came on the Trial of *Veturius* his Collegue. He was an Accomplice in the same Things with which *Romilius* had been reproached. But History has not told us, he was more guilty; nay he even appears to have been less so, and yet his Fine was one Third larger. He paid fifteen thousand *Asses* of Brass: Doubtless, either because *Sicinnius* was satisfied with humbling his Enemy, and would not impoverish him, or else out of the Regard the People had to *Romilius's* Merit, and his last Victory.

Livy B. 3.
Ibid.
Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 674.

Dion. Hal.
B. 10. Ibid.

Varro, Gellius,
and Festus.

Dion. Hal.
B. 10. Ibid.

§. XVIII. THIS first Act of *Sicinnius* the *Tribune* made him Master of the Commonalty; and the *Consuls*, as well as Senate, were afraid of his superior Genius. They had just had an Example before their Eyes, which might well intimidate them. Therefore *Tarpeius* and *Æternius* disclaimed being any longer the Heads of the *Patrician* Faction, like their Predecessors; and shewed themselves on all Occasions Friends to the *Plebeians*. They no longer made a Secret of it. In the first *Comitia* by *Centuries*, which they assembled in the *Campus Martius*, they passed a Law, which was very advantageous to the *Tribunes*. The famous *Poplicola* had formerly made a Law, that whoever should resist the Magistrates, or disobey them, when they were in the Exercise of their Office, should pay a Fine of five *Oxen*, and two *Sheep*. The new *Consuls* raised the Fine ⁸¹, in this Assembly of the People, to two *Sheep*, and thirty *Oxen*. Every *Ox* was valued at a hundred *Asses* of Brass, and every *Sheep* at ten. When *Poplicola* passed this Law, which was called the *Valerian* Law, the meaning of the Word *Magistrates* was confined to the *Consuls*, there being then no *Tribunes of the People*. But *Tarpeius* and *Æternius* gave it a more extensive Signification; and determined, that the *Tribunes* likewise should be included under it. This new Regulation raised the *Tribunes* very much, and put them almost upon a Level with the *Consuls*. Yet still this was not enough for the brave *Sicinnius*. He had it at Heart, to get the *Terentian* Law passed in his Time; or at least to take care to pave the Way effectually for it. The Business was to make a Code of Laws, which the *Consuls* should be obliged to follow in their Deliberations, and which should be their Rule in passing Judgments. *Sicinnius* persuaded himself he should have Interest enough in the Senate, to get the Votes of the *Conscript Fathers*, and accordingly presented a Petition to

l. s. d.
* 32, 5, 10,
Arbuthnot.

l. s. d.
* 48, 8, 9.
Arbuthnot.

So If we reckon the 10000 *Asses* * according to the Weight of the *French* Farthings, the Sum will be considerable, and amount to 6750 *Livres*: But if we make each *As* no more than a Pound-weight of twelve Ounces, and worth no more than one *Sol*, the Fine will amount to no more than five hundred *Livres*, and *Veturius's* ^b fifteen thousand *Asses*, will, according to this way of reckoning, come to seven hundred and fifty *Livres*.

⁸¹ In the Editions of *Dion. Hal.* we read *two Oxen and thirty Sheep*. Δύο βίας καὶ τριάκοντα πρόβατα. *Briffon. B. 1. c. 3. in select. ex jure Ant.* guesses with Reason that there is an Error here, and that we ought to read *thirty Oxen and two Sheep*. Δύο πρόβατα καὶ τριάκοντα βίας. His Authority, is a Passage in *Aulus Gellius B. 2. c. 1. Muletam, quæ appellatur suprema, institutam, in singulos, duarum ovium, boum triginta; pro copia scilicet boum, proque ovium penuria*; that is, that the highest Fine did not exceed two Sheep and thirty Oxen. The Reason he gives for this, is, that the former sort of

Cattle were then much scarcer than the latter. For this Reason, *Timæus* in his *Greek History of Rome*, and *Varro* in his *Antiquities*, derive the Name of *Italy*, from the old *Greek* Word *ἰταλός*, which signifies an Ox. *Aulus Gellius* adds, that by the *Æternian*, or *Æternian* Law, the Fine was changed into ten *Asses* of Brass for each *Sheep*, and a hundred for each *Ox*, that is into 3020 *Asses* in all; because it happened, that those who were condemned to pay in Cattle, sometimes gave *Sheep* and *Oxen* of a greater, and sometimes of a less Value. We have observed in another Place, that these Names of *Sheep* and *Oxen* were given to pieces of Copper Money, which began to be stamped with the Figures of these Animals, in the Reign of *Servius Tullius*. *Plutarch* speaking of the Fine set by *Poplicola*, says a *Sheep* was then worth ten *Oboli*, and an *Ox*, a hundred. The *Obolus* was the sixth Part of the *Attick Drachma*, according to *Pliny B. 21. Drachma Attica denarii argentei habet pondus, eadem sex obolos pondere efficit*.

them.

them. He could depend upon the present *Consuls*, and a good Number of Senators: But *Romilius* was prejudiced against him, and his Opinion could not but be of great Weight. Nevertheless, *Sicinnius* had the Confidence to push on the Affair with Vigour. The first who gave their Opinions were pretty much divided. At length they came to *Romilius*, whose Age, and the Time of his Admission into the House, had placed him in the middle between the oldest and youngest Senators. His Opinion was expected with an impatient Curiosity, and he was heard with Attention. *You know too well*, says he, *my Quarrels with the Tribunes, and the Grounds I have to be dissatisfied with the People, not to be convinced, that I am no Flatterer of them. And yet, shall I not be accused of Levity, if I take their Part? Why, will the World say, is this Consul, who heretofore so warmly opposed the Terentian Law, become an Advocate for it? I frankly acknowledge, Patricians, that as long as I thought your Cause capable of being supported, I defended it at all Hazards. But now you have rendered it incapable of being maintained. You have sacrificed your most zealous Defenders. You have given up my Colleague and me to a Power which you acknowledge to be superior to your own. Our Business then is not to look back on what is passed, but to provide for the future. In the present State of Affairs, the wisest Way is, to comply with the Times. Far be it from me to think of Revenge, or courting Favour! The publick Good is my only Aim. I judge of the future by what is past. What have we got by all our Contests with the People, but the Shame of being worsted by them? Shall we then engage in new Quarrels, only to receive fresh Affronts? Shall we again expose our Consuls to be brought to their Trial before the People, and to be condemned by them, without any Assistance or Protection? My own Experience has made me wise in behalf of other Men. I therefore conclude, that we ought to grant the People their Demand, and send a Deputation into Greece, to transcribe the Laws of the wisest Law-givers. Out of them a Code may be made, which may serve for a Rule to our Judges. When the Deputies are returned, the Senate may name Commissioners, who will be able to choose out of the Laws, which shall have been compiled, whatever will best suit with our Manners and Customs. In short, Patricians, let it be your first Care to avoid any Contests with the People, especially concerning Laws! It is, generally speaking, a creditable thing to call for them, and disreputable to reject them.*

THUS spake *Romilius* contrary to the Expectation of the Senate. The two *Consuls* were of his Opinion, and were followed by a Majority of the Senators. But before the Decree was passed, the *Tribune Sicinnius* rose up, and spake in Commendation of *Romilius*. Never was a more sudden Reconciliation. Whence it is evident, their Quarrels arose only from the different Judgments they formed of what tended to the publick Good. As soon as they came to join in Opinion, their Hearts were immediately united. *Romilius* had not yet paid his Fine: The *Tribune* declared that he remitted it. *The Gods forbid*, replies *Romilius*, *that I should defraud them of the Money which belongs to them. The Fine exacted of me, is consecrated by the Laws to religious Uses. I therefore cannot detain it without Impiety.* This double Instance, both of Moderation and Disinterestedness, did *Romilius* more Honour, than he could have received from a Triumph. The Decree passed, which commanded a Deputation to be sent, to collect the Laws of the Grecian Cities: And ⁸³ *Sp. Posthumius*, ⁸⁴ *S. Sulpicius*, and *A. Manlius* were deputed to go to *Athens*, to get Copies of the Laws of ⁸⁵ *Draco*, ⁸⁶ *Solon*,

Year of
R O M E
CCXCIX.

SP. TARPEIUS
and A. ÆTER-
NIUS, Consuls.

⁸² Pecuniary Fines were applied to religious Uses. The Money arising from them, was dedicated to some Divinity, either towards the Expence of the Sacrifices offered up to him, or towards the adorning or repairing his Temple.

⁸³ These three Deputies were, after their Return, made a part of the *Decemviri*, who were appointed to draw up a Body of Roman Laws, out of those borrowed from the Greeks, and some others which were added to them.

⁸⁴ *Livy* gives *Sulpicius* the *Prænomen* of *Publius*, instead of that of *Servius*. But it is probable only such Men were chosen for this important Embassy, as had been *Consuls*. And upon this Supposition, we must adhere to *Dion. Hal.* who makes *Servius Sulpicius* one of the Deputies, and not *Publius*. The first had been *Consul* as well as the

other two; but the *Fasti Consulares*, don't mention any *Publius Sulpicius*, who had been *Consul* before that time.

⁸⁵ *Draco* was an *Athenian* Lawgiver. He lived in the Year 624 before Christ, about the 39th Olympiad. The extravagant Severity of the Laws he made, gave Occasion to *Herodotus* to say, that they had been dictated by a Dragon, and not by a Man. And *Demades* said for the same Reason, that they had been written in Blood. The Punishments inflicted by them, were so little proportioned to Crimes, that the least Faults were made capital, as well as the greatest. So that a Man who was accused of leading an effeminate Life, or of stealing a few Herbs, was punished in the same manner, as a professed Thief, or Robber upon the Highway. *Draco* answered those, who reproached him with this

Year of
R O M E
CCXCIX.

SP. TARPEIUS
and A. ÆTER-
NIUS, Consuls,
Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 676.

Solon ⁸⁶, and other Law-givers; and to study the Manners, and wise Institutions of the well constituted Cities in Greece. The *Questors* ⁸⁷ ordered some ⁸⁸ *Triremes*, magnificently adorned, to be fitted out with Speed, in order to give the *Greeks* an advantageous Opinion of the *Roman* Republick, to which they were almost entirely Strangers. The Deputies set out, and left *Rome* in the Enjoyment of a profound Peace: Which it owed to the Wisdom, Valour, and Probity of *Sicimius*. Hitherto scarce any great Man had appeared, but of the *Patrician* Body. Now a meer *Plebeian* almost equalled the *Bruti*, and the *Poplicolæ*, in Glory. He won several Battles, though no General; and though but an inferior Magistrate, found Means to humble the *Consuls*, and bring the Senate to Reason. He kept the People in order, by wise Measures; and the *Patricians* by their Fear. In short he procured the *Romans* Laws, which made them as considerable for their Equity, as their Arms; and which are to this Day the Foundation of civil Justice, in all the States of *Europe*.

this unjust Disproportion, that the least Faults deserved Death, and that no greater Punishment could be found out for the greatest Crimes. The Death of this Law-giver, was glorious, and tragical at the same time. Appearing one Day in the Theatre, he was received with the Acclamations of the People, who to shew their Respect for him, according to the Customs of that time, threw so great a Number of Robes and Caps at him, from all Parts of the Theatre, that they beat him down, and suffocated him with them. After his Death, the *Athenians* did not think proper to put his Laws in execution. They were entirely abolished by *Solon*; excepting those which concerned Murders.

⁸⁶ *Solon*, one of the seven wise Men of Greece, was born at *Athens*, the 639th Year before Christ, and the second Year of the 35th Olympiad. He was *Archon*, in the time of *Tarquin the Elder*. He substituted more reasonable Laws, in the room of those *Draco* had made. But he enacted no Punishment against Parricides, as believing there were no such Monsters in Nature. He used to say, that

Laws were like Spiders-webs, which caught nothing but Flies. By which he meant, that the Crimes of great Men go unpunished, whilst the little ones only suffer the Rigour of the Law.

⁸⁷ There were *Questors* in *Rome* from the time of *Valerius Poplicola*. Their chief Business was to keep the publick Treasure, and to defray the publick Expences. They had the Title of *Questores Urbani*, or *Questores Ærarii*, to distinguish them from other *Questors*, whose Offices were different from theirs, as we shall observe in its proper Place.

⁸⁸ It is not yet time to speak of the antient *Triremes*. This is not the proper Place for it. We shall defer our Remarks upon them, to the time, when naval Affairs came to be introduced among the *Romans*. We will then endeavour to give the Reader entire Satisfaction, about this important Point of Antiquity, which has very lately been the Subject of several Debates among some learned Men.



T H E

Roman History.

B O O K X.

THE three hundredth Year, from the Foundation of *Rome*, was a Year of Peace. Under the new *Consuls*, ¹ *Sex. Quintilius*, and *P. Horatius*, the *Aequi* not having yet recovered themselves from the Fright of their last

Year of
R O M E
CCC.
SEX. QUIN-
TILIUS and P.
HORATIUS,
Consuls.



Silver

Overthrow, seemed willing to keep within their Limits. At Home, the *Tribunes* and People, being content with having established the *Terentian* Law, waited quietly for the Return of the Deputies, with the Laws they were to bring from *Greece*. But it seems to have been the Fate of the *Romans*, in the first Ages of the Republick, not to enjoy any perfect Tranquillity. They had hitherto been always in Wars, the Prosecution of which had been continually obstructed by domestick Seditions; and now, in the only Interval of Peace, they had a great while enjoyed, a Plague happened at *Rome*, and made exceeding great Havock. *Rome* was said to have been like a Lake full of Mud. If it was not kept in Motion by the Winds of War, and Sedition, it threw out pestilential Vapours, which infected the Air. However that were, *Rome* had never been visited with a more fatal Contagion, since her Foundation. Almost all the Slaves died of it; and it swept away almost half the People. A Poison came from the Diseased, which communicated it self to those who touched them, or even breathed the Air about them. The Sick were utterly destitute of any Relief, and the dead Bodies were left unburied. They were thrown together into the common *Sewers* and the *Tyber*, and were often cast upon the Strand, where they lay and infected all the Air of the Neighbourhood. In short, the Water of the River was so corrupted, that it first caused Indigestions, and then Diseases, which carried Men off in a few Days. From the City, the Sickness spread it self into the Country. The Cattle, and their Keepers were both infected. The Husbandmen died, and the Tillage of the Earth was neglected. It often happens that a Famine produces a Plague; but in the present Instance, the Plague produced a Famine. This double Scourge

Livy B. 3.
c. 32.
Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 677.
St. Aug. de
Civit. Dei, B.
3. c. 18.
Orosius B. 2.
c. 12.

¹ *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus* in his *Chronicon*, differ from *Dion. Hal.* as to the Name of the second Consul for this Year. The two former call him, *P. Curiatius*, or *Curatius*. The *Greek Tables* have divided the Name and *Prænomens* of *Sextus Quintilius*; and thereby make two *Consuls* of him. *Dion.* also fell into the same Mistake, when he confounded the Surname of *Tergeminus*, in the Person of *Sextus Quintilius*. We have followed *Dion. Hal.*'s reading, as most agreeable to the *Fasti Consulares*, which make the *Consuls* of this Year to be *Sex. Quintilius*, *Sex. Filius*, *P. Nepos*, and *Horatius P. Filius*, *P. Nepos*, *Tergeminus*. As to the Surname of *Tergeminus*, or *Trigeminus*, nothing

can be concluded from thence in *Horatius*'s Favour, since the same Surname was common to both the Families of these two *Romans*, since the memorable Combat, between the three *Horatii*, and the three *Curiatii*, which settled the Dominion of *Rome*, over the City of *Alba*. *Guy Patin* has given us a Head, from a Medal of the *Curiatian* Family, with the Surname of *Trigeminus*. But what confirms *Dion. Hal.*'s reading, is, that antient Authors have not told us of any Consul, before this time, who bore the Surname of *Curiatius* or *Curatius*. Whereas the *Horatii* were a considerable Family among the *Patricians* of *Rome*, from the very beginning of the Republick.

Year of *R O M E* made the *Romans* have Recourse to their Gods, and their ² usual Expiations. The more pressing the Evil was, the more madly Superstitious they grew. They invented new sorts of Worship, and the prophane Writers themselves are scandalized at the illegal Practices they introduced into Religion. But as their Recourse to the Gods proved fruitless, they deserted their Temples, and shed no more Blood upon the Altars. Death spared not the most illustrious *Romans*. The *Consul Quintilius* died of the common Distemper, as did *Sp. Furius* ³, who had been nominated to succeed him. The high Priest of *Jupiter*, *Serv. Cornelius*, and the *Augur* ⁴ *Horatius Pulvillus*, were carried off by the Violence of the Disease. In short, four *Tribunes of the People*, and a great Number of the wisest of the Senators, were involved in the common Destruction.

CCC.
SEX. QUINTILIUS and P. HORATIUS, Consuls.

THE melancholy Condition to which *Rome* was now reduced, made her Enemies willing to take this Opportunity of revenging themselves upon her. The *Æqui*, who were always bent upon destroying the Republick, excited the Nations which were jealous of it, to unite together in order to compleat its Ruin. But their Designs were prevented by the same Plague, which afflicted the *Romans*. It spread itself to their Neighbours. The *Æqui*, the *Sabines*, and the *Volsci*, fell a Prey to the same Contagion. So that this fatal Year was not distinguished by any memorable Action.

Year of *R O M E* CCCI.
P. SESTIUS, and T. MENE- NIUS, Consuls.
Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 678.

§. II. EARLY the next Year, first Health, and then Plenty returned to *Rome*. *P. Sestius*, and *T. Menenius* were then *Consuls*. The *Romans* had now nothing to fear from foreign Enemies; the Sickneſs had weakened them. Besides, the Plague was now entirely over, both in the City and the Country. Then the Ceremonies of Religion were renewed in their usual Course, and the Games of the *Circus* were a Recreation to the People, after suffering so many Calamities. The whole Winter was spent in Entertainments and Rejoicings, notwithstanding the dearth of Provisions. And the Scarcity entirely vanished early in the Spring, by means of the great Plenty of Necessaries which were brought to *Rome* from all Parts. Then likewise the three Deputies returned from *Greece*, who were to establish such Rules for the Administration of Justice in the Republick, as were to be always observed, and make it uniform and stable. And yet, which is almost incredible, their Return, which was so long expected with Impatience, was agreeable to no body but the *Tribunes*. They presented their Petition to the *Consuls*, desiring them to get the Senate to nominate ten Commissioners, who, as Law-givers, were to have the Care of drawing up ten

² Strictly speaking, Expiations were to be used only for Crimes. Nevertheless these Ceremonies were become so common among the *Romans*, that they used them almost on all Occasions, whether of a publick or private Nature. The Command of an Army, the Celebration of the publick Sports and Festivals, were not to be undertaken, or the Assemblies of the People to be held, without this Superstition, which was thought a religious and necessary Precaution. The *Pagans* used likewise to have Recourse to Purifications and expiatory Sacrifices, to avert any Misfortune, or ill Omen. The preparatory Expiations, they were obliged to perform, who were admitted into the Mysteries of *Eleusis*, or prepared to consult the Oracle of *Trophonius*, were thought so many religious Acts. *Ovid* with Reason laughs at those, who washed themselves in running Water, by way of Expiation for Homicide.

*Ab nimium faciles, qui tristia crimina cædis
Fluminæ tolli posse putatis aqua.* Fasti B. 2.

Aspersions, Washings, Sacrifices, were all used in the solemn Purification of Cities, Countries, and Armies. Hence come the Words, *Amburbium*, *Ambarvalia*, *Armillustrum*. Marriages, Funerals, and all Undertakings of Importance, were always preceded by some Expiation, with a View to appease the Gods, and make them propitious to those who performed them.

³ *Livy* tells us indeed, that the *Consul Sextus Quintilius* died of the Plague; but he says nothing, either of *Spurius Furius*'s being chosen to succeed

Quintilius, or of the Death of the new *Consul*, who was carried off by the Sickneſs, soon after his Election.

⁴ *Livy* says the *Augurs* chose *Caius Veturius*, who had been *Consul* the Year before, to succeed *Horatius Pulvillus* in his *Augurship*. And according to him, the little Regard the People shewed for him, by laying a pecuniary Mulct upon him, was one of the chief Motives, which determined the College to prefer him. Whence we may observe, that the College had then the right of filling up the Vacancies in their College themselves. But this Custom was altered in the Year 650. when *Domitius Aenobarbus* the *Tribune of the People*, transferred to them the right of electing the *Pontifices*, and *Augurs*, who were then but four, and all of *Patrician* Families. Their Number was not increased till the Year 654.

⁵ *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* give the *Consul Menenius* the *Prænomen* of *Caius*. *Diodorus* and *Festus* call him *Titus*. The *Fasti* of *Cuspinian* only call the *Consuls* of this Year by the Surnames of *Lanatus*, and *Vatricanus*. *Publius Sestius* is surnamed *Capitolinus* by *Diodorus* and *Festus*. The *Fasti Capitolini* run thus; *P. Sestius Q. F. V. N. Capitolinus*. *T. Menenius*, to whom the *Greek* Tables give the Surname of *Lanatus*, was probably the Son of him, who was *Consul* in the Year of *Rome* 276. *Dion. Hal.* calls the two *Consuls* for this Year *Lucius Menenius*, and *Publius Sestius*. We follow the *Fasti Consulares*, which give the former the *Prænomen* of *Titus*.

Tables of Laws, out of the Materials which were brought from Greece. But the *Consuls* did not find their Account in establishing these Laws. This was a Diminution of their Authority, who were certainly more formidable, whilst they continued to determine Causes in an arbitrary manner. They therefore prolonged the Affair, and pretended they were near going out of their Office. In short the *Decemviri* were not put into Commission, till the next *Consuls* were chosen. The *Comitia* were therefore assembled before their usual time, and ⁶ *Appius Claudius*, and *T. Genucius* were nominated beforehand, to succeed *Sestius* and *Menenius*, as soon as their time should expire. These *Consuls*, who were designed ⁷ for the next Year, plainly foresaw, that the *Decemviri* must necessarily take their Places, in their Year, and become Masters of all Power in the Republick. They therefore thought of retaining a part at least of that Authority which was ready to be divided among ten Men. It then evidently appeared, that that *Roman* Constancy, and that Zeal of the most rigid *Patricians*, for the Interests of their own Body, were at Bottom nothing else but a refined Ambition. So that this *Appius Claudius*, who had hitherto valued himself upon his immovable Attachment to the Party of the Nobility, and who seemed to have derived it from the Blood of his Ancestors, changed all at once. This new Flatterer of the People joined with the *Tribunes*, in order to get the *Decemviri* appointed. His Colleague *Genucius* followed his Example, but with more Moderation. *Claudius* publicly undertook the Defence of the popular Faction. The *Tribunes* prevailed on him, to make an Harangue in their Favour, before the general Assembly. He there publicly declared, that he, and his designed Colleague for the ensuing Year, were willing to have ten Men nominated, to draw up a Code of Laws. He likewise promised the People, that he would renounce the *Consulship*, as soon as he should succeed to it, in order to give the *Decemviri* full Liberty to govern the Republick themselves, independently of any others. But *Claudius* had his private Views. He expected that, by the Favour of the *Tribunes*, he should be placed at the Head of the *Decemviri*, and by that means have a more absolute Authority, than if he had barely continued *Consul*. He likewise then formed a Scheme of obtaining that tyrannical Power, which he afterwards attempted to usurp.

THE ambitious *Claudius* therefore, having a considerable Interest, as a Person nominated to the *Consulship* for the next Year, desired that the Senate might be assembled, and it was granted. His intended Colleague also entered into his Measures. They both together forced the *Consul Sestius* to preside in the Senate alone, and to declare for the Creation of the *Decemviri*. His Colleague *Menenius*, who was a worthy *Patrician*, had too much Honour to bring a Stain upon his Character, by betraying the Interests of the Nobility. He pretended to be sick, or perhaps really was so. He is said to have been so much affected, by the Wound which was ready to be given to his Party, that he pined away with Grief. However, the Senate was assembled without him; but the Affair of the *Decemviri* did not pass without some Opposition. Many Senators were for adhering to the antient Laws of their Country, without admitting of any Innovations. Nevertheless *Appius*, who voted first, carried a Majority with him. He got a Decree, that ten Men, venerable for their Age and Wisdom, should be chosen, to whom should be referred the Examination of

Year of
R O M E
CCCI.
P. SESTIUS
and T. MENE-
NIUS, Consuls.

⁶ *Appius Claudius* is surnamed *Crassinus*, in the *Fasti Capitolini*. *Diodorus* and *Suetonius*, in the *Life of Tiberius*, give him the Surname of *Regillanus*, which was adopted by the *Claudian* Family. This *Claudius* was Grandson to *Marcus Claudius*, as appears by the Account given of this Year's *Consuls* in the *Fasti Capitolini*. *Ap. Claudius Ap. F. M. N. Crassinus*. *T. Genucius L. F. L. N. Angurinus*. Besides, as we learn from *Livy* that *C. Claudius* who was *Consul* in the Year of *Rome* 293. was Uncle to *Appius Crassinus*, and the Son of *Claudius* the *Sabine* who was *Consul* in the Year 258. we must, in order to avoid derogating from the Authority of the *Fasti Capitolini*, give this last *Claudius*, the Grandfather of *Crassinus*, the *Prænomen* of *Marcus*, and not that of *Appius*, which *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* give him. But this is a difficult Matter to determine one Way or the other. As to the *Prænomen* of *Claudius Crassinus*, *Tully B. 2. de finib.* changes

it into that of *Publius*, though antient Writers and the *Fasti Consulares*, always give him the *Prænomen* of *Appius*. *Diodorus* is guilty of the same Mistake: Nor is he more exact in the Name of the second *Consul*, whom he calls, *Titus Minutius*.

⁷ It was an established Custom in *Rome*, at least in the latter Ages of the Republick, to assemble the *Comitia*, in order to proceed to the Election of new Magistrates, some Months before they entered upon their Office. After the *Consuls* for the next Year were appointed, the present *Consul*, who presided in the *Comitia* proclaimed them, and offered up a Prayer to the immortal Gods, beseeching them, that the Election of the new *Consuls* might prove happy to himself, and advantageous to the *Roman* People. *Ut ea res sibi magistratuique suo, Populo, Plebique Romanæ, bene atque feliciter eveniret.* *Tull. Orat. for Murena.*

Year of
R O M E
CCCI.
P. SESTIUS
and T. MENE-
NIUS, Consuls.

Livy B. 3.
c. 33.

Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 680.
Livy B. 3.
c. 33.

Year of
R O M E
CCCI.
APPIUS CLAU-
DIUS, T. GE-
NUTIUS, P. SE-
STIUS, SP.
POSTHUMIUS,
SERV. SULPI-
TIUS, A. MAN-
LIUS, T. RO-
MILIUS, P. HO-
RATIUS, C. JU-
LIUS, and SP.
VETURIUS, De-
cemviri.

the Laws brought from Greece; and that each should take his Part, according to the Subject Matter of them, and reduce under proper Heads, what concerned the Rights of private Families, what related to the Government of the State, and what belonged to the Rites of Religion, and the Worship of the Gods. It was likewise decreed, that there should be no Power lodged in any Hands but theirs; that the Authority of *Consuls*, ⁸ *Tribunes*, *Ediles*, and *Questors* should cease; that there should be no Appeal from them to any other Persons; and in short, that during their Administration they should be the sole Judges of War and Peace, and of all Matters of Justice.

§. III. BUT when these ten Law-givers came to be chosen, the *Tribunes* made some Opposition to it. They demanded, that a Part at least of these new Governors should be *Plebeians*. But the Senate obstinately insisted on confining to their own Party the little Advantage of being the only Persons intrusted with drawing up Laws for the Republick. Being therefore willing to put an end to the Affair, the People at last granted this trifling Honour to the Nobility; but nevertheless upon Condition, that the *Decemviri* should not alter two Laws especially, which were favourable to the Commonalty. The first was that which gave the People Ground to build upon on the Hill *Aventinus*, and which was preserved, 'written in Brass, in the Temple of *Diana*. The second was that which was made on the *Mons Sacer*, whereby it was enacted, that the *Tribunes* should always be the Defenders of the People; and that their Persons should, under the Protection of the Gods, be inviolable. These two Articles were promised the *Tribunes*, and then nothing remained but to choose the *Decemviri*. In *Comitia* assembled by *Centuries* with the same Ceremonies, as for the Election of *Consuls*, the Roman People ⁹ chose by Vote the ten Legislators, who were to be at the same time the supreme Governors of the State. The first who were chosen, were *Appius Claudius*, and his Colleague *Genucius*. To them was added *Sestius* the *Consul*, whose Office was just expiring, and who had just pronounced the Decree for creating the *Decemviri*. It was natural for the People, to give ¹⁰ *Sp. Posthumius*, ¹¹ *Serv. Sulpitius*, and ¹² *A. Manlius* a part in compiling the Laws they had collected, and brought from Greece, and they therefore were also made a part of the *Decemviri*. After them came *T. Romilius*. The People remembered, that notwithstanding his Discontent, which proceeded from his Probity, he was the first who had voted for passing the *Terentian Law*: And they therefore

⁸ This Compliance of the People, in depriving themselves of the Assistance of their *Tribunes*, plainly shews how much their Hearts were set upon the passing of the *Terentian Law*. Hitherto, even when the Republick was governed by a *Dictator*, the *Tribunes* still continued to exercise their Offices, though all other Magistrates were forbidden to execute theirs. And *Plutarch*, in his *Roman Questions*, gives us the Reason of this Exception. *The Tribunes of the People*, says he, *were not considered by the Romans, as real Magistrates. They only acted as Protectors of the People against the Oppression of the Patricians. Besides*, continues he, *they were not suffered to assume the Ensigns of Magistracy. They did not wear the purple Robe, nor were attended by the Lictors; and had but one Officer at their Command, whom the Romans called Viator. His Business was to deliver their Orders, and carry their Messages. In a Word*, says the same Author, *the Tribunes did not enjoy the Honours of the Curule Chair. Their Seat was neither so much adorned, nor so high: And it was therefore called Sub Sellium. We shall speak of its Form and Use in another Place. Nevertheless Tully and Livy often give the Tribunes of the People the Title of Magistrates: Though the latter seems to say the contrary in other Places. In order to reconcile these different Opinions, it must be said, that they had all the Essentials of Magistracy, by means of their Authority, and their Pre-eminence in the Comitia, without enjoying the Honours of it, which at first belonged only to the Patricians. Add to this, that Tully spoke in a Time, when the Senators, and the most noble Romans, had acquired the right of standing Candidates for the Tribunehip.*

⁹ The Government of the Republick was transferred from the *Consuls* to the *Decemviri*, in the 302^d Year of Rome, or from *Romulus*; according to the Computation of *Livy*, the *Fasti Capitolini*, *Eutropius*, *Solinus*, and *Eusebius* in his *Chronicon*. And *Tully B. 2. de Finib.* fixes the Institution of the *Decemviri* to this time. *Sextus Cæcilius* the *Civilian* in *Aulus Gellius B. 2. c. 20.* and *Orosius*, are therefore manifestly mistaken, in placing the Creation of these new Magistrates in the Year 300. Perhaps it may be the Mistake of their Copyists, in transcribing the Numbers.

¹⁰ *Spurius Posthumius*, who had been *Consul* in the Year of Rome 287. is surnamed *Calvinus* only by *Diodorus*. *Dion. Hal.* is inconsistent with himself as to his *Prænomen*. When he speaks of his Deputation to Greece, he calls him *Spurius*, and when he reckons up the *Decemviri*, he calls him *Publius Posthumius*.

¹¹ The *Servius Sulpicius* surnamed *Camerinus*, who is here spoken of, was *Consul* in the 292^d Year of Rome. So *Livy* calls him when he speaks of his *Consulate*. But here this Historian changes his *Prænomen* of *Servius*, into that of *Publius*. *Diodorus* gives him the *Prænomen* of *Cains*.

¹² *Aulus Manlius* surnamed *Vulso* in the *Fasti Capitolini*, is not placed among the *Decemviri* by *Diodorus*. He had been *Consul*, and had presided at the *Roman Census*, in the Year of Rome 279. *Floccus* is mistaken in placing one *Manilius* among the Deputies who were sent to Greece, to make a Collection of the Grecian Laws.

gave him a Place among the *Decemviri*. The three others who were chosen, were Men of noble Extraction, and known Wisdom. The first was one *C. Julius Iulus*, of the same Family from which *Julius Caesar* afterwards descended. The second one was *T. Veturius*, who had formerly been *Consul*; and the third ¹⁴ *P. Horatius*, who was *Consul* the last Year of the third Century of *Rome*.

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§. IV. THE *Roman* People expected to enjoy great Happiness, under this wise Administration. When the time came for *Appius* and *Genutius* to exercise the Office of *Consuls*, they declined it, and the whole Care of the Republick fell upon the *Decemviri*. This was almost as remarkable a Revolution in the Government of *Rome*, as that which changed the Kings into *Consuls*. At least it's certain, that the Name of *Consul* was now grown high as odious as that of *King* had formerly been. Nothing could be more gentle and moderate than the beginning of this Joint-reign of ten Men. They agreed among themselves, that only one of their Body should have the *Fasces* carried before him, for ten Days, and wear the purple Robe, as the *Dictators* did; that then all the rest should take their Turns of enjoying the same Honour, for the same Space of Time; and that he who should be this Head for the time being, should have the sole right of assembling the Senate, presiding in it, and confirming its Decrees. The rest, who were not actually exercising their Authority, affected no Distinction, but that of Guards; their Habits differed little from those of the other Senators. Their Business was to draw up, each his particular part of the Laws, which fell to his Lot, and to administer Justice to the People. They appeared early in the Morning, sitting on different *Tribunals*, in order to hear all the Causes which the Inhabitants of *Rome* should bring before them, whether they were only between Citizen and Citizen, or between Citizens and Allies. And the Equity of these Judges was untainted. Such as thought themselves injured by any of their Decisions, were permitted to bring the same Cause to some other Tribunal of their Collegues: But this not by Appeal, it was only a Rehearing. In criminal Causes, their judgments were perfectly just, but not given without some Regard and Deference to the Authority of the People. A Man was found murdered in the House of a *Patrician* named *Sestius*. He was doubtless related to one of the *Decemviri*, who bore the same Name. *Sestius* was cited to appear before the *Tribunal* of *Julius Iulus*. This *Decemvir* had a right of exercising an absolute Authority over the Criminal; but he declined it, and referred the Affair to the People, that they might not be entirely deprived of their antient Authority in criminal Cases. In the *Comitia*, *Julius* himself became the Criminal's Accuser, and he got him condemned. Nevertheless *Appius* was much more popular than any of his Collegues. He who was formerly an austere Magistrate, and difficult of Access, was now become affable and complaisant. He knew all the Citizens by their Names, received them with Respect, and saluted them with great Marks of Affection. Insomuch, that from being the Detestation, he became the Idol of the People.

Livy B. 3.
c. 33.

§. V. THE first Year of the *Decemvirate* was not yet ended, when each of the *Decemviri* presented to the People that part of the Laws which he had drawn up. The *Greek* Tongue was then scarce known at *Rome*, and the ten Law-givers could not have understood the Transcripts they had brought from *Athens*, if they had not been assisted by one *Hermodorus*, who being banished from *Ephesus*, his own Country, was then accidentally at *Rome*. It is said, *Heraclitus*, *Hermodorus's* Friend, wrote to him to congratulate him upon the Pains he had taken, in drawing up the *Roman* Laws. *I have, in a Dream*, said he, *seen all the People of the Earth bowing down before these Laws, and worshiping them in the Persian manner*. A Dream, which if real, was somewhat prophetic. The *Roman* Laws extended themselves as far as the *Roman* Empire, and survived it, after its Fall.

Pliny B. 34.
c. 3.

Strabo B. 14.

It is a Loss to the learned World, that these original Laws, which were the Foundation of the *Roman* Law, have not been conveyed down to us entire, in the order

¹³ Authors differ from the *Fasti Capitolini*, as to the *Prenomen* of *Veturius*. Some give him that of *Spurius*, others that of *Titus*, and some that of *Lucius*. We have followed *Dion. Hal.* who calls him *Titus*. This was probably the Man, who according to the *Greek* Historian obtained the Honours of an *Academy*, after he had conquered the *Aequi* and *Vulsci*.

¹⁴ We don't find *Publius Horatius* in *Livy*, either among the *Consuls* of the Year of *Rome* 300. or among the *Decemviri*. This Historian makes *Curatius Consul*, instead of him; and likewise places *Curatius* among the *Decemviri*, in his room.

Year of
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cemviri.
Cajus in di-
gest. Cujatius,
Godofredus,
Hottomanus,
Gravina, &c.

in which they were at first put by the *Decemviri*. We have only some scattered pieces of this Body, which are dispersed in several antient Writers, who have quoted these Laws. However, we will collect them with great Care, and by putting them together according to the Subject-Matter of them, give as true a Representation of these famous Tables of the *Roman* Laws, as the Nature of the thing will admit of, considering the Confusion, in which Antiquity has left them. Our Explanations of them will be taken from the true Interpreters of those Laws, the antient and modern *Civilians*.

TABLE I. Of LAW-SUITS.

I. LAW.

Go immediately with the Person ¹⁵ who cites you before the Judge.

II. LAW.

¹⁶ If the Person you cite, refuses to go with you before the Judge, take some that are present to be Witnesses of it, and you shall have a right to compel him to appear.

III. LAW.

¹⁵ This first Table contains all the Laws we could collect from several antient Authors, concerning the Method of carrying on Processes at Law. We have put this Table before the rest, because it is necessary to know what the Proceedings were before we come to Pleadings. We here give the Reader the original Terms in which this Law was drawn up; and he will observe in this as well as the following Laws, the old Language of the first *Romans*, and a Barbarism in Expression and Construction, which was revered for its Antiquity, even in the most polite Ages of *Rome*. This obsolete Language was entirely laid aside by every Body but the Lawyers, long before *Tully's* time; and was no longer in use any where but at the Bar. *S'IN JUS VOCAT, ATQUE EAT*. The Word *ATQUE* here signifies the same thing as *Statim*. *Virgil* uses it in this Sense in his first *Georgick*.

*Si brachia forte remisit,
ATQUE illum in præceps prono rapit alveus amni.*

That is, if we leave off rowing, we are immediately carried away with the Stream. The Sense of the Law is, that as soon as any Person is cited to appear before the Judge, he ought not to delay appearing. The different Forms of this Citation are to be found in antient Authors. They were such as these. *IN JUS EAMUS*. Let us go to the Judge. *IN JUS VENI*. Come and take your Trial. *SEQUERE AD TRIBUNAL*. Follow me to the Tribunal of the Judge. *IN JUS TE VOCO*. I cite you to appear. We find this manner of citing the Party before the Judge in several Places of *Plautus* and *Terence*. *Ite in jus, ne moremini, antestante me, atque duce*. *Pænul. Act. 5. S. 8. In jus ambula*. *Ter. in Phorm. Act. 5. S. 8. In jus, o fallax atque inficiator, Eamus*, says *Martial. Epig. B. 2*. What authorizes our putting this Law before all the rest is what *Tully* tells us, in his 2^d Book of *Laws*, that Children always had it in their Mouths. He tells us, that Children used to be taught to repeat the Laws of the twelve Tables by Heart, in their Youth; and complains that so wise a Custom was then laid aside. The young People therefore continually repeated the beginning of the twelve Tables which

they had learned. Their first Lesson was strongly fixed in their Memories.

¹⁶ This second Law is the Consequence of the first; and perhaps these two and the third were originally all but one Law. However, it was expressed thus. *N'IT ANTESTAMINO: IGITUR EM CAPITO*. But every Word in it needs an Explanation. *N'IT* is the same as *si non it*, that is, *If the Person cited does not go before the Judge*. *ANTESTAMINO* answers to the Words *ante testes sumito*, that is, *first take Witnesses*. Some Persons therefore were immediately taken to be Witnesses of the Resistance the Person cited made. The Ceremony used in taking these Witnesses, had somewhat pleasant in it. They were pulled a little by the Tips of the Ear, to make them remember to bear Witness. *Plautus* confirms this Custom, in his Comedy call'd *Perfa*. *Tuâne ergo causâ, Carnifex, cuiquam mortali libero aurem ut atteram?* *Horace* mentions this Custom in these Words,

—*Casu venit obvius illi
Adversarius, & quo tu, Turpissime? magna
Exclamat voce. Et licet antestari? ego vero
Oppono auriculam: rapit in Jus clamor utrinque.*
See B. I. Sat. 9.

Virgil alludes to the same Custom in his sixth Eclogue

—*Cynthus aurem
Vellit, & admonuit.*—

The Words *IGITUR EM CAPITO* signify the same thing as *Deinde cum capito*, or rather, *cum sistendi jus habeto*. Every body knows the Antients often used the Adverb *igitur*, instead of *deinde*. As to the Words *EM CAPITO*, they did not signify, *seize him by the Throat*: The contrary appears from the following Law. Their meaning was only this, *you shall have a right to force him to appear whether he will or no*. *Porphyrio* the Commentator upon *Horace*, and *Justus Lipsius B. 4. of his Epistolary Questions*, and *Epistle 27*. give us this second Law in these Words: *SI VIS VOCATIONIS FUAT, ANTESTAMINOR*. *Ni IT AUREM CAPITO ANTESTATI*. That is, *if the Person cited, refuses to go before the Judge, take Wit-*

nesses;

III. LAW.

17 If the Person cited Endeavours to escape from you, or puts himself into a Posture of Resistance, you may seize his Body.

IV. LAW.

18 If the Person prosecuted be old, or infirm, let him be carried in a Jumentum, or open Carriage. But if he refuse that, the Prosecutor shall not be obliged to provide him an Arcera, or a covered Carriage.

V. LAW.

19 But if the Person cited find a Security, let him go.

VI. LAW.

20 Only a rich Man shall be Security for a rich Man. But any Security shall be sufficient for a poor Man.

LAW VII.

nesses; and if he does not prepare to attend you, pull the Person whom you desire to be your Witness by the Tip of the Ear. It is plain that here the second Part is superfluous, and adds nothing to the former. We have therefore kept to the first reading, as most simple, and best supported.

17 The third Law was expressed thus. SI CALVITUR, PEDEM VE STRUIT, MANUM ENDO JACITO. Calvitur is the same as, *si te frustratur*, that is, if he would get away, or deceive you. We find this old Word used in this Sense in a Fragment of *Pacuvius*, and in *Plautus*. *Postquam calamitas plures annos arva calvitur*. *Plautus in Casina* to signify that Sleep makes the Hands useless, expresses himself thus, *Sopor manus calvitur*. But the other Words PEDEM VE STRUIT, are more difficult. The generality of the *Civilians* interpret them thus, if he would run away, *si retrorsum it*. But would not it be more natural to make them signify, if he stands firmly upon his Feet, viz. as to defend himself? Besides it is certain that the Verb *struo* has the same Signification as *seisw*, from which it is derived, according to *Vossius*. Lastly, the Words *manum endo jacto*, are the same as *manum injcito*, i. e. seize his Body. Every Body knows that *endo* in old *Latin*, signifies the same as the Preposition *in*. There was an Exception to this Law, as to such Persons, who were in themselves, or by Stations, considerable. The Prosecutor made them fix a Day, and give Security to appear upon it, which if they failed to do, Judgment was given against them by Default, and they were condemned either to pay some Fine, or suffer some other Punishment, according to the Nature of the Cause. By virtue of this Law, not only a *Roman Citizen*, but a *Foreigner* likewise, might force his Adversary to appear before the Judge, according to *Aulus Gellius B. 20. c. 1*. The Day of Appearance was either appointed by the Judge, and then it was called *dies status*; or by the Consent of the two Parties, and then it was called *dies conductus*. If the Person who was cited, and had given Security, did not appear, as soon as the Time appointed was expired, this was called *vadimonium differere*. If the Judge put off the hearing to another Day, the Cause was then said to be deferred. Hence the *Latin* Expression *vadimonium differre*. This Power which the Law gave, of dragging the Person that refused to go, to the Tribunal of the Consul or *Prætor* by Force, did not extend to the *Roman Ladies*, the Laws of Modesty and Civility would not suffer their Persons to be seized. Young Girls, who were yet under the Power of their Parents, could not be cited to appear in a Court of Justice, as *Valerius Maximus B. 2. and Hottoman. Leg. 12. Tabul. §. si Calvitur*, have observed.

18 The Words of this fourth Law are these.

SI MORBUS, ÆVITAS VE, VITIUM ESCIT, QUIN JUS VOCABIT, JUMENTUM DATO. SI NOLET, ARCE-
RAM NE STERNITO. In order to make it intelligible, we must observe, that the Lawgiver's Intention was, that no common Infirmary or old Age ÆVITAS should be allowed as a sufficient Excuse for Non-Appearance. He requires, that in such a Case, the Prosecutor shall furnish the Prosecuted with a JUMENTUM. And this I am authorized to call a Carriage, and not a Beast to ride upon, by *Cecilius the Civilian*, who says as much in his Answer to *Favorinus the Philosopher*, who accused this Law of being too severe. The Word *jumentum*, says he, antiently signified two Beasts joined together to the same Pole. If the Person cited was not satisfied with this sort of Cart, the Law-giver would not have the Prosecutor obliged to find him a covered one, called *Arcera*; which seems to be derived from the Verb *arcere*, because a Covering guards one from the Sun, or Rain. The Words *vitium escit* import, that the Disease or old Age must be such, as to be an Hindrance to the Person. The Word *escit* is here taken for *erit*, or *fuerit*. We shall find it used in this Sense more than once, in these Laws. *Lucretius* uses it, even in his time, in this Verse,

—inter summam minimamque quid escit?
that is, *quid intererit*?

19 The fifth Law is thus expressed; SI ENSIET, QUI IN JUS VOCATUM VINDICIT, MITITO. The Words *si ensiet*, signify the same as *si autem sit*, i. e. But if there be any one. I judge of it by *Philoxenus's Greek Translation* of this Law, who renders the *Latin en*, by the Conjunction *et*. The Word *vindicat* is equivalent to, *qui rem vindicaverit*. By the Word *vindicare*, which comes from *vindex*, we are to understand, to deliver a Man from having his Body seized, by giving Security for him, or by promising to appear for him. *Mitito* is here put for *mittito*, or *emittito*, i. e. Let him go.

20 This Law in the old *Latin* runs thus. ASIDUO ASIDUUS ESTO. PROLETARIO, CUI QUIVOLET, VINDEX ESTO. The Expression *Asiduo vindex asiduus esto*, amounts to the same as, *divitis vindex sit dives*. We have already observed that *vindex* signifies a Security, one that answers for another. As for the Word *asiduus*, or *asiduus*; (for this capital Letter among the small ones is equivalent to ss, as in the Verb *mitito* above, the capital T, is equivalent to two tt's;) the Word *asiduus*, I say, comes from the two Words *assem dare*, or *duere*, which signifies to distribute Money, which only the rich can do. Hence *Tully* remarks in his *Topicks*, *Locuples enim est assiduus, ab assedando*. By the Word *Proletarius* we are to understand a poor Citizen, who was in the lowest Class

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VII. LAW.

²¹ *The Judge shall only give Judgment according to the Agreement made between the two Parties, by the Way.*

VIII. LAW.

²² *If the Person cited has made no Agreement with his Adversary, let the Prætor hear the Cause from Sun-rising till Noon; and let both Parties be present when it is heard, whether it be in the Forum, or Comitium.*

IX. LAW.

²³ *Let the same Prætor give Judgment in the Afternoon, though but one of the Parties be present.*

X. LAW.

²⁴ *Let all Trials be ended at the going down of the Sun.*

XI. LAW.

²⁵ *When the Parties have pitched upon a Judge or Arbitrator by Consent, let them give Securities, that they will appear. Let him who does not appear in Court, pay the Penalty agreed*

Class in the Republick. We have already observed in another Place that they were called *Proletarii*, from the Word *Proles*; because as they paid no Taxes, the only Service they did the Republick was to supply it with *Children*.

²¹ This seventh Law was drawn up in these Words. ENDO VIA, REM UTI PAICUNT ORATO. By giving Securities, the Person was excused appearing in Court, or Judgment was avoided, if the Person accused had come to any Agreement or Treaty with the Prosecutor, as they were coming from the Place where the Citation had been served upon him, to the Court. This is the meaning of this seventh Law. The Words *endo via* amount to the same thing as *in via*. The Words *rem orato* are directed to the Judge, and signify the same as *Judex oret, dicat sententiam*, i. e. *Let the Judge pronounce Sentence*, or determine the Affair; *uti paicunt*. This Expression is read differently. Some instead of *paicunt*, read *pacunt*, others *paxunt*. As for my self, I would willingly make it *paxint*, from the ancient Verb *pago*, *pepigi*, from whence afterwards came *paciscor*. So that *uti paxunt* or *paxint*, amounts to the same as *uti pacti sint*, i. e. *according to the Agreement of the Parties among themselves*.

²² This Law shews the Time and Place for the Judge to hear the Causes of such as had given no Security, nor made any Agreement with their Adversaries. The Words of this eighth Law are; N'ITA PAICUNT, IN COMITIO, AUT IN FORO, AB ORTU AD MERIDIEM, CAUSAM CONSCITO CUM PERORANT AMBO PRÆSENTES. The Terms *n'ita paicunt*, are the same in Signification as *ni ita paciscantur inter se*, i. e. *unless they agree among themselves*. That other part of the Law, *in Comitio aut in Foro*, shew the Place where the Causes of private Persons were determined. The *Comitium* was a Place which was afterwards covered in. The *Consul*, who was called *Prætor* in these early Times, especially when he exercised the Office of a Judge, used to come thither to give Judgment in the civil Causes which were brought before his Tribunal. Sometimes he sat in other Places in the *Forum*, of which the *Comitium* was a part. By this Law, the *Consul*, alias the *Prætor*, was to hear the Causes of private Persons from Sun-rising till Noon. The *Romans* had then no Clocks to measure Time by. They did not come in use among them, till after the Conquest of *Sicily*. Therefore the Law runs, *ab ortu ad meridiem*. As for *causam conscito*, it is an equivalent Expression to *causam cognoscito*. So

that the Verb *conscisco* does not in this Case signify *judicato*. This will appear by the Law which follows. The Words *cum perorant ambo præsent* leave it in doubt, whether Advocates were then made use of, or whether every one pleaded his own Cause.

²³ The ninth Law was this. POSTMERIDIEM PRÆSENTI STLITEM ADDICITO. The Case had been stated, and the Cause heard in the Morning. This Law requires the *Prætor*, that is, the *Consul*, to put an end to it in the Afternoon. So that every Cause was pleaded, and determined between Sunrise and Sun-set. As to the Words of the Law, *stlitem* stands for *litem*, as *locus* was formerly spelt *stlocus*. The Roughness of the Pronunciation was afterwards softened. *Addicito* signifies the same as *decidito*. As to the Word *præsenti* in the singular, the Law-giver's Intent was, that since both Parties had been heard, and been present in the Morning, it was enough for one of them to be present when Judgment was given in the Afternoon.

²⁴ The Law ran thus. SOL OCCASUS SUPREMA TEMPESTAS ESTO. *Let no more Judgments be given after the Sun is down*. The *Athenians* confined themselves to the same time, in their giving Judgment in Causes, according to *Stobæus*, *Serm. 1*. *Varro* speaks of this Law, *B. 5. n. 2*. and *B. 6. n. 3*. Afterwards the *Prætors* regulated the Time of hearing Causes themselves. Some *Civilians* state this Law thus. SOLE OCCASO, DIES SUPREMA TEMPESTAS ESTO. The Word *Dies* stands for its genitive *Diei*.

²⁵ This Law is mutilated. We will represent it as we find it, and fill up its Chasms, as learned *Civilians* have done, with the most probable Additions. With its *Lacuna* it stands thus; VADES SUBVADES—Extra quam si MORBUS SONTICUS—VOTUM, absentia reipublicæ ergo, AUT STATUS DIES CUM HOSTE intercedat: Nam si QUID HORUM FUAT UNUM, JUDICI, ARBITROVE, REOVE, EO DIE DEFENSUS ESTO. We now come to explain it. First let us fill up the first *Lacuna*, with these Words, *Judice arbitrove addito*, that is, *Judice arbitrove electo*; i. e. *when they shall have chosen a Judge or Arbitrator by common Consent*. As the *Prætor* or the *Consul* was not sufficient himself to administer Justice to all People, he chose himself a certain Number of Associates, whose Business was to hear and determine the Causes of private Persons, whilst the Year of his *Consulship* or *Prætorship* lasted. These Judges were nominated

agreed upon, unless he was hindered by some great Fit of Sickness, or by the Performance of some Vow, or by Business of State, or by some indispensable Engagement with a Foreigner. If any one of these Impediments be made appear to the Judge, or Arbitrator, or either of the Parties, let the Hearing be put off to another Day.

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XII. LAW.

²⁶ Whoever shall not be able to bring any Witnesses to prove his Pretensions before the Judge, may go and make a Clamour for three Days together, before his Adversary's House.

TABLE

nated by the chief Administrator of Justice, at the Delire, and upon the joint Choice, of the two Parties: For either Party had a Right to refuse a Judge, and his Refusal was accepted, if founded upon lawful Objections. This mutual Agreement between the Parties, in the Choice, of a Judge, is acknowledged by Papinian B. 23. ff. de Appellat. Tully confirms this Custom in his Oration for Cluentius. *Neminem voluerunt majores nostri, non modo de existimatione cujusquam, sed de pecuniaria quidem re minimâ, judicem esse, nisi qui inter adversarios convenisset.* The Form of refusing a Judge was this; HUNC EJERO, i. e. I refuse him. Tully gives us an Instance of it in Scipio, who refused to be judged by P. Mutius, in this manner; EJERO INIQUUS EST. B. 2. de Orat. When the two Persons concerned had agreed to accept of him whom the Prætor appointed, or who fell by Lot to be their Judge, he obliged himself by Oath to give Judgment according to the true Sense and Meaning of the Law. But there sometimes happened Cases, which could not be accurately determined by the Rules of Law. In these Cases the Prætor appointed Arbitrators, who consulted the Dictates of natural Equity. The Civilians fill up the second Chasm in this Law, thus. *Vades subvades danunto. Vadimonii deferendi, uti pacunt, pœna esto.* Which Expressions are equivalent to these. *Vades, aut subvades judicio sistendi utrimque dantor, iique sistere tenentor.* That is, Let both Plaintiff and Defendant give Security, that they will appear on the Day appointed. Godfrey guesses, that the Latin Word *Subvades* was applied to the Plaintiff's Securities, and that the Defendant's Securities were called *Vades*. The old Term *danunto* is the same in Signification as *danto*. *Plautus* makes use of the old Word *danunt*, instead of *dant*. The Party therefore, who failed appearing, was, after the time expired, condemned by Default, to pay the Sum stipulated between him and his Adversary; unless some violent Fit of Sickness, the Discharge of a Vow, some Undertaking for which he received a Commission from the Republick, or some Business with a Foreigner, which could not be deferred, had prevented his Appearance. This is the Sense of the following Expressions: *Extra quam si morbus fonticus, &c.* which is as much as to try *præterquam si*, or, *nisi morbus vehemens, &c.* A violent Fit of Sickness was called in the old Language *Morbus fonticus*, which is as much as to say *morbus nocens*, i. e. a hurtful Disease, according to *Festus's* Interpretation. Godfrey has filled up the following *Lacuna*, out of an Opinion (founded on the Authority of *Aulus Gellius* B. 16. c. 4.) that the Discharge of a Vow, an Affair with a Foreigner which would not admit of Delay, or for the Service of the Publick, were so many reasonable Excuses, for the Non-Appearance of either of the Parties. So that the Words, *votum, absentia reipublicæ ergo &c.* are this Civilian's own Additions. To which Reasons, we may add others, which *Aulus Gellius* has specified in the same Place; such as the Time of

Vintage, the Death of a near Relation, a Sacrifice, or a Funeral, which Duty or Decency obliged them to attend. And we ought to observe here, that the Latin Word *Hoflis*, originally signified a Foreigner, or Stranger. *Plautus* uses it in this Sense: *Si statutus conditus dies intercedat cum hoste isto. Curcul.* The last Words, *si quid horum fuerit, &c.* are interpreted thus: *Si quid horum fuerit & obvenerit judici, arbitrove, vel reo, judicii dies differtor.* In Consequence of this last Article, the Sickness of the Judge, or of one of the Parties concerned, or any one of the other Reasons before alledged, were sufficient for prolonging the Time appointed for the Hearing. This is the Signification of the Word *diffensus*. *Livy* and *Aulus Gellius* use the Expression *diffindere diem* to signify, to put off to another Day.

²⁶ The Plaintiff was often disappointed of his Demand upon the Defendant, and the Prosecution declared null, for want of Witnesses. In order to remove this Inconvenience, the *Decemviri* made a Law, which gave the Person injured Leave to go to the Door of his House whom he intended to prosecute; to repeat the Subject of his Complaint with a loud Voice; and even to have Recourse to Invectives if there was Occasion; and to continue this for three Market-days together, because the Country People came then to Rome, about their Business. Hence came the Custom, which continues to this Day, of sending three Summons, before Judgment is given by Default. If after these repeated Clamours, the Person cited still refused to make Restitution, the Plaintiff had a right to call those in the Neighbourhood who heard him, as Witnesses, and go in with them, even by Force, into his Adversary's House, and there seize his own Goods wherever he found them. The Law was thus expressed. CUI TESTIMONIUM DEFUERIT, IS TERTIIS DIEBUS, OBPORTUM, OBVAGULATUM ITO; that is to say, *ei, qui testimoniis destituitur, liceat, tertiis nundinis, reum ante ades, convitiis & clamoribus appetere.* According to *Festus*, *Portus* had antiently the same Signification as *domus*, or *ades*. The Word *obvagulatum* is, says *Festus*, put for *questionem cum convitio*, i. e. a Demand made with great Outcries, and Invectives. In this Sense the Civilians interpret the Verb *vagulo*, which they derive from the Verb *vagio*. *Turneb.* B. 2. *advers. cap.* 26. and *Salmasius Observ. ad jus Attic. & Ro. cap.* 30. state this Law in a different manner. Their Interpretation of it is this. If the Plaintiff cannot produce his Witnesses, let him go to the House of him whose Testimony he had a right to expect; and let him require him to bear Witness for him, with great Cries, and with injurious Reflections, if the Witness obstinately persists in the refusing it. But this Explanation does not seem agreeable to the meaning of the Law. *Ravard. ad leg.* 12. *Tab.* in order to prove the former Sense to be the true one, quotes this Passage, where *Plautus* introduces a Cook, demanding what belonged to him, with threatening to go and cry out, and inveigh against

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T A B L E II. Of R O B B E R I E S.

I. LAW.

²⁷ He that is attacked by a Robber in the Night, let him not be punished if he kills him.

II. LAW.

²⁸ If the Robbery be committed by Day, and if the Robber be taken in the Fact, let him be beaten with Rods, and become his Slave whom he robbed. If the Robber be a Slave already, let him be beaten with Rods, and thrown down headlong from the Top of the Capitol. If he be a Child, under the Age of Puberty, let him be corrected, according to the Prætor's Discretion, and let Reparation be made to the injured Party.

III. LAW.

²⁹ When Robbers attack any Person with Arms, if the Person attacked has cried out, and desired the first Help he could get, he shall not be punished if he kills one of the Robbers.

IV. LAW.

Eucleon, before his own Door, if he persisted in refusing to restore what he had unjustly made his own.

*Ita me bene amet Laverna, te
Jam nisi reddi mihi vasa jubes,
Populo hic differam ante aedes.*

This Law is adopted by *Godfrey* and the most famous *Civilians*, in the first Sense in which we have interpreted it.

²⁷ The Words of this Law are these. SI NOX FURTUM FAXIT, SI IM ALIQUIS OCCISIT, JURE CÆSUS ESTO. That is, *si noctu furtum fiat, si furem aliquis occiderit, &c.* Theft was allowed among the *Lacedemonians*, as being purely Matter of Skill and Cunning, but the *Athenians* thought otherwise of it. By *Solon's* Laws, a Man accused of having stolen fifty *Attick Drachmæ*, or about twenty five *French Livres*, was imprisoned and condemned to pay the Owner double. If the Sum stolen was above fifty *Drachmæ*, the Thief was punished with Death. A Robbery committed in the Night, or in a publick Place, as the Bath, or the Academy, was a capital Crime. Death was inflicted on Cut-purses, whom *Plautus* in *Trinummus* calls *Sectores zonarios*. *Plato B. 9. Of Laws*, makes it lawful to kill a Night-robber. And the Law of God permits the same thing in the 22^d Chapter of *Exodus*. The *Romans* borrowed this Article from the *Greeks*, and put it into the twelve Tables. The Law-givers thought this Law necessary for the Safety of the Publick. They considered that Darkness favoured Rogues, and that every Body then run greater Risks than in the Light; and at the same time could not easily have Recourse to legal Methods of defending themselves against the Attacks of a Robber. *Godfrey* is of Opinion, that the Clause *ut tamen id cum clamore testificetur*, which we find in the *Civilians*, was added by *Tribonian*. As if no body was allowed to use Force against a Night-robber, till the Person hurt proclaimed the Violence that was offered him, by great Outcries. *Tully pro Milone, & Seneca X.*

Controv. c. ult. mentions this Law, without the Restriction. Yet the Clause seems necessary to prevent Abuses.

²⁸ This Law decrees, that Day-robbers shall be punished according to the Circumstances of the Robbery, and the Condition and Age of the Robber. It is thus expressed. SI LUCI FURTUM FAXIT, SI IM ALIQUIS ENDO IPSO CAPSIT, VERBERATOR, ILLIQUE CUI FURTUM FACTUM ESCIT, ADDICTOR. SERVUS VIRGIS CÆSUS SAXO DEJICITOR. IMPUBES, PRÆTORIS ARBITRATU, VERBERATOR, NOXIAMQUE DECERNITO. The Interpretation of it is this. *Si interdiu furtum fecerit; si quis eum in fure deprehenderit, verberetur; illique cui furtum factum fuerit, addicatur.* What follows explains it self. The Word IM was in use in the oldest *Latin*, instead of the Pronoun *eum*, as *Festus* and *Macrobins* have observed. *Ennius* makes use of it; *omnes corde patrem præbent animo que parentem circumfusi IM capsit.* *Escit* is equivalent to *fuerit, erit.* The *Porcian* Law somewhat softened the Rigour of this afterwards; and Robbers who were not taken in the Night, or with Arms about them, were neither subject to whipping, nor Slavery. The *Prætor* only obliged them to pay four times the Value of what they had stolen.

²⁹ Night-robbers did not fare altogether so well as Day-robbers. It was not lawful to kill the latter, unless they used offensive Arms. In this Case, the Person attacked was to beg the Assistance of the Neighbours, or of those who passed by, in a Form of Words very like this, *Porro, Quirites, vestram fidem imploro.* *Varro B. 5. de Ling. Lat. c. 7.* says, this manner of calling out for Help was called by the *Romans*, *Quiritare*. Upon which the *Civilians* start a Difficulty. They ask, whether the Robber could lawfully be killed by any body, but the Person himself who was directly attacked. *Hottoman* declares for the Affirmative, because, says he, the Law is general, and no Exception is made in it. Others are for the Negative, because the Robber could not be lawfully killed, unless on the Account of some Damage received. Now all but the

IV. LAW.

30 *When upon a legal Search, any stolen Goods are found in an House, the Robbery shall be punished upon the Spot, as if openly and publickly committed.*

V. LAW.

31 *For Robberies committed privately, the Robber shall be condemned to pay double the Value of the Things stolen.*

VI. LAW.

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the Person robbed are, upon this Foot, out of the Case, and were not attacked, unless we say that a Robber, with Arms in his Hand, ought to be deemed a proscribed Assassin. This is St. Austin's Thought, *Quæst. 74. in Exod.* He expresses himself thus. *In antiquis legibus invenitur, impune occidi nocturnum furem, quo quo modo, diurnum autem si se telo defenderit. Jam enim plus est quam fur.* The Civilians state the Law we are speaking of thus. *Si se telo defensit, Quiritato, endoque plorato, post deinde, si cæsi escint, se fraude esto.* Which is as much as to say, *Si se telo fur defenderit, fidem Quiritium implorato. Tum si occisi fuerint fures, jure cæsi sunt.* By the Words *se fraude*, are to be understood *sine fraude*, or *impune esto*.

30 This Law runs thus. *SI FURTUM LANCE LICIO QUE CONCEPTUM ESCIT, UTI MANIFESTUM VINDICATOR.* In order thoroughly to understand this Law, it is necessary first to know the meaning of these first Words of it, *Si furtum lance licio que conceptum escit.* But different Civilians offer us different Conjectures upon this Subject. *Alexander ab Alexandro, B. 6. Genial. Dierum*, says, that Robbers who crept into private Houses with a Design to rob them, generally carried with them some Cloth List, or Flaxen Girdle, with which they tied together whatever they found. He adds, that they covered their Faces with a Bason, for fear of being known. And *Oldendorpe* adopts this Opinion. He says the Robber made two Holes in the Bason for his Eyes, in order thereby to frighten the People of the House, and make them run away. They made use of this Artifice, continues the Author, that they might be at Liberty to rob as much as they pleased, without being observed by any Body. But so childish a Dream can never be told, without supposing, either that the Romans were mere Dupes, to be frightened at such a Sight as this: or that there are People silly enough to give Credit to a Tale which has not the least Shadow of Probability. *Baldwin* declares himself of their Opinion, who have thought that some Impostors found Means to get into Houses, under a false Appearance of Religion, by disguising themselves as Sacrificers; that is, with their Robes tucked up, and tied about their Waistes. Under this specious Outside, they are said to have made small Collections of Money in Families. The devout Pagans suffered themselves to be easily imposed upon, and willingly gave them some Pieces of Money, as thinking that they were set apart for the Worship of the Gods, or to defray the Expence of some Sacrifice. These Thieves, add these Authors, collected this Money in a Bason, which they carried with them for that Purpose. But this second Opinion is little better founded than the former. *Alciat. B. 1. Parerg. c. 8.* and after him *Mons. Pithou, B. 1. advers. Subseciv.* say, that upon hearing of any Theft, the Magistrates of Rome sent Officers, to whom they gave a Power of searching for the Thing stolen, wherever they pleased; that they, by vertue of this Authority, entered into any Houses, after they had tied up their Robes with a Girdle, which, according to *Mons. Pithou*, was the Badge or Mark of their Commission. These Officers were attended by a Man, who carried a Warrant, or the Instruments of their Authority, in a Bason. If the Thing stolen was found in the Rob-

ber's own House, then this was one of those Robberies which were called, *Furta per lancem & licio concepta*, or *inventæ*. If the Thing stolen was found on any other but the Robber, then an Action lay against him in whose Possession it was, till such time as he discovered the Author of the Theft. But *Festus* gives us yet a different Explanation, which is this. *Lance & licio dicebatur, apud antiquos, quia qui furtum ibat quarere, in domo aliena, licio cinctus intrabat, lance que ante oculos tenebat, propter matrum familia, aut virginum presentiam.* That is, that they who searched for stolen Goods went into the suspected Houses with their Robes girt about them, and with their Faces covered with a Bason, out of Respect to the Women they might find in the House. *Rævardus* and *Joseph Scaliger* contend, that the Romans derived this Custom of searching for any Thing which was lost from the Greeks. Their Authorities for it, are the twelfth Book of *Plato*, and the Scholiast of *Aristophanes* on his Comedy of *The Clouds*. It was customary, say they, among the Greeks, for the Owner of stolen Goods to go into the House of the Person he suspected. But first he called the Gods, the Protectors of the Laws, to witness, that his Design was only to recover what belonged to him. Then the Master of the House was obliged to carry him into the most private Places in his House, even into the Womens Apartment, which he did not go into, till he had first covered his Face with a Bason. The Person searching had no Cloaths on, but a sort of Scarf, or piece of Linen-cloth, called in Latin, *Licium*, and was obliged to be naked to the Waste. Without this Caution, there might have been room to suspect, that his Design was only to lay Snares, by conveying the stolen Goods privately into some secret Place, in order thereby to have a convincing Proof against the Master of the House. *Hottoman B. 4. of his Institutions*, thought the Words *furtum lance licio que conceptum*, alluded to what was formerly practised to discover the Author of a Robbery. Priests, says he, were made use of for this Purpose. These appeared with their Robes tied up with a Girdle, and like Sacrificers, the better to impose upon the People, by this religious Dress. They carried a Loaf with them with great Ceremony, in which they had taken care to put an Eagle's Stone. They distributed pieces of the Bread in a Bason to those who were suspected. He who could not swallow the Piece which was given him, was thought guilty. By this he was discovered, and convicted. *Hottoman* quotes the Authority of *Dioscorides*, to this Purpose, who gives this Stone the Virtue of discovering Thieves. It is probable this Trick had the same Fate as the famous divining Wand has had in our Days. But whatever becomes of these Conjectures (for I don't pretend to warrant any of them) when any Thing that was stolen was found in the House or Hands of any Person, the Robbery was, according to *Justinian*, adjudged by the antient Law to be *Manifestæ*, and did not at all differ from what they called, *furtum lance licioque conceptum*. Then the guilty Person was punished in the same manner as a Robber taken in the Fact.

31 If Thefts were committed privately, the Robber was discharged, only paying double the Value of

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VI. LAW.

³² *Whosoever shall cut down Trees, which don't belong to him, he shall pay 25 Asses of Brass, for every Foot of Timber so felled.*

VII. LAW.

³³ *If any one comes privately, by Night, and treads down another Man's Field of Corn, or reaps his Harvest, let him be hanged up, and put to death, as a Victim devoted to Ceres. But if he be a Child, under the Age of Puberty, let the Prætor order him to be corrected as he shall think fit, or let double Satisfaction be made for the Damage he has done.*

VIII. LAW.

³⁴ *If a Robber and the Person robbed agree together upon Terms of Restitution, no farther Action shall lye against the Robber.*

IX. LAW.

³⁵ *Prescription shall never be pleaded as a Right to stolen Goods, nor shall a Foreigner have a Right to the Goods of any Roman Citizen, by the longest Possession.*

X. LAW.

³⁶ *If any one betrays his Trust, with respect to what is deposited in his Hands, let him pay double the Value of what was so deposited, to him who entrusted him with it.*

XI. LAW.

³⁷ *If any one finds any of his Goods in another Man's Possession, who became possessed of them by a Breach of Trust, let*

of the Thing stolen; this is but a second Article of the former Law. *SI ADORAT FURTO, QUOD NEC MANIFESTUM ESCIT, DUPLIONE DECIDITO.* The Verb *adorare* had antiently the same Signification, according to *Festus*, as the Verb *agere*. The Sense of the Words, *si adorat furto*, is therefore, according to *Ravard's* Version, this; *si fur agit furto*, or *furtum*. Besides, the Reason why the Laws appointed a less Punishment for Robberies committed secretly is, that it supposes the Robber not to be so impudent, as he that robs openly, and is taken in the Fact. Nevertheless the Person injured might make an Agreement with the Criminal, and remit a part of the Fine, as is evident from the eighth Law of this Table.

³² This Law runs thus. *SI INJURIA ALIENAS ARBORES CÆSIT, IN SINGULAS 25 ÆRIS LUITO.* The Value of these *Asses* of Brass, which were then a Pound Weight of twelve Ounces, depends upon the Value of a Pound of Brass at the time we are speaking of. If the Reader would reduce the Value of it to our small Money, the Computation cannot be difficult after what has been said in several Parts of this History. But we ought to observe with the *Civilians*, that the Punishment was greater, when the injured Person could make Proof, that the Author of the Mischief made use of Violence, and had cut down the Trees with Design to steal them.

³³ The *Latin* Words are these. *QUI FRUGEM ARATRO QUÆSITAM FURTIM NOX PAVIT, SECUIT VE, SUSPENSUS CERERI NECATOR. IMPUBES PRÆTORIS ARBITRIO VERBERATOR, NOXIAM VE DUPLIONE DECERNITO.* The old Verb *pavio* was derived from the *Greek* Verb *παίω* *ferio*. He that did the Mischief was thought guilty of an impious Act against *Ceres*, the tutelary Goddess of Harvests.

And in order to make her Amends for this Affront, the Criminal was devoted to this Goddess, as a Victim which ought to be offered up in Sacrifice to her. Afterwards this Law was mitigated, and the Punishment changed into a Fine, to be fixed at the Discretion of the *Prætor*, and according to the Damage done.

³⁴ *SI PRO FURE DAMNUM DECISUM ESCIT, FURTI NE ADORATO*, instead of *ne agito*. Hence Ambassadors were called *ORATORES*, *Quia mandata populi agunt*. *Fest.*

³⁵ *Tully* has given us this Law of the twelve Tables, in his *first Book of Offices*. It was this. *FURTIVÆ REI ÆTERNA AUCTORITAS ESTO. ADVERSUS HOSTEM ÆTERNA AUCTORITAS ESTO.* According to the first Article, no body, not even a *Roman* Citizen, could acquire any Right or Property to stolen Goods, by a peaceable Possession. The *Atinian* Law, quoted by *Aulus Gellius*, is the same in Sense, and almost so in Words. *QUOD SUBREPTUM ERIT, EJUS REI ÆTERNA AUCTORITAS ESTO.* This Law is a Confirmation of the former. By virtue of the second Article, a Foreigner could never plead a right of Prescription against a *Roman* Citizen, but his Property always continued the same, and he had still a right of claiming his own at any Distance of Time.

³⁶ This Law secures Fidelity with Regard to Deposites. *Godfrey* has given it us in the old *Latin* Stile. *SI QUID ENDO DEPOSITO, DOLO MALO FACTUM ESCIT, DUPLIONE LUITO.*

³⁷ This Law was thus expressed. *SI VINDICTAM FALSAM TULIT PRÆTOR REI SIVE STILITIS ARBITROS TRIS DATO. EORUM ARBITRIO FRUCTI DUPLIONE DECIDITO.* Which old Expressions are equivalent to these. *Si quis injustam possessionem sibi abstulit, Prætor ei rei definiendæ tres ar-*

let the Prætor nominate three Arbitrators to judge of it. And let the wrongful Possessor pay double the Value of what he has gained by detaining them.

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XII. LAW.

- 38 If a Slave has committed a Robbery, or done any Damage, with the Privy and at the Instigation of his Master, let the Master deliver up the Slave to the Person injured, by way of Compensation.

TABLE III.

Of LOANS, AND THE RIGHT OF CREDITORS OVER THEIR DEBTORS.

I. LAW.

- 39 Let him who takes more than one per Cent. Interest for Money, be condemned to pay four Times the Sum lent.

II. LAW.

- 40 When any Person acknowledges a Debt, or is condemned to pay it, the Creditor shall give his Debtor thirty Days for the Payment

litros dato, eorumque arbitrio, malæ fidei possessor fructus in duplum præstato, That is, *Whosoever shall obtain the Possession of litigated Goods, under a false Pretence, he shall be obliged to pay double the Produce of them, according to the Value set upon them by the three Arbitrators, nominated by the Prætor.* This Law is in the *Theodosian Code*, but not in the *Justinian*. The latter only requires the Man who comes at the Possession of them honestly, to make Restitution of the Produce, from the Day the Affair is brought before the Judges. Whereas the Usurper is condemned to restore the whole Produce, either in Kind, or Value, from the first Day he became possessed of them.

38 SI SERVUS SCIENTE DOMINO, FURTUM FAXIT, NOXIAMVE NOXIT, NOXÆ DEDITO. The Words *noxiamve noxit*, are equivalent to *damnum nocuerit*, or *fecerit*. The old Word *noxia*, signified a Damage done. As for the Word *noxæ*, it is taken, says *Festus*, either for the Crime it self, or for the Punishment of it. But by the *Aquilian Law* the Slave was absolved, on account of his State of Slavery, which obliged him to obey his Master's Orders. The latter alone was responsible, and suffered the Punishment the Laws inflicted on the Author of the Robbery, or of the Damage.

39 To prevent or suppress the Abuses of Usurers, the *Decemviri* enacted, that none should take above one per Cent. for Money, under Pain of paying four Times the Sum lent. This is the Sense of the Law, which is expressed in these Terms; SI QUIS UNCIARIO FOENORE AMPLIUS FOENERASSIT, QUADRUPLIONE LUITO. The understanding this Law depends upon the manner of reckoning Money, in use in antient Rome. It is necessary to know that the Romans called the Parts of any whole Sum by the Names of the Parts of the *As*, which was a Pound of Brass made into Money, and contained twelve Ounces. This was the first and chief Rule they followed in all their Computations, even of Measures. The twelfth part of a Whole, be it what it would, was therefore called *Uncia*, as the sixth Part of any Whole, or two Twelfths, was called *Sextans*, three Parts or

$\frac{1}{2}$ *Quadrans*; four Parts or $\frac{1}{3}$ *Triens*; five Parts or $\frac{1}{2}$ *Quincunx*, six Parts or $\frac{2}{3}$, that is, one half *Semis*; seven Parts or $\frac{2}{3}$ *Septunx*; eight Parts, or $\frac{2}{3}$ *Bes*; nine Parts or $\frac{2}{3}$ *Dodrans*; ten Parts or $\frac{2}{3}$ *Dextans*; and eleven Parts of any Whole, or $\frac{1}{2}$ was called *Deunx*; all referring to the Division of the *As*. This then being supposed, any Sum of a hundred, thousand, ten thousand, or thirty thousand Pounds, in *Denarii*, *Sesterces*, or any larger Pieces of Money, was divided into a hundred Parts. Each hundredth Part was considered as a Whole, containing twelve Parts, each of which twelve Parts was called by the Latin Name *Uncia*. This Division served instead of a Book of Rates, to fix the Interest of Money by. So that at the Rate of one per Cent. the Debtor paid one whole hundredth Part every Year, or which amounts to the same in the Year, $\frac{1}{12}$ of this hundredth Part every Month. This Interest, which was so moderate, and so agreeable to the first Austerity of the antient Romans, was called in Latin, *Fœnus Unciarius*, or *Uncia Usura*: And from hence it grew up to the different Degrees of Interest, which were afterwards introduced into Rome with Luxury and Covetousness. *Usura Sextans* was two per Cent. or the 50th Penny. *Usura Quadrans* was three per Cent. or about the 33^d Penny. *Usura Triens* was four per Cent. or the 25th Penny. *Usura Quincunx* was five per Cent. or the 20th Penny. *Usura Semis* was six per Cent. or the 16th Penny, and somewhat better. *Usura Septunx* was seven per Cent. or about the 14th Penny. *Usura Bes* was eight per Cent. or near the 12th Penny. *Usura Dodrans* was nine per Cent. or the 11th Penny. *Usura Dextans* was ten per Cent. or the 10th Penny. *Usura Deunx* was eleven per Cent. or the 9th Penny. And lastly *As* or *Usura Centesima*, which some have by Mistake confounded with the *Fœnus Unciarius*, was the Interest of twelve per Cent. per Annum, or of one hundredth Part per Month, which gave it the Name of *As Usurarius*.

40 The original Words of this Law are these, *ÆRIS CONFESSI, REBUS QUE JURE JUDICATIS, 30 DIES JUSTI SUNTO POST DEINDE MANUS INJECTIO ESTO. IN JUS DUCITO*. That is, *ÆRIS CONFESSI*

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Payment of it : After which he shall cause him to be seized, and brought before a Judge.

III. LAW.

- 41 *If the Debtor refuses to pay his Debt, and can find no Security, his Creditor may carry him Home, and either tie him by the Neck, or put Irons upon his Feet, provided the Chain does not weigh above fifteen Pounds ; but it may be lighter, if he pleases.*

IV. LAW.

- 42 *If the captive Debtor will live at his own Expence, let him ; if not, let him who keeps him in Chains allow him a Pound of Meal a Day, or more, if he pleases.*

V. LAW.

- 43 *The Creditor may keep his Debtor Prisoner for sixty Days. If in this time the Debtor does not find Means to pay him, he that detains him shall bring him out before the People three Market-days, and proclaim the Sum, of which he has been defrauded.*

VI. LAW.

- 44 *If the Debtor be insolvent to several Creditors, let his Body be cut in pieces on the third Market-day. It may be cut into more or fewer pieces with Impunity. Or, if his Creditors consent to it, let him be sold to Foreigners beyond the Tyber.*

TABLE

CONFESSI nomine, or *si quis debitum confessus fuerit, & condemnatus jure fuerit, inducie ei mensurae 30 dierum, ad debitum exolvendum, dantur.* These thirty Days which the Judge granted the Debtor for the Payment of his Debt, were called in Terms of Law, *Dies Justi*, as in Terms of War. Before the first Hostilities were committed in the Territory of any Enemy-City or Nation, the Roman People always suspended Action for the Space of thirty Days. After this Time was expired, if the City or Nation, against which they took up Arms, did not comply with the Demands of the Republick, the Army took the Field, and entered upon Action. And the same Method was enjoined by the Law-giver in civil Disputes. The *Civilians* afterwards fixed a Delay of two Months, and the *Justinian Code* enjoined four Months Respite, for the Debtor to have time to pay his Debt in.

41 NI JUDICATUM FACIT, AUT QUIPS ENDO EO IN JURE VINDICIT, SE CUM EDUCITO, VINCITO, AUT NERVO, AUT COMPEDIBUS, 15 PONDO NE MAJORE, AUT SI VOLET MINORE VINCITO. If the Debtor had not satisfied his Creditor in thirty Days, the latter had a right to seize his Body, to bring him before the *Prator*, and to make him undergo the Punishments the Law inflicted, unless he could find a good Security to answer for him, as it is expressed in the *Latin Text*, AUT QUIPS ENDO EO, IN JURE VINDICIT, that is, *nisi quis eum in jure vindicet.* The Word *quips* is used instead of *aliquis* : And the Word *vindicet* answers to *vindicat*. Ancient Authors give us more Instances than one, of changing Verbs of the first Conjugation, into Verbs of the third. The insolvent Debtor was then his Creditor's Slave, and was bound to continue in this State of Slavery till he had discharged his Debt. For this Reason he was called *nexus*, and *obcratus*. This Law was formerly in force among the *Athenians*, and was abolished by *Solon*.

42 This Law is a Part of the former. The twelve Tables, as we now have them, state it in these Terms. SI VOLET SUO VIVITO, NI SUO

VIVIT, QUI EUM VINCTUM HABEBIT, LIBRAS FARRIS ENDO DIES DATO : SI VOLET, PLUS DATO. It has been questioned whether the *Decemviri* did enjoin a Pound of Meal, at a time when the *Romans* lived so frugally, that they were contented with half a Pound a Day, as is said of *Valerius Cato*, in *Nonnius*,

*Quem tres cauliculi, selibra Farris,
Racemi duo, tegula sub unâ,
Ad summam prope nutriunt senectam.*

but the painful Labour the Creditor had a right to exact from his Debtor, required a better Maintenance.

43 NICUM EO PACIT, 60 DIES ENDO VINCLIS RETINETO. INTER IBI TRINIS NUNDINIS CONTINUIS IN COMITIUM PROCITATO, AERISQUE AESTIMIAM JUDICATI PRÆDICATO. This Law needs no Interpretation, we need only observe, that in the old *Latin* the Word *aestimia* signified the same as the Substantive *aestimatio*. We have spoken in another Place of this Custom in *Rome*, of bringing out the Debtor in publick, after he had been detained thirty Days, and of proclaiming his Debt for three Market-days, that is, three different times within the Space of thirty Days more ; after which, if no body came to be his Security, or to pay the Money for him, the Creditor might dispose of him, and send him beyond the *Tyber*, to be sold for a Slave.

44 This Law runs thus. AT SI PLURES ERUNT REI, TERTIIS NUNDINIS PARTES SECANTO. SI PLUS MINUS VE SECUERINT, SE FRAUDE ESTO : SI VOLENT, ULS TYBERIM PEREGRE VENUNDANTO. The Adverb ULS is used for *ultra*. *Varro* and *Cato* use it in the same Sense. The Words AT SI PLURES ERUNT REI answer to, *at si plures erunt creditores*. The two contending Parties were indifferently called REI in the Language of the old Law, as we learn from *Gallus Aelius*, quoted by *Festus*. REUS est qui cum altero litem contestatam habet, sive is egit, sive cum eo actum est. *Tully* gives us the same Interpretation of the Word *Reus*. REOS appello, non eos modo qui arguuntur, sed omnes quorum

T A B L E IV.

OF THE RIGHT OF FATHERS OF FAMILIES.

I. LAW.

⁴⁵ *Let a Father have a Power of Life and Death over his legitimate Children, and let him sell them when he pleases.*

II. LAW.

⁴⁶ *But if a Father has sold his Son three Times, let the Son then be out of his Father's Power.*

III. LAW.

⁴⁷ *If a Father has a Child born, which is monstrously deformed, let him kill him immediately.*

IV. LAW.

⁴⁸ *Let not a Son, whose Father has so far neglected his Education as not to teach him a Trade, be obliged to maintain his Father in Want, otherwise let all Sons be obliged to relieve their Fathers.*

V. LAW.

quorum de re disputatur; sic enim olim loquebantur. B. 2. *de Orat.* Phavorinus the Philosopher, in *Aulus Gellius*, exclaims against the Barbarity of this Law. To which *Cecilius* the *Civilian* answers, that it was only so in Appearance; and that the Law-giver was really mild as well as wise in making it, since by this seeming Rigour he secured every Citizen's Goods, whom the Fear of Punishment kept within Bounds in his Expences, and diverted from borrowing upon Usury, which is the Ruin of Families; and that this rigorous Law was never put in Execution. It was afterwards abolished. The Creditors had only a right to the Debtor's Effects, in Proportion to his Debts.

⁴⁵ ENDO LIBERIS JUSTIS JUS VITÆ, NECIS, VENUNDANDIQUE POTESTAS, PATRI ESTO, are the Words of the Law. This despotick Power of Fathers over their Children, was established and authorized by *Romulus*, from the very Birth of *Rome*. The *Decemviri* confirmed it, and made it an express Law; in so much that according to *Dion. Hal. B. 2.* a Father might imprison his Children, cause them to be beaten with Rods, load them with Chains, banish them into the Country, and condemn them to death. But this absolute Authority was so peculiar to *Roman* Citizens, that it died with the Right of Citizen-ship. Thus a Man who was condemned to be banished, by losing the Quality of a *Roman* Citizen, lost all the Privileges which were annexed to it. But a Father was not suffered to disown his legitimate Son, though he might disinherir him, or sell him for a Slave. This Law therefore cannot be said to have been borrowed from the *Athenians*, since they had no Power of putting their Children to death, though they could turn them out of Doors, for good Reasons, to be allowed of, by the Judges.

⁴⁶ SI PATER FILIUM TER VENUMDUIT, FILIUS A PATRE LIBER ESTO, is a Continuation of the former Law. In this Case, a Man's Sons seem to have been in a worse Condition than his Slaves; for the latter, when once freed from Slavery, enjoyed their full Liberty ever after; whereas the former were not adjudged free, and their own Masters, till they had been sold three times, that is, had been

so often freed from their Dependence on their Father. This Law was so respected by the *Romans*, that a Father could not emancipate his Son till he had been thus sold as a Slave: But in reality this was only a Sale in trust, or a feigned Contract between the Father, and a Person he could confide in, or a Friend to the Family, who was called *Pater Fiduciarius*, and who restored the Son into his Father's Hands. After this, his Emancipation was made in due Form of Law. This rigorous Law seldom prevailed over natural Affection, and the more polite Ages so far abolished the Use of it, that *Brun- tus*, in his Letter to *Atticus*, seems to have been ignorant of it, when he says, *Dominum ne parentem quidem majores nostri voluerunt esse.* That it was no longer in force in *Paul* the *Civilian's* time, he declares himself, *Leg. 11. ff. de Lib. & Posth. Licet filios exheredare, quos & occidere licebat.* Nevertheless History sometimes gives us Instances, even in later Times, of these Acts of Sovereignty which Fathers exercised over their Children. But we must observe here, after *Dion. Hal.* that *Numa Pompilius* had made a Law, which deprived the Father of his Power of selling his Son, after he had suffered him to marry. Which Law probably continued in Force, after the Promulgation of the twelve Tables. What *Ulpian* says in his *Fragments Tit. 10.* is worth our Notice. He assures us that, among the *Romans*, the Daughters and Grandchildren were perfectly free, after they had once gone through the Forms of being sold; and set at Liberty.

⁴⁷ *Tully* mentions this Law, *B. 3. de Legib.* As the *Civilians* have restored it, it runs thus. PATER AD INSIGNEM DEFORMITATEM PUERUM CITO NECATO. Only those Monsters were comprehended under this Law, which had scarce any Appearances of human Shape. Such as were born only with some bodily Defects, were excepted.

⁴⁸ *Pighius* gives us this Law in his *Roman Annals*, without telling us from whence he had it. He expresses it thus, probably in his own Way. FILIUS ARTE CARENS PATRIS INCURIA, EIDEM VITÆ NECESSARIA SUBSIDIA, NE PRÆSTATO. Either this Law is to be interpreted only of Children, who, for want

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V. LAW.

49 *Let not a Bastard be obliged to work to maintain his Father.*

T A B L E V.

Of INHERITANCES AND GUARDIANSHIPS.

I. LAW.

50 *After the Death of a Father of a Family, let the Disposition be made of his Estate, and his Appointment concerning the Guardianship of his Children, be observed.*

II. LAW.

51 *If he dies Intestate, and has no Children to succeed him, let his nearest Relation be his Heir; if he has no near Relation, let a Man of his own Name be his Heir.*

want of a Trade, can scarce maintain themselves, and even want Necessaries, in which case the Law is useless, it being very evident, that a Son in want, is not obliged to maintain his Father, when he has not a Subsistence himself: Or else it extends to those, who, without understanding any Trade, have found Means to advance themselves by their Industry, and to get Money; and in this Case the Law seems to be unjust. A rich Son, who should desert his Father in Want, would be thought an unnatural Child. If he has not received an useful Education from his Father, yet he owes his Birth to him: And this Obligation only lays him under some indispensable Duties to his Father. Probably, the Intention of the Law-givers was to force Fathers, out of Self-Interest, to promote the Good of the Republick, by giving their Children a good Education.

49 We have likewise borrowed this Law from *Pighius*. The Words of it are these. E MERETRICE NATUS PATREM NE ALITO. A legitimate Son is more indebted to his Father than a natural Son. The Birth of the one is a Benefit, that of the other, a Stain never to be wiped away. The Latin Word *Meretrix*, is generally used to signify a Concubine, who keeps her self to one Man, and is thereby distinguished from those common Women, who prostituted themselves to all Comers, and were called by the Romans, *Prostitulae* & *Fornicariæ*, quia sub fornice prostare solent, says *Isidorus* 10. According to *Nonnius* 5. inter Meretricem & Prostitulam hoc interest, quod Meretrix honestioris loci est & questus; nam Meretrices a merendo dictæ sunt quod copiam sui tantummodo facerent; prostitula quod ante stabulum stet, questus diurni & nocturni causa.

50 By virtue of this Law, a Father of a Family could give his Estate, by Will, to whomsoever he pleased, even exclusive of his own Children. But such Persons were excepted, who had been declared incapable of making a Will, and of having the Management of their own Estates, on Account of being bad Oeconomists. The Words of this Law in Latin are these. PATER FAMILIAS UTI LEGASSIT, SUPER PECUNIÆ, TUTELÆVE SUÆ REI, ITA JUS ESTO. The two Genitives, *Pecuniæ* and *Tutela*, are put instead of Ablatives, after the manner

of the Greeks. It stands thus in the *Pandectæ Florentinae*. Moreover, the Word *Pecunia* is used in the antient Law, not only to signify Coin, but also all Goods, movable and immovable. This Law is somewhat like that which *Solon* enacted at *Athens*. Before his Time, the *Athenians* would not suffer a Father of a Family to disappoint his Children, or nearest Heirs of his Estate, for the Benefit of a Stranger: But this Law-giver did not think it was for the Good of the Publick, to limit the Heads of Families so much, in their right of disposing of their Estates. He therefore enacted, that every Man who had no Children, should be at Liberty to dispose of his Estate to whomsoever he pleased, provided that his Will had not been extorted from him, by Intreaties, or Threatnings, or any forcible or deceitful Means; and that the Testator was sound in Mind and Body when he made his Will.

51 The original Law is this. AT SI INTESTATO MORITUR; CUI SUUS HÆRES NEC ESCIT, AGNATUS PROXIMUS FAMILIAM HABETO. SI AGNATUS NEC ESCIT, GENTILIS FAMILIAM NANCITOR. Children are necessarily their Fathers Heirs by right of Birth. And this Right is so inalienable, that the Romans did not think fit to suffer a Child to renounce his paternal Inheritance, unless the Act of Renunciation was confirmed by the *Prætor*. The Father's Estate descended naturally to his Sons and Daughters after his Decease, though the right of Women to the Inheritance was afterwards limited in different manners. If he died without Children, the nearest Relations of the same Name in a direct Line were admitted to be his Heirs. Upon default of such Relations, those in a collateral Line were acknowledged to be lawful Heirs. According to *Aulus Gellius*, *Labeo* the *Civilian* declares in his *Commentaries on the twelve Tables*, that the *Vestals* could not inherit the Estate of a Relation who died Intestate, and that the Portion, which should naturally have fallen to them, was confiscated to the Use of the Publick, and put into the publick Treasury. The same Author adds, that the Effects of a *Vestal*, who died Intestate, were disposed of in the same manner. *Virgo Vestalis neque hæres est cuiquam intestato, neque intestata quisquam, sed bonæ ejus in publicum redigi aiunt.*

III. LAW.

- 52 When a Freed-Man dies Intestate, and without Heirs, if his Patron be alive, or has left Children, let the Effects of the Freed-Man go to the Family of his Patron.

IV. LAW.

- 53 After the Death of a Debtor, his Debts shall be paid by his Heirs, in Proportion to the Share they have in his Inheritance. After this they may divide the rest of his Effects, if they please, and the Prætor shall appoint three Arbitrators to make the Division.

V. LAW.

- 54 If a Father of a Family dies Intestate, and leaves an Heir under Age, let the Child's nearest Relation be his Guardian.

VI. LAW.

- 55 If any one becomes mad, or prodigal, and has no Body to take Care of him, let a Relation, or if he has none, a Man of his own Name, have the Care of his Person and Estate.

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52 Ulpian states this Law thus. SI LIBERTUS INTES-
TATO MORITUR, CUI SUUS HÆRES NEC
EXSTABIT, AST PATRONUS, PATRONIQUE LIBE-
RIESCENT, EX EA FAMILIA, IN EAM FAMILIAM
ADDUCITOR. The Patron then, or on default of
him, his Children, were, of common right, Heirs to
the Freed-Man, in case he left neither Posterity nor
Heirs. But as it might happen, not only that a
Freed-Man might omit mentioning him in his
Will, to whom he was obliged for his Liberty ;
but might likewise formally exclude him from be-
ing his Heir, it was therefore enacted by the Law
of the Prætor, that half of the Goods mentioned
in the Will should return to the Patron ; who should
likewise have the same right, if his Freed-Man died
Intestate, and left a lawful Wife, and an adopted
Son behind him.

53 Hottoman has divided this Law into two Ar-
ticles : But Godfrey unites them into one. NOMI-
NA INTER HÆREDES PRO PORTIONIBUS HÆRE-
DITARIIS ERCTA CITA SUNTO. CÆTERARUM
FAMILIÆ RERUM ERCTO NON CITO, SI VOLENT,
ERCTUM CITUM FACIUNTO. PRÆTOR AD ERCTUM
CIENDUM ARBITROS TRIS DATO. These are
Terms which want an Explanation. By the Words,
Nomina ercta sunt, the Law commands, that all
the Debts owed by, or due to the Deceased, shall
be divided among his Heirs, in Proportion to the
Share they have in his Inheritance. Festus derives
the Word *ercta* from the Verb *coercere*, and *cita*
from the Verb *ciere*, which Donatus makes to sig-
nify the same as *dividere*. He interprets this Ex-
pression of Virgil in this Sense. *Cite metium in di-
versa quadrigæ, distulerant*. The Antients used the
Verb *ercisci*, instead of *partiri*. Hence, says Festus,
come the Expressions, *Erctum citum*, and *Hereditatem
citam*, that is, *divisam*, to signify an Inheritance
divided among the Coheirs ; from the old Verb *ciscere*,
to divide, or the Greek Words, *χω, χω* *divido* :
And hence likewise comes the old Word *exercif-
cor*, i. e. *hereditatem divido*. The Words *cæterarum
familie rerum ercto non cito, si volent, erctum ci-
tum faciunto*, are equivalent to, *ex hereditate non
divisa, hereditatem divisam faciunto*, i. e. *Let the rest
of his Inheritance be divided among his Heirs*. It
is necessary to observe, that in this Law, as well as
in the others where we have mentioned the Latin
Word *familia*, it is used to signify the Inheritance,
as *res familiaris*, or *hereditas*. The last Words of

the Law, *Prætor ad erctum ciendum arbitros tris
dato*, are as much as to say, *ad hereditatem divi-
dendam Prætor arbitros tres dato*.

54 The Law runs thus. SI PATER FAMILIAS
INTES-
TATO MORITUR, CUI IMPUBIS SUUS HÆRES
ESCIT, AGNATUS PROXIMIOR TUTELAM NANCIT-
TOR. The Decemviri thought it but just, that the
nearest Relation should be Guardian, since he had
the Advantage of being next in the Succession. Be-
sides it was evident, that he who was next Heir,
was most concerned in Interest, not to let his
Ward's Estate run to ruin. But Solon judged other-
wise, when he committed to the Archons the Care
of appointing Guardians of known Wisdom and
Probity, to take Care of the Estates of Minors,
exclusive of their nearest Relations. He was ap-
prehensive that the Life of an Infant might be in
danger, under the Guardianship of a covetous Heir,
whose Interest it was to get him dispatched. For
this Reason Charondas committed the Care of the
Child's Estate to his Relations on the Father's side,
and that of his Education, to his Relations on the
Mother's side.

55 This Law was borrowed from the Athenians,
who acted in this manner with Regard to Persons
who fell Mad, and Spendthrifts, who consumed
their Patrimonies in Debauchery. The Decemviri
made this Custom a Law, which is thus restored
by Godfrey. SI FURIOSUS AUT PRODIGUS EXIS-
TAT, AST EI CUSTOS NEC ESCIT, AGNATORUM
GENTILIUMQUE IN EO PECUNIA VE EJUS POTES-
TAS ESTO. By virtue of this Law, a Squanderer,
who was known to be such, was declared incapa-
citated, and deprived of the Management of his
Estate. The Prætor put him under the Guardian-
ship of his Relations, addressing himself to him in
this Form of Words, which Paul the Civilian men-
tions, and Cujas has preserved. *Quando tua bona
paterna avitæque, nequitia tua disperdis, liberosque
tuos ad egestatem perducis, ob eam rem tibi ea re
commercioque interdicto*. Hence came the old Pro-
verb, quoted by Varro, B. 1. c. 2. *de Re rustica*,
and by Columella B. 10. c. 3. *Ad Agnatos & Gen-
tiles*. Horace alludes to this Custom in these Lines,
B. 2. Sat. 3.

Interdicto huic omne adimat jus
Prætor, & ad sanos abeat tutela propinquos.

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T A B L E VI.

Of PROPERTY AND POSSESSION.

I. L A W.

⁵⁶ *When a Man conveys his Estate to another, let the Terms of the Conveyance create the Right.*

II. L A W.

⁵⁷ *If a Slave, who was made free on Condition of paying a certain Sum, be afterwards sold, let him be set at Liberty, if he pay the Person who has bought him, the Sum agreed upon.*

III. L A W.

⁵⁸ *Let not any piece of Merchandize, though sold and delivered, belong to the Buyer, till he has paid for it.*

⁵⁶ *Tully and Festus mention this Law in several Places. The Civilians state it thus: CUM NEXUM FACIET, MANCIPIUMQUE, UTI LINGUA NUNCUPASSIT, ITA JUS ESTO. In order to understand the Sense and Meaning of this Law, it is necessary to know that Mancipium, in the Civil Law, signified that right of Property, or in Fee, which only Roman Citizens enjoyed, to all the Lands in Italy, and their Appurtenances. These Lands were called, Res Mancipi, or Mancipii, and Res Juris Civilis, or Romani; to shew that they were held by a right of Property, or in Fee. But it was not so with regard to the Provinces tributary to the Roman People; private Persons had only the Produce or Possession of Lands there, and not the Fee which belonged to the Republick. And therefore they were called Res nec Mancipi. Thus Mancipium facere, or Mancipatio, signifies a juridical Act, whereby the Fee, or Property of Lands, or Houses, &c. was conveyed by Sale or Cession. In order to make this Act valid, certain Forms were to be observed, which the Antients signify by the Word Nexus, or Nexum. This was a Contract made between two Roman Citizens, whereby one conveyed to the other the Property he had in a piece of Land, or other immoveable Goods. This Conveyance was not made by a simple Donation, but by a pretended Sale, whereby the right of Property was assigned over to the Buyer. Hence the Latin Expression, Nexum jus nexi. The Cession was made before the Prætor, in the Presence of five Witnesses, and a Scale-bearer, or LIBRIPENS. Then the new Possessor pronounced this Form of Words, which Boetius has preserved. Hanc ego rem ex Jure Quiritium meam esse aio, eaque mihi emptæ est hoc ære æneaque libra. After which he struck the Scales with a little piece of Money, which he then gave the Seller, by Way of Purchase. The latter accepted it, and the accepting it completed the Affair, which the Prætor ratified. Horace alludes to these Forms, in this Verse,*

Si proprium est quod quis libra mercatur & ære.
Ep. 2. B. 2.

This Ceremony, which continued very long in use, alluded to the first Ages of Rome, when all Money was weighed, before Stamps were set upon it, which fixed the Value of it. Antient Authors, and among others, *Ælius Gallus* as quoted by *Festus*, give the same Interpretation of the Word *Nexum*, or *Nexus*. The latter expresses himself thus. *Nexum est quodcumque per æs, & libram geritur, idque nexi dicitur.* If the Seller did not use all the Formalities of the *Nexus*, he still kept the Property of the Thing to himself, and the Purchaser had only the Produce of it: For this Reason the former was called *Dominus Quiritarius*, the latter *Emptor Bonitarius*, i. e. *Purchaser of the Produce*. The *Decemviri*, in order to make Men faithful in these Contracts, would have the Seller give Security to perform all he had declared in the Magistrate's Presence: So that in case the Land, or whatever else it was, did not appear to be such as the Seller had represented it to be, he was forced to indemnify the Purchaser: Or if he did not, after an Inspection had been made on the Spot, the Sale was held to be fraudulent, and he was condemned to pay the Double of what had been exacted of him by Way of Indemnification to the Buyer; according to the last Words of the Law mentioned by *Tully*, *Offic. B. 3. SI INFICIAS IERIT, DUPLIONE DAMNATOR.*

⁵⁷ We find no Footsteps of this Law in the Fragments we have of the twelve Tables. Nevertheless *Hottoman* has made it one of the *Decemviral Laws*. *Godfrey* states it thus: *STATU LIBER EMPTORI DANDO LIBER ESTO*: That is, Let a Slave who is declared free by the Head of a Family, on Condition of paying a certain Sum of Money, have always a right of purchasing his Liberty, by paying the Sum stipulated; even though the Inheritance of his first Master be transferred to another Man.

⁵⁸ *REI VENDITA, TRANSQUE DATA*, instead of *Tradita*, *EMPTORI NON ADQUIRITOR, DONICUM, or donec, SATISFACTUM ESSET*, are the Terms of this Law in *Latin*.

IV. L A W.

IV. LAW.

59 *Let two Years Possession amount to a Prescription for Lands, and one for Moveables.*

V. LAW.

60 *In litigated Cases the Presumption shall always be on the side of the Possessor: And in Disputes about Liberty or Slavery, the Presumption shall always be on the side of Liberty.*

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T A B L E VII.

OF TRESPASSES AND DAMAGES.

I. LAW.

61 *If a Beast does any Damage in a Field, let the Master of the Beast offer to make Satisfaction, or give up his Beast.*

II. LAW.

62 *If you find a Rafter or a Pole which belongs to you, in another Man's House or Vineyard, and they are made use of, don't pull down the House, or ruin the Vineyard; but make the Possessor pay double the Value of the Thing stolen; and when*

59 This Law relates only to the Lands in *Italy*, which became the Right and Property of the last Possessor, who had *bona fide* enjoyed the quiet Possession of them for two Years. For Estates in tributary Countries, could not fall by Prescription to the private Persons, who had the Produce of them. The right in Fee, which the *Roman* People had to these Estates, was unalienable. The Law, with Respect both to Moveables and Immoveables, runs thus. *USUS AUCTORITAS FUNDI, BIENNIUM, CÆTERARUM RERUM ANNUUS USUS ESTO.*

60 The Law in *Latin* runs thus. *SI QUI IN JURE MANU CONSERUNT, UTRISQUE SUPERSTITIBUS PRÆSENTIBUS, SECUNDUM EUM QUI POSSIDET; AST SI QUI QUEM LIBERALI CAUSA MANU ASSERAT, SECUNDUM LIBERTATEM VINDICIAS DATO.* The Words *manu conserunt*, stand for *apud judicem disceptant*: An allegorical Way of speaking taken from War, of which the Conflict between the two Parties is a Representation. Indeed before civil Suits began, the two Parties appeared before the *Prætor*; and in his Presence, they crossed two Rods which they had in their Hands, as two Persons would do in fighting. This was the Signal of the Proceedings which were to follow. *Hottoman* guesses from this Custom, that the first *Romans* determined their Disputes with the Points of their Swords. If the Dispute was concerning any Lands, the *Prætor* went to them, and there determined for or against the Possessor. But as the Multitude of Affairs, which afterwards overcharged the Magistrate, would not suffer him to make these Excursions, the *Civilians*, that they might not derogate from the old Customs, declared it to be sufficient to bring a Turf from the disputed Lands, in order to present it before the *Prætor*, that the Sentence might be deemed passed on the Lands themselves as formerly. We have borrowed all this from *Festus*, *Aulus Gellius*, B. 20. and *Alexander ab Alexandro*, B. 6. c. 10. These Terms *utrisque superstitibus*, are the same in Signification as *duobus testibus*. By this Law it appears, that the Presum-

ption was always in favour of the Possessor. But this was not the Case of a Slave, who said he was free; but was reclaimed by his Master. The Magistrate then always presumed in favour of the Slave, till it was demonstrated, that he had always continued in a State of Slavery. The Words, *Si quem liberali causa asserat*, are as much as to say, *Si quis aliquem in libertatem adserat.*

61 *SI QUADRUPES PAUPERIEM FAXIT, DOMINUS NOXIÆ ÆSTIMIAM AFFERTO: SI NOLIT, QUOD NOXIT DATO.* These are the Terms of this Law according to the *Civilians*. It is quoted by *Justinian*, and by *Ulpian*. The Word *Pauperies* here signifies an involuntary Damage, such as is done by a stray Beast. The *Attick* Laws seem to have given Occasion to this. Indeed *Solon* the Lawgiver commanded, that a Dog, which had bit any Body, should be tied with a Chain four Cubits long, and given to the Person bit. *Democritus* condemned any animal to death that did any Mischief, which way soever it was done. By a *Cretan* Law, a Swine which had damaged a Field sown with Corn, was to have his Teeth pulled out. Immediately after this Law of the twelve Tables, we find another, the Sense of which is interrupted by *Lacunæ* or Gaps. *SI INJURIA RUPITIAS—AST SI CASU SARCITO—QUI PECUENDO ALIENO IMPESCIT.* The *Civilians* are of Opinion that this last Article contains the Punishment decreed against those who did any Damage to another, whether premeditatedly, and with Design, or undesignedly. The Words *SI RUPITIAS FECERIT*, are equivalent to *si ruperit*, i. e. *Whoever shall have made any Rupture, &c.* *IMPESCIT* signifies the same as *pastum ducit*: i. e. *He who leads his Cattle to feed, in alienem segetem*, i. e. *In another Man's Corn.* This is the Sense of the Words, *QUI PECUENDO ALIENO.*

62 *Cujas* expresses this Law, as mentioned by *Festus*, thus. *TIGUUM JUNCTUM ÆDIBUS, VINÆVE CONCAPES, NE SÖLVITO. AST QUI JUNXIT, DUPLIONE DAMNATOR. TIGNA QUANDO QUE*

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when the House is destroyed, or the Pole taken out of the Vineyard, then seize what's your own.

III. LAW.

63 *Whoever shall maliciously set fire to another Man's House, or an Heap of Corn near his House, shall be imprisoned, scourged, and burnt to death. If he did it by Accident, let him repair the Damage: And if he be a poor Man, let him be slightly corrected.*

IV. LAW.

64 *Whoever shall deprive another of the use of a Limb, shall be punished according to the Law of Retaliation, if the Person injured does not agree to accept some other Satisfaction.*

V. LAW.

65 *If he has only dislocated a Bone, let him pay three hundred Pounds of Brass, if the Sufferer be a Free-Man, and a hundred and fifty if he be a Slave.*

VI. LAW.

66 *For common Blows with the Fist, and injurious Words, the Punishment shall be twenty five Asses of Brass.*

VII. LAW.

67 *Whoever slanders another by Words, or defamatory Verses, and injures his Reputation, shall be beaten with a Club.*

VIII. LAW.

SARPTA, DONEC DEMPTA ERUNT, VINDICATO. The old Word *Concapes* signifies a Pole, which supports the Branches of a Vine, or rather *Concapes* is the Adjective to *Tignum*. *Quod est capite commissum vineæ*, is the etymological Sense of *Concapes*.

63 *Godfrey* has given us the Sense of this Law, in these *Latin* Words. QUI ACERUM FRUMENTI AD ADES POSITUM DOLO SCIENS INCENSIT, VINCTUS, VERBERATUS, IGNI NECATOR. AST SI CASU NOXIAM SARCITO. SI NEC IDONEUS ESCIT, LEVIUS CASTIGATOR. He who shall negligently occasion a Fire, ought to undergo some corporal Punishment if he be not able to make amends for the Damage done by it, by this just Rule of Law, *Qui ære nequit, corpore damnum luat.*

64 At *Athens*, he who struck another was fined by the Laws, and the Fine given to the Person injured, if he was the Complainant; but it was given to the publick Treasury, if a third Person was the Accuser: For among the *Athenians*, it was lawful for any Person to prosecute for an Injury done to any other. By the same Laws, a Man who had wounded another was banished, his Goods confiscated, and he forbidden ever returning to his Country, upon Pain of Death. By one of *Solon's* Laws the Law of Retaliation was very strictly put in Execution upon him, who had deprived any Person of the second Eye who had lost one before; the Offender was condemned to lose both his Eyes. The *Decemviri* adopted this last Article in the Case of a broken Limb, and enacted, that the Offender should suffer as much as the Offended had done. Thus, if a Man broke another's Arm, or cut off his Hand, he was condemned to lose Arm for Arm, and Hand for Hand; unless he bought off the Punishment he deserved, with the Consent of the Person injured. The Words of the Law are these. SI MEMBRUM RUPSIT NI CUM EO PACIT, TALIO ESTO. We have it in *Aulus Gellius* B. 20. and in *Festus*.

65 *Aulus Gellius*, B. 20. and *Justinian* B. 4. *Instit.* mention the following Law, QUI OS EX GE-

NITALI FUDIT LIBERO CCC. SERVO CL. AERIS SUNTO.

66 This Law is contained in these Words. SI QUI INJURIAM ALTERI FAXIT, XXV AERIS PÆNE SUNTO. This slight Punishment has made *Favorinus*, as quoted by *Aulus Gellius*, laugh at this Law. Indeed so small a Sum, in wealthy Times, could not have restrained the Brutality of the Aggressors. Witness that *Lucius Neratius*, mentioned by *Aulus Gellius*, who ran about the Streets of *Rome*, with a Slave after him carrying a Sack of Copper-Money. His Delight was to strike all that he met, and to pay them twenty five *Asses* a Man, according to the Law. But in After-times it was referred to the *Prætors* to judge of the Injury, and Proportion the Punishment to the Offence.

67 *Godfrey* states this Law in this manner. SI QUI PIPULO OCCENTASSIT, CARMENVE CONDIDISIT, QUOD INFAMIAM FAXIT, FLAGITIUMVE ALTERI, FUSTE FERITO. The *Latin* Word *Pipulum* was formerly used instead of *Convitium*, a *pipatu pullorum*. The same Law is otherwise expressed by *St. Austin de Civit. Dei* c. 12; after *Tully* B. 4. *de Repub.* SI QUI CARMEN OCCENTASSIT, QUOD ALTERI FLAGITIUM FAXIT, CAPITAL ESTO. Those who made defamatory Libels, and those who attacked the Reputation of others, were held in the utmost Detestation by the *Romans*. *Tully Tuscul.* B. 4. gives us this Reason for it; *Judiciis enim, & magistratuum disputationibus, legitimis, propositam vitam, non poetarum ingeniis, habere debemus; nec probum audires nisi ea lege, ut res pendere liceat, & judicio defendere.* But this Law cannot be said to be taken from the *Attick* Laws. It is well known what Liberties were allowed the Theatre of *Athens*, even against the Magistrates themselves; and that *Aristophanes* made a Jest of openly defaming the most venerable Persons in these theatrical Performances. Indeed, when the Insolence of the Poets had exceeded all the Bounds of Modesty, they were forbidden naming the Persons who were the Subjects of their Satyrs: But the Abuse at length grew so very excessive, that in order to root it out effectually,

VIII. LAW.

- 68 *Let him who has once been a Witness, and refuses to bear Witness again, though a publick Person, be deemed infamous, and made incapable of bearing Witness any more.*

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IX. LAW.

- 69 *Let every false Witness be thrown down headlong from the Capitol.*

X. LAW.

- 70 *Whoever shall wilfully kill a Free-Man, or shall make use of magical Words to hurt him, or shall have prepared Poison for him, or given it to him, shall be punished as an Homicide.*

XI. LAW.

- 71 *Let all Parricides be thrown into the River, sowed up in a Leather-Bag, and with their Heads veiled.*

XII. LAW.

- 72 *The Guardian who manages the Affairs of his Ward ill, shall be reprimanded; and if he be found to have cheated him, he shall restore double.*

effectually, these licentious Comedies were absolutely banished the Stage, and another sort of Comedy substituted in their room, which was agreeable to the Rules of Decency and good Manners. This was called the new Comedy, to distinguish it from the old; and *Menander* is reckoned to have excelled most in this Way. Nevertheless *Solon* had enacted, that a Fine of five *Drachmae*, should be laid on those, who publickly affronted any Person by defamatory Discourses, either during the Times of the Sacrifices, or the Shews, or in the Presence of the Judges and Magistrates. Two of these *Drachmae* were assigned to him who had received the Injury: The other three to the publick Treasury.

68 This Law, as mentioned by *Aulus Gellius*, and restored by learned *Civilians*, is thus expressed. QUI SE SIRIT TESTARIER, LIBRIPENSVE FUERIT, NI TESTIMONIUM FARIATUR IMPROBUS INTES- TABILISQUE ESTO. The Word FARIATUR in old Latin was put for *Fateatur*. *Fariri* was then used instead of *Fari*, *Moriri* instead of *Mori*.

69 How much soever the *Greeks* were decried for a want of Sincerity and Fidelity, yet they enacted severe Punishments against false Witnesses, and those who suborned them. Besides a considerable Fine which was laid upon them, the Law declared them infamous. But the *Decemviri*, in order the better to guard against Injustice in the Determination of Causes, ordered that they should be punished with Death. *Plato* decreed the same Punishment against him who had born false Witness three times. In After-ages indeed, Looseness of Manners got the better of the Austerity of the Laws. A false Witness was only banished; and at the same Time declared infamous. The Law of the *Decemviri* runs thus. SI FALSUM TESTIMONIUM DICASSIT, SAXO DEJICITOR.

70 This Law runs thus. SI QUIS LIBERUM HOMINEM DOLO SCIENS MORTI DUIT, QUIVE MALUM CARMEN INCANTASSIT, AUT MALUM VENENUM FAXIT, DAITVE, PARRICIDA ESTO. The *Athenians* punished wilful Murder with Death. However, the Criminal was at Liberty to make his Escape before the Judge pronounced Sentence; but his Effects were confiscated, and his Head proscribed. If the Murder was involuntary, the *Athick* Laws inflicted only one Year's Banishment on the Murderer. By the Law of the *Decemviri*, or rather of *Numa*, which was inserted in the twelve

Tables, every *Homicide*, for the Word *Parricida* has often that Signification, was punished with Death. This is the meaning of the Words PARRICIDA ESTO, which are as much as to say, *Capital esto*. One or the other of these Forms was always used, in relation to the Crimes which were punished with Death. The same Punishment was denounced against Poisoners, Magicians, and especially that sort of Women, whom the *Romans* called *Sagas*.

71 *Valer. Maximus*, B. 1. and *Nonnius c. 1.* mention this Law, which runs thus. QUI PARENTEM NECASSIT, CAPUT OBNUBITO, CULEOQUE INSUTUS IN PROFLUENTEM MERGITUR. *Solon* appointed no Punishments against *Parricides*, as being of Opinion there could be no such Monsters in Nature. But the *Romans* thought otherwise. Even from *Romulus's* Time, according to some, or *Servius's*, according to others, it was enjoined by an express Law, that the Children who had struck their Father or Mother, should be devoted to the Gods, that is, any one might kill them with Impunity, and sacrifice them as expiatory Victims, to the Vengeance of the *Pagan* Divinities. The Law of the twelve Tables condemned a *Parricide* to be thrown into the River, sown up in a Sack, with a Dog, a Cock, a Viper, and an Ape. In this Condition he was delivered up as a Prey to the Fury of these Animals, and deprived of the Use of the Elements, as the Execration of Mankind.

72 *Godfrey* has collected the Text of this Law from several Expressions scattered about in Authors, and states it thus. SI TUTOR DOLO MALO GERAT, VITUPERATO; QUANDOQUE FINITA TUTELA ESCIT, DUPLIONE LUITO. Among the *Athenians*, the Unfaithfulness of Guardians in the Management of the Effects of their Wards, was punished by the Laws. The latter might prosecute them for five Years, after they came from under their Care, but had no Action against them afterwards. At *Rome* the Guardian's Effects were mortgaged to the Ward. In case of Unfaithfulness, the Guardian was declared infamous, and condemned to pay double the Damage he had done, as we learn from *Tully Offic. B. 3. Orat. pro Catil. & pro Rosc. Com.* In the first Book *de Oratore*, he calls the Sentence of a Judge against a Guardian for Male-Administration, *Judicium turpe*.

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XIII. LAW.

73 *A Patron who shall have defrauded his Client, shall be execrable.*

T A B L E VIII.

Of ESTATES IN THE COUNTRY.

I. LAW.

74 *Let the Space of two Foot and an half of Ground be always left between one House and another.*

II. LAW.

75 *Societies may make what By-Laws they please among themselves, provided they don't interfere with the publick Laws.*

III. LAW.

76 *When two Neighbours have any Disputes about their Bounds, the Prætor shall assign them three Arbitrators.*

IV. LAW.

77 *When a Tree planted in a Field does Injury to an adjoining Field by its Shade, let its Branches be cut off fifteen Foot high.*

V. LAW.

78 *If the Fruit of a Tree falls into a neighbouring Field, the Owner of the Tree may go and pick it up.*

VI. LAW.

79 *If a Man would make a Drain, to carry off the Rain-water from his Ground to his Neighbour's, let the Prætor appoint three Arbitrators, to judge of the Damage the Water may do, and prevent it.*

73 *Servius* has preserved the Words of this Law, in his *Commentary* upon this Passage of the sixth *Æneid*, *Et fraus innexa Clienti*. They are these, PATRONUS SI CLIENTI FRAUDEM FAXIT, SACER ESTO. We have already given an Account of the Origin of *Patrons* and *Clients*, and their reciprocal Duties, in the first Book of this History. It is therefore sufficient to observe here, that the Law established much such an Union between them, as Nature has settled between a Father and a Son. Inasmuch, that a Patron, who accused, or bore Witness against his Client, was thought a Traytor, as having violated the most sacred Laws of Society.

74 The Design of this Law was to leave a Passage open round the House, and hinder the Communication of Fire. It runs thus. AMBITUS PARIETIS SEXTERTIUS PES ESTO.

75 This Law is thus stated. SODALES LEGEM QUAM VOLUNT, DUM NE QUID EX PUBLICA LEGE CORRUMPANT, SIBI FERUNT. The Word *Sodales* here signifies the Members of the same Society, or College, as that of the *Pontifices*, or *Augurs*. Rome had likewise her Communities of Artificers, and Merchants. Each of these different Bodies

was governed by its own Customs, and had probably its own Privileges and Immunities.

76 *Tully* B. 2. de *Legib.* makes this one of the Laws of the twelve Tables. The *Civilians* have collected it from several Authors, and state it thus. SI JURGANT AFFINES, FINIBUS REGUNDIS, ARBITROS TRIS ADDICITO.

77 This Law the *Civilians* state thus. SI ARBOR IN VICINUM FUNDUM IMPENDET 15 PEDES ALTIUS SUBLUCATOR. This last Word SUBLUCATOR, is as much as to say, *Subtus lucem mittito, compescendo luxuriam ramorum*. The *Prætor* interpreted this Law of such Trees also, as hindered the Light, or Prospect of a neighbouring House.

78 SI GLANS IN EMEM CADUCA SIET, DOMINO LEGERE JUS ESTO, are the *Latin* Terms of this Law. The Word *Glans* here signifies all sorts of Fruits. The old Word *emem*, is synonymous to *eundem*, which relates to *Fundum* in the preceding Law.

79 The Words of this Law have been collected from *Pomponius*, from *Tully's* *Topics*, and from several *Civilians*. SI AQUA PLUVIA MANU NOCET, PRÆTOR ARCENDÆ AQUÆ ARBITROS TRIS ADDICITO, NOXÆQUE DOMINO CAVETOR.

VII. LAW.

80 Roads shall be eight Foot wide, where they run strait, and where they turn, sixteen.

VIII. LAW.

81 If a Road between two Fields be bad, the Traveller may drive through which Field he pleases.

T A B L E IX.

Of THE COMMON RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE.

I. LAW.

82 Let not Privilege be granted to any Person.

II. LAW.

83 Let both Debtors who are escaped out of Slavery, and Strangers who have rebelled, and returned to their Duty, be restored to their antient Rights, as if they had never offended.

III. LAW.

84 It is a capital Crime for a Judge or Arbitrator to take Money, for passing Judgment.

IV. LAW.

85 Let all Causes, relating to the Life, Liberty, or Rights of a Roman Citizen, be tried only in Comitia by Centuries.

V. LAW.

80 This Law, according to the *Civilians*, ran thus; VIA IN PORRECTUM 8 PEDUM, IN AMFRACTO 16 PEDUM ESTO. The Design of the *Decemviri*, was to provide thereby for the convenient Passage of all sorts of Carriages. IN AMFRACTO, is as much as to say, In flexu, in amfractu.

81 The *Latin* Terms of this Law, are these: SI VIA PER AMSAGETES IMMUNITA ESCIT, QUAE VOLET JUMENTUM DUCITO. The old Word *Amsagetes*, signified the two Fields which joined to the sides of a Road.

82 This Law consisted of only these three Words, PRIVILEGIA NE IRROGANTO. It was borrowed from the *Athenian* Law. Indeed the *Athenians* never granted any Privileges to private Persons, but with great Caution, and with the Consent of the People: And the *Romans* did the same. It belonged only to the *Comitia by Centuries*, to except any private Person out of a general Law, by way of Immunity; whatever *Cujas* may say of it, who pretends, that these Favours were never granted, not even by the Consent of the *Centuries*: *Cicero* is our Voucher for the contrary, when he speaks thus in his 3^d Book of *Laws*. Cum legis hæc vis sit, scitum est jussum in omnes. Ferri de singulis, nisi Centuriatis Comitibus, noluerunt. It is plain, that the Words *Jussum in omnes*, or the general Law, are here opposed to *Ferri de singulis*, which can only be understood of particular Privileges. So that, to the *Latin* Text PRIVILEGIA NE IRROGANTO, we will add the Words, NISI MAXIMO COMITIATU, which we find used in the fourth Law of this ninth Table.

83 The Terms of this Law want an Explanation; they are these. NEXO SOLUTO, FORTI, SANATI SIREMPS JUS ESTO. That is to say, Dimisso debitori ex potestate creditoris, item ei qui in fide constanter permansit, & ei qui sana mente ad obsequium rediit, jus idem esto. *Festus* gives us the Explanation of the Dative *Sanati*, when he says, the neighbouring Nations, who dwelled on both sides of *Rome*, were called *SANATES*; as for Instance, the *Tiburtini*, and other People, whom *Tarquin the Elder* brought in Subjection to the Republick: Eoque *SANATES*, adds the same Author, propterea quod præter opinionem eos pacavisset, SANAVISSETQUE, nominavit. *Festus* ascribes this Interpretation to *Cincius B. 2. de Offic. Jurisc.* *Siremps* is an old Adjective, synonymous to *Similis*, or *Reipsa*.

84 Among the *Athenians*, a Judge, who was bribed, was condemned to pay the Party injured double the Value of what he had lost. But the *Decemviri* did not think this Punishment sufficient to restrain the Avarice of an unjust Judge. They would have him punished with Death. But in After-times, a Corruption of Manners, and the Avarice of the Judges at *Rome*, got the better of this severe Law. The *Civilians* state it thus. SI JUDEX ARBITERVE JURE DATUS, OB REM DICENDAM PECUNIAM ACCEPSIT, CAPITAL ESTO.

85 The Law is this. DE CAPITIS CIVIS ROMANI, NISI PER MAXIMUM COMITIATUM NE FERUNT. *Cicero* made use of this Law, to disannul the Proceedings of *Clodius*, who had conspired his Destruction. By the Words, DE CAPITIS CIVIS ROMANI, were understood, not the Life only, but the Liberty

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V. LAW.

86 *Let the People appoint Quæstors, to take Cognizance of all capital Cases.*

VI. LAW.

87 *Whoever shall hold seditious Assemblies in the City, by Night, shall be put to Death.*

VII. LAW.

88 *Let him who shall have solicited a Foreigner to declare himself against Rome, or shall have delivered up a Roman Citizen to a Foreigner, lose his Life.*

VIII. LAW.

89 *Let only the last Laws the People make, be in Force.*

T A B L E X.

Of FUNERALS, AND ALL CEREMONIES RELATING TO THE DEAD.

I. LAW.

90 *Let no Person be interred, or Body burnt, within the City.*

II. LAW.

91 *Let all Luxury, and extravagant Mourning be banished from Funerals. Let nothing hereafter forbidden be done at them.*

III. LAW.

Liberty and Rights of a Roman Citizen. In Consequence of this Law, it was criminal to kill any Person before Sentence of Death had been pronounced against him. For this Reason the People chose *Quæstors*, whose Business it was to inform them of the Crimes which were brought before their Tribunal.

86 QUÆSTORES PARRICIDII, QUI DE REBUS CAPITALIBUS QUÆRANT, A POPULO CREANTOR, are the Words of this Law according to the *Civilians*.

87 The Romans were so suspicious of nocturnal Assemblies, that the Senate was not suffered to draw up a Decree, after Sun-set. For this Reason they called the beginning of the Night, HORAM INTEMPESTAM. One part of *Catiline's* Accusation was, that he had transgressed this Law. It runs thus. SI QUI IN URBE COETUS NOCTURNOS AGITASSIT, CAPITAL ESTO.

88 This Law was drawn up in these Terms, as we find them mentioned by the Interpreters of the twelve Tables. SI QUIS PERDUELLEM CONCITASIT, CIVEMQUE PERDUELLI TRANSDUCIT, CAPITAL ESTO. By the Word *Perduellis* was meant the Enemies of the State. The Antients used the Word *Duellum* instead of *Bellum*. *Perduellis*, says *Ulpian*, est qui hostilem animum adversus rempublicam, aut principem, gerit.

89 The Inconstancy and Changes of the People, the different Circumstances and Necessities of Affairs, were an inexhaustible Source of new Laws at Rome, which succeeded one another, and lessened the Authority of the old ones. To avoid therefore the Confusion this Opposition, and Multiplicity of different Laws, might occasion in all legal

Proceedings, the *Decemviri* made a Law, that in the Decision of criminal and civil Affairs, the Publick should conform to the last *Plebiscita*, or the last Laws passed in the *Comitia*, without any Regard to former ones. This is the Sense of this Latin Law; QUOD POSTREMUM POPULUS JUSSIT, IN JUS RATUM ESTO.

90 *Cicero* gives us the Words of this Law. HOMINEM MORTUUM IN URBE NE SEPELITO, NEVE URITO. See what we have said before, concerning the Ceremonies and Customs of Funeral-Pomps in old Rome.

91 The *Decemviri* borrowed this Law from *Solon*, who had suppressed the antient Pride and excessive Profuseness of the *Athenians*, in the Ceremonies used at their Obsequies, by wise Regulations. They seem to have banished that numerous Train of Weeping-Women, who made immoderate Outcries, and sung those Mourning-Verses in praise of the Dead, which were called *Nenia*. As the voluntary Tears they shed were purchased, these superfluous Expences much increased the Charges of Funerals, and were too great a Load upon the Family. But we may observe nevertheless, that the Law of the *Decemviri* did not entirely abolish the Use, but only regulated the Excess, of them. *Cicero* states this Law, in his second Book *de Legibus*, thus; SUMPTUS ET LUCTUS A DEORUM MANIUM JURE REMOVERO. By the Gods *Manes*, the antient Pagans meant the infernal Gods, and the Souls of the Dead, or the *Lemures*. By the Words, JUS DEORUM MANIUM we are to understand the right of Burial, and the Funeral-Honours which were paid the Dead. All Ceremonies relating to the Dead, were therefore to be included in the following

III. LAW.

92 *Let not the Wood, with which Funeral-Piles are built, be cut with a Saw.*

IV. LAW.

93 *Let the dead Body be covered with no more than three costly Habits, bordered with Purple; and let no more than ten Players upon the Flute be employed in celebrating the Obsequies.*

V. LAW.

94 *Let not the Women tear their Faces, or disfigure themselves, or make hideous Outcries.*

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following Articles. This the *Decemviri* shewed by the Words, which ought to be annexed to this Law; *HOC PLUS NE FACITO*, i. e. *Let nothing more be done than what is prescribed in this tenth Table.*

92 *ROGUM ASCIA NE POLITO*, are the *Latin* Words of this Law, which seems to have passed from the *Athenians* to the *Romans*. *Solon*, and after him *Phalereus*, forbade the Use of Joinery, and the Ornaments of Sculpture, in the building of Sepulchres.

93 *Cicero* gives us the Substance of this Law, in his second Book *de Legib.* in these Words. *TRIBUS RICINIIS AC IO TIBICINIBUS FORIS EFFERRE IUS ESTO.* The Commentators have given themselves much Trouble, to find out the Meaning of the *Latin* Word *Ricinium*. The antient Authors themselves seem not to have known it, at least they have not said enough of it to remove our Uncertainties about it. *Festus* understands by the Word *Ricinium* a square Habit. He adds, that the Interpreters of the Laws of the twelve Tables, don't distinguish it from the *Toga Virilis*, bordered with Purple, which the Women likewise used. His Words are these. *Ricinium omne vestimentum quadratum. It qui duodecim interpretati sunt, esse dixerunt virilem togam, qua mulieres utebantur, prætextam clavo purpureo.* What follows is as unintelligible as what goes before, *Unde Riciniati mimi Planipedes.* It is certain, that those who are here called *Riciniati mimi Planipedes*, were the same with the Comedians, or Actors of Farces, who appeared upon the Stage bare-foot, or wore a sort of flat Sandal, called *Soccus*. Hence the Word *Planipedes*. Now these Actors of Farces and Comedians, were dressed after the *Greek* manner. For this Reason they were called *Palliati*. So that we have here the *Ricinium*, confounded with the *Toga* of the *Romans*, and the *Pallium* of the *Greeks*, in the same Passage. Not to mention the Contradiction between the Words *Virilem Togam*, and those others, *Qua Mulieres utebantur*. Which has given Reason to believe that this Passage of *Festus* has been corrupted. And as it would therefore ill become us to enter into these grammatical Disputes, we leave the Reader to draw his own Conjectures from these Sources, and to judge of the various Readings the *Grammarians* have produced. Several of them explain the *Ricinium* differently. Some have very improperly taken it for an Head-dress, formerly called *Flammæum*, worn only by new married Women. It was according to others, the common Habit of the Women in Mourning, who attended the Funeral-Procession. So that, say they, by the Words *TRIBUS RICINIIS*, &c. it is forbidden to have more than three Women, cloathed in this mourning Habit, at any Funeral. It is visible, the *Flammæum* could not belong to a Funeral-Ceremony. And it is as false, that the Design of the *Decemviri* was to limit the Number of those who appeared at Funerals in mourning Habits, to three. It is well known, that it would have been indecent to have appeared at a Funeral at *Rome*, out of Mourning. Now all the Relations seldom failed of being there, as well as the Friends and Clients of the Deceased. They therefore put a more reasonable Construction upon

this Passage, who say, that the Design of these Law-givers was to renew an old political Law, established by *Solon*. He commanded, that no more than three Robes should be buried or burnt with the Corps: It being customary among the Antients, to load the Funeral-pile, or fill the Sepulchre, with rich Habits, and all the valuable Things the Deceased had had in his Life-time; agreeable to these Lines of *Virgil* in his sixth *Aeneid*,

—*Tum membra thoro defleta reponunt
Purpureasque super vestes, velamina nota
Injiciunt.*

This Abuse was introduced into *Rome*, and seems to have at last prevailed, contrary to this Law, in the Times when the *Romans* gloried in making their publick Ceremonies stately and sumptuous. So that by the Words *TRIBUS RICINIIS*, the Law-givers probably meant those stately Habits bordered with Purple; as *Cicero* shews, when he speaks of this Law. *Extenuato igitur sumptu, TRIBUS RICINIIS, & vinculis purpureis, & decem tibiae tollit etiam lamentationem, B. 2. de Legib.* As to the Players on Flutes the Number of whom was confined to ten, they were a particular College in *Rome*, instituted by *Numa*. They were employed in Feasts, Shews, Funerals, publick Sacrifices, and in the Celebration of Festivals, Games, and other Solemnities. *Ovid* says, *Fast. B. 6.* that the *Romans* antiently thought it honourable to have the Corps attended by a great Number of Musicians, to celebrate the Obsequies with the more Pomp.

*Temporibus Veterum Tibicinis usus avorum
Magnus, & in magno semper honore fuit.
Cantabat sanis, cantabat tibia ludis,
Cantabat maestis tibia funeribus.
Adde quod Aedilis pompa qui funeris irent,
Artifices solos jussit esse decem.*

But this Law did not hinder the *Romans* from joining Trumpets to Flutes in the Funerals of Great Men.

94 *Tully, B. 2. de Legib.* mentions this Law. *MULIERES GENAS NE RADUNTO NE VE LESSUM, FUNERIS ERGO, HABENTO.* *Solon* had abolished this Custom, which had been introduced into *Athens* before his Time; the Women, the better to shew their Grief, made it Matter of Merit to tear and disfigure their Faces. The same Practice which was in use among the *Phœnicians*, is condemned in *Leviticus*. *NE VE LESSUM, FUNERIS ERGO HABENTO*, was thought so obscure an Expression by two antient Interpreters, *Sextus Aelius*, and *Lucius Aelius*, whom *Tully* mentions, that they believed it very difficult to be understood. But they conjectured, that the Word *Lessus* signified a mourning Habit of a particular Shape, which was forbidden by the *Decemviri*. Another Interpreter, viz. *Lucius Aelius*, quoted by *Tully*, thinks *LESSUS* antiently signified the immoderate Outcries, and extravagant Lamentations, with which the Women made all the Neighbourhood resound. *L. Aelius, LESSUM quasi lugubrem ejulationem, ut vox ipsa significat, quod eo magis judico verum esse, quod lex Solonis id ipsum vetat. Plautus, Trucul. 4.* uses this Word in this Sense. *Thetis quoque ipsa lamentando, legem fecit filio.*

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VI. LAW.

95 Let not any part of a dead Body be carried away, in order, to perform other Obsequies for the Deceased, unless he died in War, or out of his own Country.

VII. LAW.

96 Let no Slaves be embalmed after their Death; let there be no drinking round a dead Body; nor let any perfumed Liquors be poured upon it.

VIII. LAW.

97 Let no Crowns, Festoons, Perfuming-Pots, or any kinds of Perfume, be carried to Funerals.

95 The Civilians have given us this Law, after Tully, B. 2. de Legib. thus, HOMINI MORTUO OSSA NE LEGITO, QUO POST FUNUS FACIAS, EXTRA QUAM SI BELLI, ENDOVE HOSTICO, MORTUUS ESCIT. It often happened at Rome, that the Friends and Relations of the Deceased, carried off some Parts of his Body, during the Celebration of the Obsequies, in order to perform another Funeral for him in private. Which multiplied Expences, and renewed useless Grief. The Decemviri therefore abolished this Custom. Nevertheless the Practice of interring still continued at Rome, even with Regard to those Bodies which were burnt. The Relations and Friends of the Deceased, reserved a small Part of his Body, a Finger for Instance, or some Bones, for this Purpose, and buried them with as much Ceremony, as if it had been the whole Body. By this Means the Romans intended to preserve the antient Custom of Burial, without which, says Cicero, the Place where the Body had been burnt, was not consecrated by Religion. Without it, none had a just Title to build any Sepulchre there; and all the last Offices of Respect were not thought paid to the Deceased. *Nam priusquam in os injecta gleba est, locus ille, ubi crematum est corpus, nihil habet religionis. Injecta gleba, tum & ille humatus est, & sepulchrum vocatur, ac tum denique multa religiosa jura complectitur.* So that, properly speaking, no Funerals were performed, for those who had perished in a Shipwreck, unless some part of their Bodies were found. Nevertheless, the Law excepts those who had died in War in a distant Country, or who had been devoured by some wild Beast, &c. It was lawful to make a funeral Pomp for such, in Honour of their Bravery, and to erect one of those Tombs for them, which the Antients called *Cenotaphia*. It was a received Opinion, according to the Superstition of those Times, that these empty Sepulchres, were Retreats for the wandering Souls of those, who had had no Burial. This Defect was supplied by throwing three Handfuls of Earth upon the Tomb, and calling the Deceased by his Name three times. Aeneas paid this Tribute to the Memory of young Polydorus.

*Ergo instauramus Polydoro funus, & ingens
Aggeritur tumulo tellus. Stant manibus aræ.*

Animamque Sepulchro

Condimus, & magna supremum voce ciemus.

Æneid 3.

Ovid speaks of these Monuments, which looked like Sepulchres.

Et sepe in tumulis, sine corpore, nomina legi.

But nevertheless, the Parents and Heirs of the Deceased were still at Liberty to gather up his Remains, and carry them to the Place appointed for his Burial, in order to celebrate other Obsequies for him there.

96 The Custom of washing, anointing, perfuming, and embalming dead Bodies, passed from the Egyptians to the Persians and Greeks. The latter

transmitted it to the Romans. This was a necessary guard against Corruption, especially in the southern Climates, and at a time, when Bodies were kept seven Days before they were carried to the Funeral-Pile, according to Servius, who observes, that they were not burnt till the eighth Day, and that the ninth was spent in gathering up the Ashes. The Decemviri forbade the Use of so much Distinction, on account of those who died in Slavery, in order to make a Difference between Freemen, and Slaves, who were also buried without any preparatory Ceremonies, and soon after their Deaths. The Roman Law-givers following Solon's Example, forbade the Feasts the Relations used to make round about the Sepulchres, after the Funeral-Ceremony was over, and in Honour of the *Dii Manes*, or the Deceased. A part of the Provisions was reserved for the Dead, out of an Opinion, that their Souls were refreshed with the Smell, and Steam of the Meats. Wine was never spared on these Occasions, when every one strived to celebrate the Memory and Praises of the Dead, in full Bowls. This burdensome Profaneness was with Reason abolished. Superstition and Vanity had likewise introduced a Custom in Rome, of throwing exquisite Perfumes, and precious Liquors, on the Sepulchres, and Funeral-Piles. This Abuse therefore, which led the Heirs, and Family, into immense Expences, was absolutely forbidden. Only Libations of Wine on the Body were tolerated, though forbidden by Numa's Law. The Law of the Decemviri was this. SERVILIS UNCTURA, OMNISQUE CIRCUMPOTATIO AUFERITOR. MURRATA POTIO NE INDITOR. The only remaining Question now is, what Liquor is meant by MURRATA POTIO. The Moderns have in vain laboured to discover the Qualities of it. Some say it was a Mixture of different Perfumes, which made an exquisitely rich Drink, and was so called from the Greek Word *μύρον*. Others take it to be a Composition of Myrrhe. Some pretend this Liquor had its Name from a precious Stone called *Murra*. And according to them, this Stone when pulverized was an Aromatick, and gave the Liquor an excellent Tincture, which was very agreeable to the Taste and Smell. However it were, it is certain this Liquor was very dear, and therefore it was forbidden by the Laws.

97 This Law is mentioned by Tully B. 2. de Legib. NE LONGÆ CORONÆ, NEVE ACERRÆ PROFERUNTOR. The Decemviri wisely retrenched those vain Ornaments likewise, of Crowns and Garlands, with which it was customary to adorn the Funeral-Piles, Sepulchres, and Corples. They only excepted the Crown, which was to be put on the Head of the Deceased. What the Antients called *Acerræ* were likewise excluded out of the Funeral-Pomps, whether they were the portable Altars on which they burnt Perfumes, or Pots designed for aromatick Fumigations.

IX. LAW.

- 98 If the Deceased has merited a Crown in the publick Games, by any Exploit of his own, or the Expertness of his Slaves, or the Swiftneſs of his Horſes, let his Panegyrick be made at his Funeral, and let his Relations have leave to put a Crown upon his Head, as well during the ſeven Days he remains in the Houſe, as when he is carried to be buried.

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X. LAW.

- 99 Let no Man have more than one Funeral made for him, or than one Bed put under him.

XI. LAW.

- 100 Let no Gold be uſed in any Obſequies, unleſs the Jaw of the Deceased has been tied up with a Gold Thread. In that Caſe the Corps may be interred or burnt, with the Gold Thread.

XII. LAW.

- 101 For the future, let no Sepulchre be built, or Funeral-Pile raiſed within ſixty Feet of any Houſe, without the Conſent of the Owner of the Houſe.

98 This Article of the Laws relating to Funerals runs thus. QUI CORONAM PARIT IPSE, PECUNIA VE EJUS, VIRTUTIS ERGO, ARGUITOR: ET IPSI MORTUO PARENTIBUSQUE EJUS, DUM INTUS POSITUS ESCIT, FORISQUE EFFERTUR, SE FRAUDE ESTO. This was customary at Athens, on account of an Hero who had gained Reputation in Battel, or the publick Games. His Family ſhared the Honours which were paid him. After this Model, the Romans made it matter of Duty, to honour with funeral Panegyricks, the Memory of ſuch Perſons, as were famous on their own Accounts, or for their Families. The Crown put upon their Heads was a Mark of Diſtinction, which could not lawfully be reſuſed, being ſhewn to their Virtue or their Blood. The Latin Word Pecunia comprehended under it, Slaves, Horſes, and every Thing in general, which was dependent on the Matter of the Family. The Senſe of the Law therefore is, that the Dead ſhould be crowned, if in his Life-time he gained the Prize allotted to the Victors in the publick Games, or diſtinguiſhed himſelf in them, either by any Act of his own, or the Services of his Slaves, or the Swiftneſs of his Horſes. The Deceased had this Crown on, all the eight Days, which were, according to Servius, between the Day of his Deceafe, and that on which he was carried to the Pile, or to the Place appointed for his Burial. For the Aſhes were not gathered up till the ninth Day. Horace, ſays Porphyry, one of his Commentators, confirms this Cuſtom, in theſe Verſes of the twelfth Ode, in the Book of Epodes,

*Nec in ſepulchris pauperum prudens annis
Novendiales diſſipare puberes.*

The Nine Days, ſays the Commentator, which were ſpent in lamenting the Dead, and paying the laſt Duties to him, were called *Feria Novendiales*. Hence the Novennial Sacrifice, which was offered up the ninth Day after his Deceafe. In relation to this, St. Auſtin upon Genefis ſays, *Nefcio utrum invenitur alicui ſanctorum, in ſcripturis, celebratum eſſe ſuclum novem dies, quod apud Latinos novendiales appellant.* Nevertheless, Virgil *Aeneid* 11. fixes the third Day for the Day of Interment;

*Tertia lux caelo gelidam dimoverat umbram
Marentes altum cinerem & conſuſa ruebant
Oſſa fociſ tepidoque onerabant aggere terra.*

99 UNI PLURA FUNERA NE FACITO, NE VE PLURES LECTOS STERNITO, are the Words of this Law. When a Perſon of Diſtinction died in Rome, he was carried on a Funeral-Bed, either by thoſe of his own Family, or his Friends, or the Great Men of the Republick, according to his Rank in the State; eſpecially if he had ſignalized himſelf by any great Actions or important Services. The Number of theſe Beds of State ſeems to have been multiplied, before this Law was made, for the greater Pomp and Shew. And this Abufe continued likewise afterwards. Inferior Perſons were carried to the Pile, or Sepulchre, upon a Bier, by Men appointed for that Purpoſe; who were called *Vespillines*, or *Vespe*—*quia vespertino tempore eos efferunt qui ſumbri pompa duci propter inopiam nequeunt*, ſays Feſtus.

100 NEVE AURUM ADDITO. AST SI CUI AURO DENTES VINCI ESCINT, IM CUM ILLO SEPULIRE URERE VE, SE FRAUDE ESTO. Cicero mentions this Law in his ſecond Book *de Legibus*. It forbade golden Ornaments, as an indecent Prodigality in a mournful Solemnity. The *Decemviri* only excepted the String, which was generally uſed to tie up the under Jaw in its natural Situation.

101 ROGUM BUSTUMVE NOVUM ALIENOS AEDES PROPIUS 60 PEDES, SI DOMINUS NOLET, NE ADJICITO. The *Decemviri* propoſed two Things by this Law. 1. To hinder the Fire of the Funeral-Pile from ſetting fire to the Neighbourhood. And 2^{dy}, To guard the neighbouring Houſes from being infected by the bad Air, and Corruption, which came from the Bodies. For this Reaſon, the erecting Piles, or interring the Dead, within the City, was, generally ſpeaking, forbidden. This Privilege was ſeldom granted to any, and only as a ſingular Mark of Diſtinction. Nevertheless, with the Conſent of the Owner of any Houſe, the Pile or Burial-Place might be fixed within ſixty Feet of it. In this Caſe, the Place became conſecrated by an Act of Religion, and the Family of the Deceased gained a right of burying there ever after, in ſpight of all the Oppoſition the Proprietor of the Houſe could make.

XIII. LAW.

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XIII. LAW.

102 *Prescription shall never be pleaded against a Man's right to his burial Place, or the Entrance to it.*

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THESE ten Tables, (the Fragments of which we have collected in different Places, and which we have represented partly, as they have been conveyed down to us from Antiquity, and partly in the Form which the *Civilians* have given them, after antient Memoirs,) were received with universal Applause. The People expected them, as Oracles brought from Greece, which were to establish one uniform Body of Civil Laws in the Republick. And indeed they were a Summary of the wise Principles of natural Equity, and of Maxims proper for the Regulation of a State. The *Decemviri* proposed them with Confidence to the assembled *Curia*, and harangued them in this manner. *May the Gods grant, that what we now present you, Romans, may be equally agreeable and advantageous to the Republick, to you, and to your remotest Posterity. Go, read the Laws we have drawn up. We have used all the Care and Attention that ten Men could do, equally to secure the Rights of Great and Small. But after all, a whole Nation must see farther than any ten private Persons. Examine our Laws therefore in private, make them Matter of publick Conversation, confer upon them among your selves, and consult with one another, what ought to be taken away from them, and what may be added to them. Nothing of all that we have drawn up shall have the Force of a Law, till it be received with universal Consent. Be you, Romans, be you rather the Authors, than barely the Approvers of Laws, which are to establish Order and Regularity, and to be the main Foundation of the Happiness of both Senate and People.*

102 FORI BUSTIVE AETERNA AUCTORITAS ESTO, are the Words of this Law. It was with a Right of Burial, as with the Property of Lands situated in tributary Provinces, or possessed by Foreigners. The *Roman* Laws would never allow Prescription to be pleaded against either. A piece of Ground, when once set apart for the Burial of the Dead, was sacred ever after, and could never be converted to prophane Uses again. It was a perpetual Inheritance to the Family to whom it was once given; and Religion would never admit of any Alienation. He that dared to invade such sacred Ground, demolish Sepulchres, or disturb the Ashes of the Dead, was thought guilty of an enormous Crime; and the Proprietor had always a Power of claiming a Possession, which belonged to him by a sort of divine Right. This Law was founded, says *Tully*, upon the most refined Sentiments of Nature, which will not permit the Living to usurp from the Dead the only *Asylum* they can enjoy. *Solon* gave Sanction to this religious Regard for Sepulchres at *Athens*. So that it was not lawful to build on Burying-Ground, or live upon it, unless the Deceased had laid this Obligation upon some of those who were mentioned in his Will. It sometimes happened, that the Testator bequeathed something to one of his *Freed-men*, upon Condition that he should always live there, and guard his Sepulchre. This was a Duty of Gratitude and Fidelity, which the Benefactor pretty often insisted on. *Ulpian*, B. 18. gives us a Copy of a Will which had such a Clause in it. *Cibaria per fidei commissum dederat, & ita adiecerat, quos liberos meos, ubi corpus positum fuerit, ibi eos morari jubeo, ut per absentiam filiarum mearum, ad sarcophagum meum memoriam quotannis celebrent.* We also read in the same Author, B. 71. *Titio centum relicta sunt, ita ut a monumento non recedat.* It was not contrary to the Laws, for People to hide themselves in the Sepulchres, as the Christians did to avoid Persecution, or for the sake of Solitude. For

this was not acting contrary to the Will of the Law-giver, who only forbade Usurpation, and unlawful Possession. By the same Law, none could bury in another's Sepulchre, without the Consent of the Proprietor. The Burying-Grounds were always excepted in the Conveyances of Lands. To prevent all manner of Evasion and Dispute, this Clause was sometimes added. *Si quid sacri, vel religiosi, vel publici est, ejus nihil venit.* In Consequence of which, says *Ulpian*, B. 72. *Senatus-consulto cautum erat, ne usus sepulchrorum permutationibus pollueretur, hoc est ne monumentum venderet, neque obligaretur distrabereturve a quoquam.* In an antient Inscription, the Prohibition of alienating a Burial-Place is expressly mentioned. *Ibc autem monumentum cum edificio, neque veniet, neque donabitur, neque pignori obligabitur, sed nec ulli modo alienabitur, ne de nomine exeat familia.* Lest the consecrated Ground should be mistaken, or confounded with the prophane, care was taken to engrave the Length and Breadth of it, as in this Inscription,

L. ÆMILII L. F.
IN FRON. PED.
XII. IN. AGR.
PED. XX.

That is, L. Æmilius's Burial-place was eighteen Foot in Front, and twenty in Length. By the Front is meant that side which faced the Highway.

Before we conclude this Article, it is necessary to observe, that by the Words *Fori Bustive* in this Law, the *Decemviri* meant, according to *Hottoman*, both the Porch or Entrance into the Sepulchre, and the Place where the Body had been burnt. *Quod autem forum, id est vestibulum sepulchri, bustumve usu capi vetat, tunc jus sepulchrorum* — *Cicero*, B. 2. *de Legib.*

THIS Discourse was heard by the Assembly with very great Pleasure. The *Decemviri* appeared in the Eyes of the People, like so many beneficent Divinities come down from Heaven, to make the *Romans* forget their former Divisions. The *Tribunes* seemed no longer necessary to defend the Weak from the Violence of the Strong. All thought themselves sufficiently secure under the Protection of the Laws. They were first cut on Planks ¹⁰³ of Oak; and then every one was well received by the *Decemviri*, who came to start any Difficulties about them. They changed, reformed, added to, and took from them: In a Word, they were careful that every thing should be agreeable to the Multitude. Among the *Decemviri*, *Appius Claudius* acted the principal Part, and was first in the Esteem of the People. They considered him as the principal Author of the Happiness they enjoyed. Insomuch, that the ambitious *Decemvir* had Thoughts of making Use of his Popularity, as a Means to usurp a tyrannical Power over those very *Romans*, whose Hearts were already captivated to him. After the ten Tables had continued fixed up a pretty while in the *Forum*, that all Men might pass their Censures upon them, and offer what Corrections they had to make in them, the Senate was assembled to deliberate about them. It is easy to imagine that they met with no Opposition there. A Decree of the Senate confirmed them, and deferred it to the People to give them the last Sanction. Nothing therefore was now talked on but establishing them in *Comitia by Centuries*: Which was the very Opportunity *Appius Claudius* chose to continue the Government of the *Decemviri* another Year, and to place himself at the Head of the Republick, under the Name of Chief of the *Decemviri*. He artfully caused a Report to be spread, that the Body of Laws was imperfect, and that two more Tables were yet wanting, to compose which, required all the Care and Authority of ten Men, like those, whose Government had been so agreeable to the Republick: And this was a Seed then sown by the industrious *Decemvir*, and of which he reaped the Fruits, in their Season. All Minds were so disposed as to favour *Claudius's* Desires. *Comitia* were appointed on the third Market-Day, for the Acceptance of the Laws. The *Decemviri* made the Assembly as solemn as possible. The several *Classes* of the *Roman* People were called together in the *Campus Martius*. The *Pontifices* and *Augurs* were present. Sacrifices were offered up to the Gods in the manner King *Servius Tullius* appointed; and then the People went into their several Voting-places to give their Suffrages. *Rome* had never seen a more regular and orderly Assembly; nor one more unanimous. So that the Laws, when thus legally and formally confirmed, were transcribed upon Pillars of Brass, ranged in Order in the *Forum*, and were the Foundation of all judicial Determinations, as well with Regard to publick as private Affairs.

In the mean time, the Year appointed for the *Decemviri* to be supreme Governors of the Republick drew very near its Conclusion. But both Nobility and People desired the Power of the *Decemviri* might be prolonged, though with different Views. The People disliked the *Consuls*, and did not lament the Loss of their own *Tribunes*. The Liberty they had of getting the Judgment of one *Decemvir* rectified by another, was equivalent to the Protection they received from the *Tribunes*. As for the *Patricians*, they found themselves eased of a Yoke which the *Tribunes* laid upon them; and their Body, instead of choosing two Heads with a very limited Authority, now annually supplied the Republick with ten Governors, whose Power was supreme and independent. So that when it was proposed to the Senate, to continue the Government of the *Decemviri* in *Rome* another Year, this Motion prevailed against that of re-establishing the *Consuls*. The Reasons publicly given for this Decree, were that it was necessary to finish what was to be added to the ten Tables, and get it established. The private Motives of the most considerable Senators were, that they might procure themselves a Place among the ten Magistrates which were going to be elected. And

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Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 681
Livy B. 3.
c. 34.

Dion. Hal.
B. 10. Ibid.

¹⁰³ The *Decemviri* divided this Collection of Laws into ten Parts, which were cut after the manner of the *Athenians*, on Tables of Wood, and not of Ivory, as *Pomponius* affirms. Yet we read in one Copy of *Florentinus*, *Eboreas Tabulas*. Perhaps the Copyist mistook, and read *Eboreas*, instead of *Roboreas*. However, it's certain Ivory was not common at *Rome*. It is asked, whence it could be brought thither, at a Time when the Commerce

of the *Romans* did not extend beyond the neighbouring Countries. Besides, the Magistrates first proposed the ten Tables only as a Sketch, which they submitted to the Censures of the *Roman* People. And it is not probable that so rare, and consequently so valuable Materials, as Ivory then was at *Rome*, should be used in a rough Draught, which was liable to Additions and Corrections.

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Livy B. 3.
c. 35.
Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 681.

Livy B. 3.
c. 35.

Dion. Hal.
B. 10. Ibid.

Livy B. 3.
Ibid.

Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 682.

indeed, Men who valued themselves for their Gravity and Disinterestedness, then set themselves to work to sollicite the *Decemvirate*. Which, if we believe two famous Historians, was purely out of Love for the publick Good, and to hinder Commissions of such Importance from falling into bad Hands. But however that be, never were there more Candidates for any Office than for that of *Decemvir* at this time. Those *Patricians* who were formerly the most declared Enemies of the People, and who scorned to canvass for publick Offices, were now seen flattering and caressing the meanest of the Citizens, and debasing, in order to raise themselves. *Claudius* acted a very strange Part for a Man of his Character. After he had shewn so much Contempt for Offices, he was consumed with a secret Passion, not only for some Dominion in the Republick, but for being the sole Governor of it. By his cringing and mean Behaviour you would have rather taken him for a Candidate for the *Decemvirate*, than for a *Decemvir*. He forgot the Business of his Office, to give himself wholly up to intrigue. He was perpetually seen in publick Places, in Company with those old *Tribunes*, whom he knew to be agreeable to the People. By their Means he recommended himself to the Citizens. They were continually boasting of him to the People, as the Source of the present Felicity, and the Life of the happy Government of the *Decemviri*. But *Claudius* himself, when asked whether he desired to be continued *Decemvir* for the next Year, affected to dislike it, and was continually talking of the Uneasinesses that attend publick Employments. Nevertheless his Collegues saw into his Designs, and wisely formed their Judgment of him by his Actions, and not his Words. They perceived that he made an ill use of the Regard the People had for him, in order to lessen the most venerable Senators in the Esteem of the Multitude; that he excluded all Men of known Merit and Steadiness, from standing at the next Election, just as he pleased; that he even artfully defamed them; that he insisted only on some of his own Friends, Men of Genius, or Capacity; and lastly, that he proposed to the People to choose three at least of the *Decemviri* out of the *Plebeians*. This made *Claudius's* Collegues suspect him of ambitious Designs, and Insincerity. *It is not for nothing*, said they, *that a Patrician, so full of Pride, lays himself under the Restraints of so humane and obliging a Behaviour. Men don't lessen and debase themselves, when they sincerely intend to lay down an Office, which they complain of, as too heavy a Burden. Claudius therefore in reality intends to get himself continued in the Decemvirate, since he still takes so much Pains to preserve his Popularity.* They therefore formed a Design of disappointing him. They did not indeed make use of open Force, but they applied themselves to indirect Means to exclude him from the *Decemvirate*, which was the very Thing that continued him in. The *Comitia* for the Creation of the *Decemviri* drew near; and *Claudius's* Collegues commissioned him, as being the youngest, to preside in them. This they did by Way of Artifice; for the President in these Assemblies proposed the Persons to the People who were fit to be chosen; and it had never yet been known, that any one had nominated himself. The skilful *Claudius* accepted the Offer, and turned it to the Advantage of his Ambition. He began with excluding the greatest Men in the Republick. *Quintus Cincinnatus*, who had formerly gained himself so much Glory in his *Dictatorship*, and made himself very famous for his Triumphs, but much more so for his Retreat, and Contempt of Honours, was one of the Candidates; but *Claudius* did not propose him. Another *Quintus* surnamed *Capitolinus* had sought for the Office, merely out of Love to his Country: And *Claudius* omitted him. Even his own Uncle *Caius Claudius* was rejected by the ambitious Nephew, who was afraid of having any Authority in the new College of *Decemviri*, superior to his own. And at length he proposed himself without Reserve or Modesty, and as he had made himself Master of the Suffrages of the People, he ventured to get himself alone continued in the *Decemvirate*, contrary to the Expectations of the Publick. The Men of Honour murmured at it; but he triumphed; and the People applauded him. Of the nine others whom he got joined with him, *Q. Fabius* was the only one who was worthy of the Dignity to which he was raised. He had been three times *Consul*. The five other ¹⁰⁴ *Patricians*,

¹⁰⁴ Of the ten *Decemviri* who entered upon their Office this Year, *Diodorus*, or his Copyists, have omitted three, viz. *T. Antonius*, *Caso Duilius*, and *Q. Fabius*. The same Author has falsely substituted *Spurius Veturius*, in the room of *Spurius Oppius*. The *Fasti Capitolini* and *Livy* agree in giving *Sergius*, the *Prænomen* of *Marcus*. *Diodorus* gives him that of *Caius*. *Dion. Hal.* is the only

cians, whom he got chosen, namely *M. Cornelius*, *M. Sergius*, *L. Minucius*, *T. Antonius*, and *M. Rabuleius*, were Men scarce known. To these he added three *Plebeians*, *Cæso Duilius*, *Q. Petilius*, and *Sp. Oppius*. Names so little worthy to be known, that we should have omitted them, had not the Rank to which they were raised caused them to be preserved in all publick Monuments.

OF these ten Sovereigns appointed, there was, properly speaking, but one who was really so. *Appius Claudius* made himself so compleatly Master of his Collegues, and governed them with so absolute a Sway, that it was already foreseen he would become sole Monarch in *Rome* the next Year. And indeed, before they began to exercise their Office, *Claudius* formed them after his own manner, and inspired them with his own Sentiments. They had private Meetings among themselves every Day, wherein they consulted what Measures would be proper to perpetuate themselves in their Office. Above all Things they thought it necessary, and agreed, to keep up a perfect Intelligence among one another, and all to speak the same Language. *Appius*, as their Head, directed all their Proceedings, and told them what they were to say. From that time they appeared reserved and mysterious, suffered few Persons to come near them, and had no Intercourse or Communication with any but those of their own Body. These evident Marks of a Cabal, united by private Interest under specious Pretences, made the Senate and People already apprehensive, that the *Decemviri* for the ensuing Year would behave themselves very differently from their Predecessors. This Confederacy, said some, which was first formed with seeming Views to the publick Good, is in reality nothing else but an Association of ambitious Men; which is the more prejudicial to the State, by how much their Union is more close, and their Separation from the rest of the Citizens more remarkable.

AND the *Romans* plainly appeared not to have been deceived herein, when the Ides of *May* came, and the new *Decemviri* made their first Appearance in publick, in the room of their Predecessors. The Day the Magistrates entered upon the Exercise of their Office was held sacred by the *Romans*. It was solemnized by Sacrifices and other Ceremonies of Religion. And to these Superstitions the People added another. They drew Prognosticks from the Events of this Day, concerning the Year of the new Government. But how great was the Surprize of the *Romans*, when they saw each *Decemvir* appear in the *Forum* early in the Morning, with all the Pomp and Train of a King! Each of them had given himself twelve *Lictors*, who marched before him with *Axes* and *Fasces*. This Custom had been abolished ever since the Time of the *Kings*. The two *Consuls* had only twelve *Lictors* between them; and they only armed with *Fasces*, and no *Axes*, unless when they marched into the Field against the Enemy. These six Score Guards were therefore a terrible Sight to the City. The People prognosticated from thence that this would be a Year of Tyranny and Injustice. And they were soon made sensible that their Fears were not groundless. It is true the *Decemviri* sat on different Tribunals for the Administration of Justice, as their Predecessors had done; but their Sentences were all concerted by them, even before the Causes were heard. Processes were determined by Favour, and not according to Equity and strict Justice. Every Tribunal was surrounded by young *Patricians*, who were at the Devotion of the Tyrants, in order thereby to screen themselves in their Debaucheries and unjust Proceedings, and to escape with Impunity. No Remedy was to be had by appealing from one *Decemvir* to another. He who brought his Cause to a second hearing, was worse used by the second Sentence, than he had been by the first. Besides, there were now no *Tribunes* to whom the People might fly for Relief. These Law-givers themselves broke the Laws they had made; and these Revengers of arbitrary Decrees gave Sentence themselves, merely as their Fancy led them, without Regard to any Rules. Nor were the *Decemviri* less cruel, than unjust. An inconsiderate Word, an Expression of Concern at the Remembrance of the ancient Liberty, a Murmur dropped in the Senate, or the *Forum*, was punished by the Rods, or *Axes* of the *Lictors*. At first even the Lives of the most illustrious Senators were not spared. Not one of these ten Tyrants had the

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US, &c. De-
cemviri.

Livy B. 3.
c. 36.

Year of
R O M E
CCCIII.
AP. CLAUDI-
US, &c. De-
cemviri.
Dion. Hal.
B. 10. Ibid.

Livy B. 3.
Ibid.
Dion. Hal.
B. 10. p. 683.

only Person who leaves this *Marcus Sergius* out of the Number of the *Decemviri*, and puts one *Marcus Servilius* in his room. *Cassiodorus* has disguised the Name and *Prænomē* of *Manius Rabuleius*, whom he calls *Marcus Rubelius*. In *Dio-*

dorus we find Κούριος Πάπλιος, by which he means *Q. Petilius*, who has the Surname of *Libo*, in the *Fasli Capitolini*. *Spurius Oppius* is there surnamed *Cornicen*, probably from the Profession he was of, before he was raised to the *Decemvirate*.

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CCCIII.
AP. CLAUDI-
us, &c. De-
cemviri.

Livy B. 3.
c. 37.

Complaisance to refer criminal Causes to the Tribunal of the People. They exercised a supreme Authority without any manner of Reserve. But they afterwards grew more moderate with Respect to the Nobility and Great Men. Their Fury vented itself upon the People, especially the meanest of the Citizens. All sorts of Violence and Inhumanity were shewn them. They had no Means of avoiding the Persecution, but to join in their Trains, and swell the Number of their Attendants. This indeed was a sure Way to escape with Impunity, though they had been guilty of the greatest Crimes. So that *Rome* was by this Means filled with Dissoluteness, and there was a great Depravation of Manners among the Citizens. It was one of the Maxims of the new Tyrants not to appoint *Comitia*, or assemble the Senate any more. So that the wisest Senators, and most considerable *Plebeians*, gave Way to the Storm, and retired into the Country for the remaining part of the Year. They hoped the Tempest would cease, with the annual Power of the *Decemviri*. But the Surprise of the Publick was exceeding great, when they found the new Masters of *Rome*, affecting to say nothing of *Comitia* for electing new Magistrates, when the Time came to speak of it. This was demonstrating to all Men, that the Design of the *Decemviri* was to perpetuate themselves in their Office. Then the People cast their Eyes upon the Senate, as their only Refuge. Those *Plebeians* who were formerly so mad for the *Terentian* Law, now shewed they repented of having, by seditious Methods, demanded both new Laws, and new Legislators. They sighed after the Re-establishment of the old Administration; whilst the *Fathers* laid all the Blame of the present Calamities upon the People. They hated their Tyrants; but they took an ill-natured Pleasure in seeing the Populace oppressed, and thereby sharing in the Misfortunes they had occasioned. They were much delighted to see these Mutineers, watching their Looks and Motions, in order to discover some Signs or other, which might give them Hopes of recovering their Liberty. The *Patricians* maliciously referred the Citizens to *Claudius*, that Idol which they had set up over the Heads of so many illustrious Defenders of their Country. They even sharpened their Afflictions, and made their Yoke more heavy. All this was to bring them to love *Consuls*, whose Government they had despised.

IN the mean time, the Ides of *May*, the Time fixed for the *Comitia by Centuries*, drew very near. And *Rome* was surprized to see no preliminary Step taken in order to the holding the Assembly. But instead of new *Decemviri*, the old ones proposed to the People the two new Tables of Laws which were to be added to the ten former ones. We shall here state them, as we have extracted them out of the antient Authors in which they lay dispersed. But we will not be positive that these two Tables were the very same which were drawn up by the last *Decemviri*. We have had nothing to determine us in so perplexed a Point, except Conjectures¹⁰⁵, but indeed probable ones.

¹⁰⁵ The Foundations of our Conjectures, are these. 1. We have, in stating the *Decemviral* Laws, followed the Footsteps of the Antients as closely as was possible. And after several Enquiries, the ten first Tables appear to us to have been proposed to the *Roman* People, much in the same Order in which we have placed them. At least, the Order we have given them, will undeniably appear to be the most natural, upon very little Reflection. 2. We have taken the most famous of the *Civilians*, for our Guides and Authorities, who made it their Study to digest the *Roman* Laws, who gave themselves the Trouble to trace them up to the Fountain-Head, and to collect the Fragments of them, and place them under different Heads. 3. In the ten first Tables, as transmitted to us by them, we find nothing relating either to the Worship of the Gods, or Marriages. And yet it is not probable that the *Decemviri* should have omitted these two essential Points, which are in a manner the Bands of Society. This is what all Law-givers have always taken care to make Provision for, in order to keep up both Union and Subordination among the different Members of the State. And

this therefore gives us room to conjecture, that these two Articles were reserved for the two last Tables. And what confirms this Conjecture is, that the eleventh Table contains two Laws, one of which forbids the *Patrician* Families intermarrying with the *Plebeian*. (And *Dion. Hal.* tells us the same thing;) and the other, mutilated as it is, manifestly relates to the Ceremonies of Religion. It is drawn up in such Terms as leave no room to doubt of it——DETESTATUM seu de SACRIS DETESTANDIS. 4. The Laws we put into the two last Tables, are yet in being. *Tully* has preserved those which relate to Religion; and proposes them as Laws venerable for their Antiquity, in his second Book *de Legibus*. He indeed expresses them in more intelligible Terms, and more agreeably to the Taste of the Age in which he lived; but he does not alter the Sense of them. Among these Laws of the eleventh and twelfth Tables, the Reader will find some which are ascribed to *Romulus* and *Numa*. The *Decemviri* added them to those they brought from *Greece*, in order to compile a Body of Laws out of both jointly.

TABLE XI.

Of THE WORSHIP OF THE GODS, AND OF
RELIGION.

I. LAW.

¹⁰⁶ Let all Persons come with Purity and Piety to the Assemblies of Religion, and banish all Extravagance from thence. If any one does otherwise, may the Gods themselves Revenge it.

II. LAW.

¹⁰⁷ Let no Person have particular Gods of his own; or Worship any new and foreign Ones in private, unless they are authorized by publick Authority.

III. LAW.

¹⁰⁸ Let every one enjoy the Temples consecrated by his Forefathers, the sacred Groves in his Fields, and the Oratories of his Lares. And let every one observe the Rites used in his own Family, and by his Ancestors, in the Worship of his domestick Gods.

IV. LAW.

¹⁰⁹ Honour the Gods of Heaven, not only those who have always been thought such, but those likewise whose Merit has raised them thither, as Hercules, Bacchus, Æsculapius, Castor, Pollux, and Romulus.

¹⁰⁶ The following Laws, which relate to Religion, are taken from Tully's second Book Of Laws, who probably had taken them from the twelve Tables. The Words of the first are these. AD DIVOS ADEUNTO, CASTE, PIETATEM ADHIBENTO, OPES AMOVENTO. QUI SECUS FAXIT, DEUS IPSE VINDEXT. In order to observe this Law the more strictly, the Romans practised, I know not, how many superstitious Precautions, to prepare themselves for the Ceremonies of Religion. Above all, they took care to wash themselves, before they assisted at a Festival, or a Sacrifice: As if the Purity the Law required was only a legal Purification. This Purity was, in a particular manner, required of the Priests, who would have been guilty of Irreverence, if the least Spot had appeared upon them, or their Ornaments. For this Reason, they were obliged to have their sacerdotal Habits very clean; and nothing that was used at the Altars, could be applied to any prophane Use. On this Account, the Ministers, who were dedicated to the Worship of the Gods, chose young Children for the Service of the Temple, and Sacrifices, who were set apart for it, till they came to a certain Age. And upon the same religious Principle, Numa made a Law, whereby he forbade all debauched Women to touch the Altar of Juno, the tutelary Goddess of Chastity, and conjugal Fidelity. And if any disobeyed this Law, either by Mistake, or Design, she was obliged to expiate her Crime, by coming with her Hair dishevelled, and offering an Ew-Lamb to the Goddess. PELLEX ARAM JUNONIS NE TANGITO. SI TANGET JUNONI CRINIBUS DEMISSIS AGNAM FEMINAM CEDITO.

¹⁰⁷ This Law in Latin runs thus. SEPARATIM NEMO HABESSIT DEOS, SED NE ADVENAS NISI

PUBLICES ASCITOS PRIVATIM COLUNTO. It was not lawful to introduce the Worship of any strange God into the Roman Republick, without an express Decree of the Senate for that Purpose. *Vetus est decretum, says Tertullian Apol. c. 5. ne quis Deus ab Imperatore consecraretur, nisi a Senatu probatus.* This was necessary to prevent the Disorders which arise from a multiplicity of Religions.

¹⁰⁸ Cicero states this Law thus. CONSTRUCTA A PATRIBUS DELUBRA IN URBIBUS HABENTO: LUCOS IN AGRIS HABENTO, ET LARUM SEPES; RITUS FAMILIÆ PATRUMQUE SERVANTO. The Pagans formerly consecrated Woods and Trees. The Grove of Egeria, the Grove of the Muses, the Groves of Diana, Mars, &c. were famous among the Romans, for the Worship paid there, to these pretended Deities. Private Persons also made it Matter of religious Duty, to have sacred Groves at their Country-Houses, where the Family met, on certain Days, to offer Sacrifices, in Honour of the tutelary God they worshipped there.

¹⁰⁹ Tully states this Law, in his second Book de Legibus, in this manner. DIVOS, ET OLLOS, QUI COELESTES SEMPER HABITI COLUNTO, ET OLLOS QUOS ENDO COELO MERITA VOCAVERINT, HERCULEM, LIBERUM, ÆSCULAPIUM, CASTOREM, POLLUCEM, QUIRINUM. Jupiter, Mars, Neptune, Apollo, Mercury, Vulcan, Juno, Vesta, Diana, Minerva, Venus, and Ceres, were Divinities of the first Rank among the Pagans. These held the first Rank among those, whom they called *Dii Majorum Gentium*, to distinguish them from the Demi-Gods, who were called *Dii Minorum Gentium*. Such were Bacchus, Æsculapius, Hercules, Castor, Pollux, and Quirinus.

V. LAW.

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CCCCI.
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US, &c. De-
cemviri.

V. L A W.

¹¹⁰ *Let those commendable Qualities, by which Heroes obtained Heaven, be ranked among the Gods, as Understanding, Virtue, Piety, Fidelity; and let Temples be erected to them. But let no Worship ever be paid to any Vice.*

VI. L A W.

¹¹¹ *Let the most authorized Ceremonies be observed.*

VII. L A W.

¹¹² *Let Law-Suits be suspended on Festivals; and let the Slaves have leave to celebrate them, after they have done their Work. That it may be known on what Days they fall, let them be set down in the Calendars.*

VIII. L A W.

¹¹³ *Let the Priests offer up in Sacrifice to the Gods, on certain Days, the Fruits of the Earth, and Berries: And on other Days, Abundance of Milk, and young Victims. For fear this Ceremony should be omitted, the Priests shall end their Year with it. Let them likewise take Care to choose for every God, the Victim he likes. Let there be Priests appointed for some Gods, Flamines for others, and Pontifices to preside over them all.*

IX. L A W.

¹¹⁴ *Let no Women be present at the Sacrifices which are offered up in the Night, except at those which are made for the People, with the usual Ceremonies. Nor let any one be initiated in any Mysteries brought from Greece, but those of Ceres.*

X. L A W.

¹¹⁵ *If any one steals what belongs, or is devoted to the Gods, let him be punished as a Parricide.*

¹¹⁰ This Law runs thus. AST OLLA PROPTER QUÆ DATUR HOMINI ASCENSUS IN COELUM, MENTEM, VIRTUTEM, PIETATEM, FIDEM, EARUMQUE LAUDUM DELUBRA SUNTO, NEC ULLA VITIUM SACRA SOLEMNIA SUNTO. The Design of this Law was to make Virtue venerable, by deifying it, or rather by honouring the supreme God, in his Attributes. But the *Pagans* afterwards exceeded the Bounds prescribed by this Law. We shall find the *Romans* erecting Altars, in times of Corruption, to infamous Divinities, and even consecrating the Objects of the most extravagant Passions.

¹¹¹ EX PATRIIS RITIBUS OPTIMA COLUNTO, are the *Latin* Terms of this Law. By it, the Lawgivers took care to maintain Uniformity and Subordination in the Republick, in Things relating to Religion, and the Worship of the Gods.

¹¹² *Cicero* gives us this Law in these Words. FERIIS JURGIA AMOVENDO, EAS QUE IN FAMULIS, OPERIBUS PATRATIS HABENTO. ITAQUE UT CADANT IN ANNUIS ANFRACTIBUS DESCRIPTUM ESTO. Slaves had their Festivals, as the *Compitalia*, and the *Saturnalia*. On these Days especially, they were free from their ordinary Drudgeries. The Tribunals of Justice were then to be shut up, and that none might be ignorant of these solemn Days, they were at first proclaimed by a publick Cryer. Afterwards they were set down in the Calendar, on the Days of the Month appointed for the Celebration of them.

¹¹³ CERTAS FRUGES, CERTASQUE BACCAS SA-

CERDOTES PUBLICE LIBANTO. HOC CERTIS SACRIFICIIS ATQUE DIEBUS. ITEMQUE ALIOS AD DIES, UBERTATEM LACTIS FÆTURÆQUE SERVANTO. ID QUOD NE COMMITTI POSSIT, AD EAM REM RATIONE CURSUS ANNUUS FINIUNTO. QUÆQUE QUOIQUE DIVO DECORÆ GRATÆQUE SINT HOSTIÆ, PROVIDENTOR. DIVISQUE ALIIS SACERDOTES, OMNIBUS PONTIFICES, SINGULIS FLAMINES SUNTO. All the Parts of this Law we find in *Tully*. The Sacrifices appointed by it were a Homage paid the Gods, as the Authors of all good Things upon Earth. Each had his particular Offerings and Victims, according to the Quality under which he was worship'd.

¹¹⁴ NOCTORNA MULIERUM SACRIFICIA NE SUNTO. PRÆTER OLLA QUÆ PRO POPULO RECTE FIENT NEVE INITIANTOR NISI UT ASSOLET, CERERI, GRÆCO SACRO. This Law provides for the Preservation of the Reservedness and Modesty of Women, by excluding them from all nocturnal Ceremonies. *Paganism* had its Mysteries, which were known only to the Priests and Pontifices. We shall make a particular Enquiry into them, when we come, as Occasion offers, to speak of the Festivals of the *Pagans*, and particularly of those, which were celebrated in Honour to *Ceres*.

¹¹⁵ SACRUM SACROVE COMMENDATUM, QUI CLEPSEKIT, RAPSEKITVE, PARRICIDA ESTO. That is to say, *Let the same Punishment be inflicted on Sacrilege, as on Parricide.*

XI. LAW.

¹¹⁶ *Let Perjury be punished with Death by the Gods, and with perpetual Disgrace by Men.*

XII. LAW.

¹¹⁷ *Let the Pontifices punish Incest with Death.*

XIII. LAW.

¹¹⁸ *Let every one strictly perform his Vows: But let no wicked Person dare to make any Offerings to the Gods.*

XIV. LAW.

¹¹⁹ *Let no Man dedicate his Field to the Service of the Altar; and let him be discreet in his Offerings of Gold, Silver, or Ivory. Let no Man dedicate a litigated Estate to the Gods: If he does, he shall pay double the Value of it to him, whose Right it shall appear to be.*

XV. LAW.

¹²⁰ *Let every Man constantly and perpetually observe his Family-Festivals.*

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cemviri.

¹¹⁶ PERJURII POENA DIVINA EXITIUM, HUMANA DEDECUS. We have already observed how much the Romans abhorred Perjury, and shall have Occasion to speak of it again. The Law refers the Punishment of it to the Gods, because they are directly attacked by it.

¹¹⁷ INCESTUM PONTIFICES SUPREMO SUPPLICIO ANCHUNTO. Seneca tells us, such Persons were thrown down from the Top of the Tarpeian Rock. This Law seems to shew, that the Cognizance of Adultery and Incest was reserved to the College of the Pontifices. Yet History gives us no Instances of it; unless in the Case of the Vestals, whose Incontinence was punished with Death, by Order of the Pontifex Maximus.

¹¹⁸ IMPIUS NE AUDETO PLACARE DONIS IRAM DEORUM. CAUTE VOTA REDDUNTO. Even in the Darknesh of Paganism, natural Religion alone was sufficient to convince Idolaters, that Purity of Heart was the most meritorious part of the Offerings they brought to the Altar. They then had the same Opinion of the indispensable Obligation of Vows, as we now have.

¹¹⁹ NE QUIS AGRUM CONSECRATO. AURI, ARGENTI, EBORIS SACRANDI MODUS ESTO. SI QUI REM DE QUA STLIS SIET, IN SACRUM DEMICASSIT, DUPLIONE DECIDITO. As soon as a piece of Land was once dedicated to any Divinity, or religious Use, the Owner lost all the Produce, and Advantage of it: Because, according to the Laws of the Pontifices, the Consecration of it gave the Gods an unalienable Right and Title to it. The Grant could not be annulled by the Pontifices themselves, especially if made with the usual Formalities. To prevent therefore the Abuse of these indiscreet Consecrations, which deprived the Heir of an Estate which legally belonged to him, this Law absolutely forbids them: Except in certain Cases, in which the Magistrate had a Right of consecrating a Man's whole Estate, and applying it to religious Uses. Thus Claudius consecrated Tully's House, by dint of Authority. In like manner, it was common enough to confiscate the Estate of a Man, who had been condemned at the Tribunal of the People, and to apply it to the Support of the Temples of Ceres, or the defraying the Expences of her Sacrifices. Moreover, this Law does likewise as strongly forbid the consecrating any litigated

Goods. Such Dedications were dishonourable to the Gods, and injurious to the adverse Party. And therefore the Law-givers enacted, that in case of any such Consecration, the Person who was deprived of his Right, should have double the Value of it given him. The same Law does likewise set Bounds to Gifts and Offerings, which were sometimes too profusely made, and much to the Injury of the lawful Heirs.

¹²⁰ SACRA PRIVATA PERPETUA MANENTO. That these Festivals might be perpetuated in Families, without any Interruption, the Pontifical Law transmitted the Obligation of celebrating them from the Father to the Children, or the chief Heir; so that he who had the greatest Share in the Inheritance, was obliged to bear all the Expences of these indispensable Duties of Religion, for the whole Family. Hence the Expression, *Sine sacris hereditas*, to signify an Inheritance free from all Burdens. This is the meaning of that Line in Plautus, *Sine sacris hereditatem sum adeptus effertissimam*. But if the Heir of the Deceased did not faithfully discharge this Duty, which he laid upon himself, by taking Possession of the Goods which fell to him, the Persons concerned never failed to cite him before the Comitia. There he was required, to defray out of his own Pocket, the Expences of the Sacrifices and Festivals, which were usually celebrated in his Family. And in case he persisted in refusing to do it, he was declared deprived of the Goods he had inherited. Nevertheless, as it often happened, that by the centering of several Inheritances in one Man, his Expences, on Account of these religious Duties, were very great, the covetous Heir, who had a Mind to enjoy all the Sweetness of the Inheritance, without the Burdens of it, found Means to elude the Law. In order to get rid of this troublesome Yoke, he, by a feigned Conveyance, transferred all his Rights and Obligations to some decrepid old Man, who had no Heirs. This latter, who had no real Title, became by the false one, solely accountable, and for a Sum of Money, took upon himself the Obligation of defraying the settled Expences of these Festivals and Sacrifices. So that when the old Man died, these Obligations died with him, and the Heir was freed from all Incumbrances.

XVI. LAW.

Year of
R O M E
CCCIII.
AP. CLAUDI-
US, &c. De-
cemviri.

XVI. LAW.

¹²¹ Let him who has been guilty of any of those Faults, which make Men execrable, and are not to be attoned for, Expiations, be deemed impious. But let the Priests expiate such, as are to be expiated.

TABLE XII.

Of MARRIAGES, AND THE RIGHT OF HUSBANDS.

I. LAW.

¹²² When a Woman shall have cohabited with a Man for a whole Year, without having been three Nights absent from him, let her be deemed his Wife.

II. LAW.

¹²³ If a Man catches his Wife in Adultery, or finds her Drunk, he may punish her even with Death, after he has consulted with her Relations about it.

III. LAW.

¹²⁴ When a Man will put away his Wife, the Form of doing it shall be by taking from her the Keys of the House, and giving her what she brought. This shall be the manner of a Divorce.

IV. LAW.

¹²¹ SACRUM COMMISSUM QUOD NEQUE EXPIARI POTERIT, IMPIE COMMISSUM ESTO: QUOD EXPIARI POTERIT, PUBLICI SACERDOTES EXPIANTO. That is to say, *A premeditated Crime could not be expiated by the Blood of Victims, because it implied a formal Contempt of the Worship of the Gods.* It therefore was the guilty Person's Business to repair the Injury he had done Religion by Repentance, and an authentick Satisfaction; if after all, such a Reparation was capable of moving those capricious Divinities, which were often represented by the Pagans as inexorable, and under frightful Characters. But this was not the Case of Offences inadvertently committed; as in case the Praetor had inadvertently, on any other than Court-days, pronounced either of the three Words, DO, DICO, ADDICO, which was the common Form used by this Magistrate, in passing Sentence. In this Case, in order to expiate his Fault, the Anger of the Gods was to be appeased, by offering up a Victim. *Quod si prudens id verbum emisit, says Varro, aut quem manu misit, ille nihilominus est liber, sed vitio ut magistratus. Praetor qui tum factus est, imprudens fecit, piaculari facta hostia piatur. Si prudens dixit, Quintus Mutius haud ambigebat, eum expiari ut impium posse.*

¹²² This Law is quoted by *Anulus Gellius*, B. 3. c. 2. and by *Macrobius Saturnal.* B. 1. c. 3. The *Civilians* state it as follows. MULIERIS QUÆ ANNUM MATRIMONII ERGO, APUD VIRUM REMANSIT, NI TRI NOCTIUM AB EO, USURPANDI ERGO, ABESCIT, USUS ESTO, i. e. *Let a Man be absolute Master of a Woman, who has cohabited with him for the Space of one Year, provided that, in all this time, she has not been absent from him three Nights.* She then became his Wife, yet not in such a manner, as to be a Sharer in the Husband's Goods, or to have a Right to his Inheritance. So that this was being in a Condition much below that of a lawful Wife: By which we mean, one whose Mar-

riage was solemnized with the usual Ceremonies. These we have already spoken of p. 28.

¹²³ UXOREM ADULTERAM TEMULENTAMVE, CUM PROPINQUIS CAUSA COGNITA, MARITO PUNIENDO OCCIDENDIVE JUS, POTESTASQUE ESTO. This Law, which is ascribed to *Romulus*, is placed among the Laws of the twelve Tables. We have already given an Account of it Page 29. Note 102.

¹²⁴ The *Civilians* state this Law thus. SI CONJUX CONJUGI NUNTIIUM MITTAT, CLAVIM ADIMAT, EAMQUE SIBI RES HABERE JUBEAT, DIVORTIUM ESTO. It was partly borrowed from the *Athenians*, and partly from the Law established by *Romulus*. At *Athens*, Men might divorce their Wives, or Women their Husbands, for just Causes, and with this Proviso, that the Person injured should appear before the *Archon*, and acquaint him with the Reasons of the Divorce. In this manner, the Wife of *Alcibiades* went before the Magistrate, to give him an Account of her Husband's Unfaithfulness, and of the other Complaints she had against him. Among the *Romans*, from the very time of *Romulus*, the Husband had a Power to put away his Wife, after she had been convicted of poisoning his Children, of having been unfaithful to his Bed; and we may add, of having drunk Wine; since for this alone, the Husband might, by another Law of *Romulus*, condemn her to die, with the Consent of her Relations, who were joint-Judges with him of the Heinousness of the Offence. An Husband, adds *Plutarch*, who divorced his Wife, unless for one of these three Causes, was to be deprived of all he had. One half of which was forfeited to the Wife, and the other consecrated to *Ceres*. And he himself was devoted to the infernal Gods, or thought worthy of Death. This Law the *Decemviri* confirmed, at least in part, and Debauchery took Advantage of it, in the latter Ages of the Republick. People were not ashamed to sacrifice their conjugal Fidelity to unlawful Amours. It will also appear,

IV. LAW.

¹²⁵ *A Child born of a Widow, in the tenth Month after the Decease of her Husband shall be deemed Legitimate.*

V. LAW.

¹²⁶ *It shall not be lawful for the Patricians to intermarry with the Plebeians.*

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§. VI. SUCH were probably the two new Tables, which the *Decemviri* for this Year added to the former ones. These made up the Number of the *Twelve Tables* so much boasted of, which the *Romans* preserved ever after, as a sacred *Depositum*. Notwithstanding the Hatred the Publick had for these last *Decemviri*, they found little to object to their Laws. The last only, which forbade the *Patricians* to marry with *Plebeians*, seemed an artful Invention of the Tyrants. *They are afraid*, said some, *that the People and the Nobility will unite together, by forming mutual Alliances. And their Aim is to keep us always divided, that they may reign with the more Security.* Indeed the so much desired *Ides of May* were already passed, and the same *Decemviri* illegally continued to govern the Republick. This was a manifest Usurpation. All good Citizens groaned under it, but they in vain lamented the Loss of the old Republican Government. The young Nobility in *Rome*, who were so formidable in the domestick Commotions, declared themselves openly for the *Decemviri*, whilst the Tyrants gave them all manner of Power to vex the People. These young Debauchees dragged the rich Citizens to the Tribunals of the *Decemviri*, and as a Reward for their Calamities, got the confiscated Estates of the Accused to themselves. So that the Licentiousness they enjoyed, was more alluring to them, than the publick Liberty. And with this Assistance, the *Decemviri* were no longer afraid of reigning contrary to the Laws. They continued to appear guarded by their *Lictors*, and employed their *Axes* and *Fasces*, in arbitrary Punishments. The Slavery was sensibly great; but no Revenger of the Oppressions of the Publick yet appeared. Violences and vexatious Prosecutions, having exhausted the People, were now turned with greater Fury against the *Senators* and *Patricians*. *Rome* was like a City taken by Assault, wherein no Quarter is given. On the one Hand, the Goods of the most wealthy Magistrates were taken from them, though deposited in the Sanctuaries; on the other, Violence was offered to their Wives and Daughters. If they resisted they were beaten, and punished with the same Severity as Slaves. In short, the Dis-

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Livy B. 3.
c. 38.

Dion. Hal.
B. 11. p. 686.

in the Course of this History, that the Women likewise assumed a Power of dissolving their Marriages. The Forms used by the Husband, in his Wife's Presence, or which he sent to her by one of his *Freed-men*, before a certain Number of Witnesses, were much such as these. THORO MEO DIVORTE, TIBIQUE RES TUAS HABETO. *Apul. B. 5. de Asi.*—VALEAS, TIBI HABEAS RES TUAS, REDDAS MEAS. *Amphitr. Act. 3. Sc. 2.* UXOR VADE FORAS. *Martial. Epist. 105. B. 11.* *Juvenal* in his sixth Satyr expresses this Form thus,

COLLIGE SARCINULAS, dicet libertus, ET EXI.

When the Wife was once dismissed, she returned the Keys of the House to her Husband, or the Person who demanded them in his Name. By this Act of Renunciation, which put the finishing Stroke to the Rupture, she put an end to all her Inspection over his domestick Affairs, and returned under the Tutition of her Relations. *Tully* in his second *Philippick*, tells us, *Antony* proceeded in this manner, when he put away the Actress, who lived with him as his Wife. *Frugi factus est, mimam illam suam sibi res habere dixit, ex duodecim Tabulis claves ademit, exegit.* But *Paul* the *Civilian* observes, that if the Woman had not given Cause for the Divorce, by her ill Conduct, she had a Right to demand the Restitution of her whole Fortune; whereas, if she had, she could have but half of it. The other half belonged to the Husband and Chil-

dren. Which agrees with this Passage in *Cicero's Topicks*, *Si viri culpa factum est divortium, pro liberis manere nihil oportet.* As the Marriage-Contract was entered into by the Ceremony of *Confarreation*, as we have observed *Page 28. Note 100*; so this mutual Separation of Persons and Estates, was often called *Diffarreatio*.

¹²⁵ This Law of the twelve Tables, is quoted by *Aulus Gellius*, *B. 3. c. 16.* IN DECIMO MENSE, LEGITIMUS INFANS NASCITOR, ET ETIAM POSTHUMUS IN FAMILIA SUA HÆRES ESTO. But the Physicians have had Reason to condemn the *Decemviri* in this particular. A thousand Instances reported in every Age by cotemporary Authors, evidently prove, that they confined the Time for the Delivery of the Women to too narrow Bounds. And what *Aulus Gellius* reports, after *Pliny* the Naturalist, is a Proof, that this Law was not invariably observed, even in *Rome* it self. *Massurius Auctor est L. Papirium Prætorem, secundo hærede lege agente, bonorum possessionem contra eum dedisse, cum mater partum se tredecim mensibus tulisse diceret, quoniam missum certum tempus pariendo ei videretur. Plin. B. 7.*

¹²⁶ PATRIBUS CUM PLEBE CONNUBIA NE SUNTO. *Livy* mentions this Law *B. 4* and *Dion. Hal. B. 10.* *Canuleius* exclaimed vehemently against this Custom, which was at last abolished, at the Request of this *Tribune of the People*, as will appear hereafter.

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orders of *Rome* were carried to such a height, that the few Men of Conduct and Sobriety, who were there, were forced to go and seek a Retreat in the neighbouring Cities. The Country of the *Hernici*, and of the *Latins*, who were Allies of the *Romans*, and enjoyed the Right of Citizenship, were soon filled with the most illustrious Families of *Rome*. Scarce any Body was left in the City, but the Partizans of the *Decemviri*. Upon this, they, and the Youth who favoured them, triumphed. They were highly delighted, to see themselves freed from these Witnesses of their Incontinence, and Censurers of their Robberies.

Livy B. 3.
Ibid.

Dion. Hal.
B. 11. p. 687.
Livy B. 3.
Ibid.

§. VII. It was not possible but the Divisions of the Republick, and the Condition to which it was reduced, must come to the Knowledge of its Enemies; and the *Æqui* and *Sabines* thought they might make their Advantage of it. They then conceived Hopes of revenging themselves upon *Rome*, and recovering what she had taken from them. The *Sabines* especially, were vexed to see themselves ill-used by Men, who had not been able to preserve their own Liberty. They first took the Field. The *Roman* Territory lay exposed to the Plunder of the Enemy, on the side of *Sabinia*. The *Sabines* chose *Eretum* ¹²⁷ for their Place of Arms, and carried thither all the Spoil they had taken in the Country. From thence they seem to have come, and encamped at *Regillum*, pretty near the *Tyber*, at a hundred and forty *Stadia* Distance from *Rome*. They depended upon the Divisions of the *Romans*, and promised themselves, that the *Roman* Levies would be obstructed, by the Misunderstandings in the City. In the mean time, nothing was seen at *Rome* but *Peasants*, who fled from the Neighbourhood of *Sabinia*, to seek for Refuge in the *Capitol*. This unexpected News filled the *Decemviri* with Terror. These Tyrants had neither the Senators, nor the People for them. Being therefore to hold a Consultation among themselves, they admitted none to the Council, but those of their own Faction. They were deliberating together, when they received a second piece of News, which gave them more Disturbance than the former. The *Æqui* were entered into the Territory of the *Tusculans* their Neighbours, and were encamped, as usual, near the *Algidus*. These good Allies of *Rome* could not possibly, on any Account, be denied the Succours they demanded. So that the Result of the Consultations of the *Decemviri* was, that it was necessary to prevent the Enemy on both sides, and hinder them from entering the Territory of *Rome*. But if the Resolution was wise, the Execution of it had its Difficulties. Could it be by any Means convenient, to order general Levies to be made, when the City was dissatisfied with its Governors? Could it be proper to make Use of Severity, as had been done under the *Kings*, and some of the *Consuls*, to force the Citizens to march into the Field? Was it not expedient, to engage the *Romans* by gentle Methods, to assist their Country in her Distress? But besides this, there was another Difficulty upon the Usurpers. Had they a Right to make Levies in their own Names, or could they expect to find the People tractable enough to obey them? In Conclusion, the Part they at last chose, was to assemble the Senate, in order to get them to interpose their Authority, and command Troops to be raised, by a Decree. This was indeed running a great Hazard; for what could they expect from the provoked Senators, but Decrees against an illegal Government? Was not the assembling the Senate opening a Way for them to force the *Decemviri* to lay down their Offices? Nevertheless the new Tyrants overlooked all these Considerations. They thought they should prove stronger than the Senate after all. And in order thereto, they suborned their Friends to make Head against the Senators of the opposite Faction. The People were surprized to hear the Senators ordered to assemble by an Herald, in the *Forum*. The Thing seemed new, for the Senate had not been assembled for a great while. Thanks to the Enemies of our Country, said the People of *Rome*, for the Appearance of this single Spark of our

¹²⁷ We have already observed in the second Book of this History, Page 93. Note 121. that *Dion. Hal.* contradicts himself, in relation to the Distance of this City from *Rome*. In the third Book of his *Antiquities*, he places it a hundred and seven *Stadia* from thence. Here he says, *Eretum* was a hundred and forty *Stadia* distant from it. *Casaubon* thinks the last Computation is the truest. And therefore he corrects the Text of the third Book, by that of the eleventh. His Authority is *Antoninus's Itinerary*, who reckons it to be eighteen

Miles from *Rome* to *Eretum*, that is, about a hundred and forty four *Stadia*. But *Cluverius* adheres to the first Distance, without any 'Regard to *Antoninus's Itinerary*, which he thinks defective in this Place. In order to avoid this Contradiction, we have fixed the general Rendezvous of the *Sabine* Army at *Regillum*, a City of *Sabinia*, at a little Distance from the *Tyber*, and eighteen Miles from *Rome*, or thereabouts, which answers to the hundred and forty *Stadia*, mentioned by *Dion. Hal.*

antient Liberty! But notwithstanding that every Senator was cited by Name to appear, yet there were but few who would obey the Summons. Which made it to be generally believed, that they thought the Summons unlawful, because sent by Magistrates who had usurped the Authority they possessed. *And upon that Foot,* said the People, *we have equal Reason, and equal Right to refuse Obedience to any Orders which shall be given, for our enrolling our selves in the Legions.*

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§. VIII. ON the Day appointed for the meeting of the Senate, the Senate-house seemed deserted. The *Decemviri* found so very small an Appearance there, that it surprized them. There were indeed but few Senators in the City it self, the greatest Part of them had chosen to retire from publick Cares, to attend their own private Affairs in the Country. The farther they got from the Tyrants, the safer they thought themselves to be. Then the *Decemviri* sent to the Houses of the Senators, to summon them to come to the Senate: And the *Lictors* enquired whether they had absented themselves with Design; and if they did, had Orders to proceed against them by seizing their Goods. The Answer they brought back was, that all the Senators were gone into the Country. The Assembly was therefore adjourned to the next Day, and the *Decemviri* sent in the mean time, to bring up some of the Senators from their Country-Houses, to Town. Upon which it unluckily happened, that more of the *Conscript Fathers* appeared at the Assembly, than the *Decemviri* desired. The People murmured at it, as thinking that the Senate was joining with the Tyrants to complete the Ruin of the Republick: They thought the Obedience of so many Senators, to Men whose Authority was expired, a dangerous Omen; but the Senators had very different Intentions from what the People imagined. They had nothing in view, but to force the *Decemviri* to do them Justice, and re-establish the *Consular Government*. When the Assembly was formed, *Appius* the Chief of the Tyrants went into the middle of the Hall; and in a studied Harangue, represented the Danger of the War, with which the Republick was threatened, by the *Æqui* and the *Sabines*. *Nothing*, said he, *can divert it, but a legal Enrollment; and nothing can authorize that Enrollment, but a Decree of the Senate. We must therefore order Levies to be raised among the People without Delay; and then we will fly to the Defence of our Country, at the Head of our Legions.* But *Appius* had scarce finished, when *Valerius* rose up to speak before his Turn, for he was yet but young. His Zeal for the publick Good made him neglect Order, and the Confidence the Nobleness of his Extraction gave him, made him a little rash. He was the Son of that illustrious Consul *Valerius*, who had lost his Life in driving *Herdonius* from the Capitol; and the great *Valerius Poplicola* was one of his Ancestors. His very Name therefore was enough to make *Appius* apprehensive that he was going to speak against the *Decemviri*: For which Reason, he commanded him to hold his Peace, with an Air of Authority, which he had been used to assume, since his becoming Tyrant. But the brave *Valerius* refused Obedience to his Commands, which he despised, and spake in this manner.

Livy B. 3.
Ibid.

Dion. Hal.
B. 11. p. 688.

NO, *Appius*, what I have to represent to the Senate, does not relate to the Levies you have been proposing. The Evils with which our Enemies threaten us from Abroad, are much less dangerous than those which actually press upon us, and overwhelm us, at Home. Of this I need no other Proof, than the Pride with which you impose Silence on a Senator, and a *Valerius*. Where are the Tribunes for me to have Recourse to, in order to protect my self from the Slavery to which you reduce us? It is you who have deprived us of that Asylum which was established in favour of all oppressed Citizens. But what am I saying? Is it not the most grievous of Calamities, for a Senator, a *Valerius*, to be forced to wish for the Protection of the Tribunes, because the Senate has not now Power to support us? It is to you therefore, *Decemviri*, it is to you your selves, whom *Appius*, by these Artifices, makes the Tools of his Ambition, that I address my self. But I am saying too much. I implore the Equity of Q. *Fabius* only. He alone was worthy to be raised to the *Decemvirate*. Rouse therefore, *Fabius*, and undertake the Defence of the oppressed Republick! All the Senate have fixed their Eyes upon you.

Dion. Hal.
B. 11. Ibid.

NEVERTHELESS *Fabius* was not at all shaken by these Words. He blushed whilst they were speaking, and kept his Seat when they were ended. But *Appius* and his Collegues left their Places, surrounded *Valerius*, and forced him to hold his Peace. Upon this, all the Senate was in a Commotion. The Friends of the *Decemviri* approved

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proved of the Violence of *Appius*, whilst the Republican Senators murmured at it. And in the midst of this Tumult, a young Senator, an avowed Friend of *Valerius*, stood up. His Name was *Horatius*, and he was descended by many *Consuls*, from those famous *Horatii*, who were the Avengers and the Glory of their Country. *What hinders us*, cried he, *from immediately executing the same Vengeance on the new Tarquins, as an Horatius, and a Valerius, our Ancestors, formerly took, upon the first Tyrants, in our Forefathers time. To restore Liberty to Rome, is an hereditary Honour which belongs to the Valerii and the Horatii. It is not the Name of King that makes a Tyrant. We give this Name to Jupiter himself, and still continue it in the Republick, for the chief Minister of Religion. Pride, Violence, and Usurpation, are the distinguishing Marks of Tyranny; and all these we find united in you. What a Pride is it, to appear before us, with these regal Trains! What Oppression, not to allow us so much as a Liberty of Speech! What Usurpation, still to continue to exercise the sovereign Authority, after the Expiration of the Time prescribed by the Republick, which entrusted you with it! You are, in the Eye of the Law, no more than any other private Persons. And what Obligation then do Valerius and I lye under, to obey you? You would obtain a Decree of the Senate, in order to get it confirmed by the People? But have not we as much Right as you, to convene the Assembly? The proper Business to be debated there, is the Crime you have committed, by continuing your selves in the Exercise of all the Powers and Rights of Decemviri; it is the Necessity of electing new Magistrates. If the People are mad enough, to choose you anew, our Subjection will indeed be grievous; but we will then bear it, because it will be legal. But at present, what a Reverse of all Order and Right is it, to see the Fasces and Axes carried before private Men?*

Dion. Hal.
B. 11. p. 690.

§. IX. *HORATIUS* was going on, when he likewise, in his Turn, was surrounded by the *Decemviri*. They drowned his Voice with their Clamours, and give him to understand, that they were invested with the Authority of the *Tribunes*, and would condemn him to be thrown headlong from the *Capitol*. But these Threatnings were followed by the Hisses of the Senate, who were full of Indignation at what passed. And then the *Decemviri* repented of having imposed Silence upon those who had a Mind to speak. *Appius*, their Chief, as soon as the Tumult was appeased, declared to the Assembly, that it was not the Intention of the *Decemviri*, to hinder by Violence the *Conscript Fathers* from giving their Opinions; but that it was necessary to keep to Order, in Speaking and Voting, and to confine themselves to the Matter in Hand. To which he added, that the Commission of the *Decemviri* was limited to no Period, but that of the Establishment of the Laws; that they would not lay down their Offices, till the twelve Tables were settled in due Form; and that then, they would give an Account of their Administration. *But till that be done*, continued he, *we will steadily maintain and execute the Offices of Tribunes and Consuls, which are united in us*. Then he exhorted the Senators, who had a Mind to be heard, to go into the middle of the Hall; but according to Order, the eldest first. After which, he desired *C. Claudius* his Uncle, to give his Opinion in the first Place, concerning the insisting of the People; and that venerable Sage expressed himself in this manner.

Dion. Hal.
B. 11. Ibid.

SINCE then we are desired to confine our Debates to these Levies, let us look back into the Reasons, which make them necessary. Would the *Æqui* and the *Sabines*, whom we have so often subdued, have had the Confidence to attack us, if our Division had not drawn them upon us? These Enemies of the Roman Name hoped, that either the Citizens would refuse to serve under the *Decemviri*, or that when they came to an Engagement, they would bring upon their Commanders, the Shame of being Overcome. Experience must have shewn us, that when the Republick enjoys Tranquillity at Home our Troops are invincible; but that they grow negligent in the Service, when their Victories would become detrimental to the publick Liberty. In such Cases, our Leaders have as much to fear, from the ill-will of their own Soldiers, as from the Forces of the Enemy. The true Way of proceeding, is to disarm our Aggressors. Do you, *Decemviri*, do you suppress that Ambition which actuates you. Do you but lay down a Power, which does now no longer belong to you, and you will soon see our Enemies become Suppliants and intreat us to grant them a Peace. You have brought the War upon us, and you ought to deliver us from it. Now is the Time, *Conscript Fathers*, for you to insist on the deposing of the *Decemviri*. You will not, perhaps, have a more favourable Opportunity for doing it, a great while. Who knows but this may be the last Time the Senat

will ever be assembled? To suffer so critical a Time to escape us, is to expose our selves to a lasting Tyranny. And I will therefore declare my Opinion, with the Superiority I ought to assume over an ambitious Nephew, with the Resolution for which my Ancestors have been remarkable, and with all the Fidelity which I owe my Country. Alas! The Republick is at present sunk into the most calamitous State. Rome is deserted. Her most resolute Defenders are banished from her. It was necessary to bring them out of the Country, to make their last Attempt in favour of Liberty. Was it then any contagious Distemper that drove them from the City, or was it a more dangerous Misfortune than the Plague it self? The real Cause of the City's being left desolate, is this. Injustice reigns in it. No manner of Respect is paid to the Nobility, or Regard shewn to the People. Base Men usurp the highest Stations here, and Virtue is excluded from Honours. Rapine and Knavery are the only Means to grow rich, and Incontinence is carried to so great a height, that Attempts are made on the Wives and Daughters of the most honourable among us. The People are no longer assembled in Comitia, and thereby see themselves deprived of their Right of Suffrage, which gave a Lustre to the meanest. So that all Minds are overwhelmed with Despair. Our Misfortunes are exceeding great, who can find a Remedy? You, Appius, you have it in your Power! As you are the Chief of the Decemviri, you may abolish an Office, which was formerly useful, but is now become intollerable. Do your self Honour, by reconciling your Collegues to the Republick. Vain are the Oaths which bind you together in a Plot against the State. 'Twere impious not to break them. Frivolous likewise are the Fears you have entertained of being exposed to the Enemies you have brought upon your selves, since you were made Decemviri. The Liberty you will restore us, Appius, will be deemed a Benefit great enough to make the Irregularity of your Proceedings be forgotten. The Glory you will gain thereby, will be a sufficient Guard to you, against the Attempts of your Enemies. As for my self, I dare promise you, in the Name of all my fellow Citizens, that all that is passed shall be forgiven, if you will hearken to my Advice. No Tyrant that has laid down, has ever yet sunk under the Rage of his old Enemies. My Concern for you is, lest the Splendor of your present Honours should dazzle your Eyes, and the Pleasure of being independent, mislead you. Prefer therefore real Glory, and solid Delights, to imaginary Grandeur, and empty Pleasures. I conjure you to do it by the Manes of your Father, the Brother for whom I had so tender an Affection, and who was too suddenly taken from us, for your good, and ours. O Appius! O my Son! Remember your former Virtues, and don't obscure the Splendor of them! I have very often wished for a private Conference with you, but your Children have always kept me at a Distance from you. What therefore I could not say to you in private, I have ventured to declare to you in publick. And having now discharged this indispensable Duty, I call our common Gods, the Gods, which protect the Claudian Family, and the Earth which contains the Ashes of my Brother, to witness, that I have not been wanting to you. Nay, I have rather, on the other Hand, said too much, if you shew no Regard to my Remonstrances. As for you, Conscript Fathers, you see what my Sentiments are, concerning the Re-establishment of a Peace with Foreigners. Let us have no more Decemviri, and we shall soon have no more Enemies.

THUS spoke the brave C. Claudius; and so affecting a Speech, gave the Senate some Hopes. The Nephew durst not answer his Uncle; but M. Cornelius the Decemvir, spoke for Appius, and extricated him out of his Difficulties. *We don't want your Advice,* says he to Claudius, *you may save your self the Trouble of giving it. You might have reserved the bitter Invectives you have uttered against Appius, for another Time, and another Place. Conclude therefore, and tell us in plain Terms what your Opinion is, concerning the Necessity of the Levies.* Then the old Man stood up a second Time, and with Tears in his Eyes, continued his Discourse thus. *You then, Appius, will not vouchsafe to answer an Uncle who loves you. You refuse me Access to your Heart here, as you have always refused me Admittance into your House. What remains then for me to do, but to avoid the Pain of seeing a Tyrant who dishonours our common Ancestors? I will return to Sabinia, where the Claudian Family had its Rise; and go and reside at Regillum, whence our Ancestors originally came. I shall from thence look at a Distance on the Tempests, which shake Rome; and will never return to it, till the publick Tranquillity is restored. And that, if I may be allowed to conjecture, will soon be; the Abolition of the very Office of Decemvir,*

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Dion. Hal.
B. 11. p. 696.

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cemvir, will quickly restore me to my Country. But I have done ; and I vote for coming to no Determination at all, with Respect to the War and the Levies, till new Magistrates are first created. This Opinion of Claudius was followed by the greatest Number of those Senators, who had formerly been Consuls. *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, *Quinctus Capitolinus*, *L. Lucretius*, and in short, all the other most considerable Senators in the House, joined in it. At length it came to *L. Cornelius's* Turn to declare himself, who had been honoured with the Consulship some Years before. He was Brother to one of the *Decemviri*, and a great Advocate for them. He made a Speech which had been concerted with the Tyrants beforehand, and thereby brought over many Persons to their Interest.

Livy B. 3.
c. 40.
Dion. Hal.
B. 11. p. 697.

Livy, Ibid.

IT is surprizing, said he, that those Men should be the most implacable Enemies to the *Decemviri*, who took most Pains to be of the Number. Our Dictators, and our old Consuls, were all desirous of adding this Title to the others, with which the Republick had honoured them. And now being disappointed of their Aims, they openly declare against those, to whom the People have given it. Is this Spight ? Or is it Jealousy, or any other extravagant Humour ? How comes it to pass, that no Objection has been made to the Continuance of the present *Decemviri* in their Office, ever since the Ides of May, the Time appointed for the Election of Magistrates ? But now that the Enemy is daily expected at our Gates ; they pursue their private Resentments to the Injury of the Publick. They had rather their Country should be ruined, than those Men suffered to continue in their Office, who do their utmost to defend it. They make Choice of these troublesome Times, to bring us into Confusion. They would have the Legality of the *Decemvirate* first examined, before we consider of the Necessity of the Levies. Are not then our old Senators all run mad ? Don't they neglect what is essential, to apply themselves to trifling Affairs ? The Territory of Rome is threatened, the City it self is in Danger, and yet all our Debates are about *Comitia*, and the Creation of new Magistrates ! Besides, the Thing it self is impracticable. The Assembly must first be fixed, according to Law, three Market-days, that is, twenty seven Days, beforehand. Then those who shall be chosen, must first offer a Petition to the People, and the Senate make a Decree, before the Levies can be begun. And how much Time will all this take up, merely in Matters of Form ! Whilst the Enemy will, in the mean while, take Advantage of our Dilatoriness, plunder our Farms, and perhaps besiege Rome, and reduce it to the utmost Extremity. Shall we then desire the Sabines and the *Æqui* to stay a little, till our Magistrates are elected ? Shall we beg the Favour of them to suspend the War, or return into their own Countries, and give us a little Time to breathe, and prepare to beat them ? And yet these are the Extremities to which these wise Heads would reduce us, who are not for any Enrollments, till after an Election. Such are the Confusions which naturally flow from personal Enmities, when they gain the Ascendant over our Regard for the publick Good ! Why then, Conscript Fathers, do we delay ordering these Levies to be made ? Why don't we put the Roman Youth in Arms ? Let us immediately enter into the Enemy's Country ; or at least defend our Frontiers. Let us recover Peace by Victory. Then, when once in Tranquillity and Victorious, we will assemble the *Comitia*, and bestow a great deal of Time in the Senate, and if it be necessary, will depose Magistrates ; and call them to an Account for their Administration. But till then, let us be governed by the Circumstances of the Time ; and make our private Discontents at Home, give Way to the Dangers which threaten us from Abroad.

WHAT *Cornelius* said, seemed just and reasonable : The Senators forgot, that he spake from a Spirit of Faction, and were dazzled with the false Light of his specious Reasonings. So that the Majority voted with him ; some out of fear of the *Decemviri*, and some out of Affection to them. But when the Stream of the Senators was turning in favour of the Levies, *Valerius*, who spake at first out of his Turn, now gave his Opinion, in it. He did his utmost to bring back the Senators to his Opinion, and spake thus : Beware, Conscript Fathers, beware of falling into the Snare which is laid for you. The Reason why I was forbidden to speak out of my Turn, was only to give room to the Senators who are before me, to declare for *Cornelius's* Opinion. If those who are after me, were all of my Opinion, we should yet be a Minority. This is the Artifice. But after all, is it not possible to guard against it, by having Recourse to wiser Counsels ? What terrifies you, Conscript Fathers, is the near Approach of the Enemy, the Length of Time that must be spent, before a new Election can

can lawfully be made, and the Ravages to which our Lands will be exposed during this Interval. Vain Frights! Our past Experience ought to raise us above such idle Fears. About seventeen or eighteen Years ago, one of our Consuls was surrounded in his Camp, by these very Æqui, who now alarm you. The News was brought to Rome; all the City was alarmed at it, and the Senate was assembled in the middle of the Night. But nevertheless a Remedy was soon found for this imminent Danger. A Dictator was chosen, and the same Quinctius Cincinnatus, who now honours us with his Presence, was the glorious Avenger of his Country. If to choose a Dictator was thought necessary then, it is equally so now. The Republick, for want of legal Magistrates, is fallen into the State of an Interregnum. Let then some Person be chosen to preside in this Interregnum; and he will have a right of nominating a Dictator. This is an easy and regular Method; and in this Case, our Remedy is ready at Hand. This important Affair may be compleated before we leave this Place. O ye Great Gods! What Misfortunes threaten us, if so easy an Expedient be rejected, and Cornelius's Opinion followed! We shall make Levies; the Decemviri will be at the Head of our Legions; and we shall have armed our Tyrants. Can any one foresee what Use they will make of the Forces we shall entrust them with? At least, 'tis a much wiser part, to prevent the Mischiefs, we have Reason to apprehend, than to leave them to be repaired, when they have actually befallen us.

By the Acclamations given to *Valerius*, it was easy to judge how well his Advice was received. Almost all the young Senators, who were to vote after him, embraced it. And the greatest part of those who had declared for the Levies, seemed willing to come over to it. *Valerius* therefore demanded, that the two Questions, one concerning the Levies to be commanded by the *Decemviri*, and the other concerning the Nomination of a Dictator, should be again considered, and determined by a Majority of Voices. And every thing seemed to favour the latter, when *Cornelius* opposed it. The Business, cried he, is already determined; what have we to do, but to count Voices? But *Valerius* was not a Man that could easily give up his Point. So that the Dispute between the two Senators raised a Tumult in the Assembly. The Senators were divided; some cried one thing, and some another, according to their Adherence, or Opposition, to the *Decemviri*. And then *Appius* took hold of a favourable Opportunity, to make this Declaration as Chief of the *Decemviri*. The Business of this present Assembly, said he, has been sufficiently debated. *Cornelius's* Opinion has prevailed by a Majority of Votes. Let therefore a Decree of the Senate be passed, commanding the People to enroll themselves. The *Decemvir* had brought the Decree in his Pocket ready written; and he caused it to be read by the proper Officer. Upon this, *Valerius* and *Horatius* could no longer keep within any Bounds. To the People, to the People then, said they, must be our Recourse, since all is Confusion in the Senate. Magistrates without any Authority have no right to hinder our Application to them. We fear neither their Falcēs nor Axes. At these Words *Valerius* advanced some Steps towards the Door of the Hall, as if in order to apply himself to the People. And *Appius* thought that all would be lost for him and his Party, if he did not use Violence on this Occasion. He therefore sent a *Lictor* to stop *Valerius*; and followed him himself. *Valerius* was already out of the Senate-House, when a sort of Scuffle began between the *Decemvir* and the Senator. *Cornelius* came to part them, more out of Regard to *Appius* than *Valerius*. He brought back the latter into the Hall, and promised him full Liberty, to try the Success of his Opinion. *Valerius* spake during the Tumult, but to no manner of Purpose. The Decree, which commanded the Levies to be made, and gave the *Decemviri* Power to command the Armies, was confirmed. It must be confessed, some of the old Consuls, and oldest Senators, were a little afraid of returning to their old Government. If the *Decemviri* were to be dismissed, said they, the Tribunes would be revived, and we should fall from one Evil to another. Let us wait, till the Magistrates who now govern us, lay down their Offices. Perhaps the Consulate may then be revived, on the Foot it formerly stood, without any Dependence on the Humours of Tribunes. This Hope made them act with great Indifference, against the *Decemviri*; who obtained all they desired. The only Remedy left for the most honourable Citizens, was for them to return to their Country-Houses, and abandon Rome to her ill Fate. *Claudius* in particular kept his Word which he had given his Nephew, in full Senate. He went and resided at *Regillum*, and was followed by a prodigious Multitude of his Friends and Clients. These many

Year of
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AP. CLAUDI-
US, &c. De-
cemviri.

Livy B. 3.
c. 41.

Dion. Hal.
B. 11. p. 703.

Desertions

Year of
R O M E
CCCIV.
Ap. CLAUDI-
us, &c. De-
cemviri.

Desertions displeased the Tyrants; who would have hindered them at first, and ordered Guards to be kept at all the Gates of *Rome*. But afterwards they were afraid of Seditions, and preferred the Advantage of seeing their Enemies at a Distance, to that of seeing the City populous and flourishing. As for the illustrious Families which continued at *Rome*; they took due Precautions against Tyranny. They made a League among themselves for their mutual Defence. Infomuch, that the *Valerii* and *Horatii* armed their Clients and Slaves, and set a Guard before their Houses. Nevertheless the *Decemviri* proceeded against the Fugitives, as Deserters from the Army. Their Estates in the City were confiscated, and distributed among the Friends of the *Decemviri*. Hitherto the Divisions between the Senate and People had subsisted, and the *Decemviri* had turned them to their own Advantage. The *Plebeians* rejoiced to see the Senate humbled; and the Senators to see the People deprived of all their Privileges. But now the Violence of the Oppression, which daily increased, united all Minds against the Oppressors. Both Parties no longer waited for any Thing but a favourable Opportunity to recover their Liberty.

Livy, Ibid.
Dion. Hal.
B. 11. p. 704.

§. X. In the mean time, the *Decemviri* were wholly taken up with putting the Decree of the Senate, concerning the Levies, in Execution. Those Citizens who remained in *Rome*, gave in their Names, without Resistance. The Fear of a Power, from which there was no Appeal, made more People take Arms, than a Zeal for their Country's Service. And at length ten *Legions* were compleated: And the *Decemviri* had a perfect good Understanding among one another. They agreed amicably as to the Command of the Armies, and the Division of the Troops. As there was more to be feared at Home from the Citizens, than from the foreign Enemies; *Appius* was ordered to continue in *Rome* with *Oppius*, one of the three *Plebeian Decemviri*: And two *Legions* were assigned them to keep the People in their Duty. *Quintus Fabius*, a pretty able General, was put at the Head of the Troops which were to act against the *Sabines*, with *Q. Petilius*, and *M. Rabuleius*, two of his Collegues. Their Army consisted of three *Legions* of *Romans*. The *Æqui* were the most formidable Enemies of the Republick. And against them were sent five *Legions*, conducted by *M. Cornelius*, as Commander in chief, and four other *Decemviri*, *L. Minucius*, *M. Sergius*, *T. Antonius*, and *Cæso Duillius*. So that there were as many *Legions* as *Decemviri*, who each commanded one. The auxiliary Troops of the *Latins* and the *Hernici*, much enlarged these *Roman* Levies, and were not inferior to them in Number. Old *Sicinnius*, so distinguished by his Valour, by the twenty six Battles he had been in, and by the many military Crowns he had merited, would not let slip the last Opportunity he might perhaps ever have, of serving his Country. Though he in his Heart detested the Tyranny, he served under *Fabius*, against the *Sabines*, and carried with him his formidable *Cohort* of eight hundred Veterans. There was nothing but what might be expected from two such great Armies, commanded by Generals, who had so good an Understanding with one another. If Success did not attend their Arms, the Fault must lay more in the Hatred of the Soldiers, than the Conduct of the Generals. *Fabius* marched towards *Sabinia*, and came and encamped near *Eretum*. And then he found by Experience, that a General's Victories depend more on the Affection of his Troops, than either his own Abilities, or his Enemy's Inferiority in Number. Nothing succeeded in *Fabius's* Camp. The Men either refused to serve, or did it negligently. They let the Convoys, they were to guard, fall into the Enemy's Hands. Their Parties, when out a Forraging, fled before the Enemy, and suffered themselves to be beaten, almost without Fighting. Till at length the *Sabines* looked on the *Roman* General with Contempt, and had the Confidence to come and encamp very near his Army, though much superior in Strength to their own. And then *Fabius's* Troops entered into a Plot against their General, and feigned a sudden Fright. They dispersed themselves in the Night, left the Enemy's Country where they were encamped, and returned into the *Roman* Territory, towards *Crustumium*. Upon this, the brave *Sicinnius* could not prevail upon himself to stay any longer in the Army, in which he was only a Volunteer. As he found there was no Glory to be gained in it, he returned to *Rome*, and led back his *Cohort* with him. This old Officer, who was better skilled in the Art of War, than the *Decemviri*, who were the Generals of the Army, could not conceal his Sentiments. He exclaimed both against the affected Negligence of the *Roman* Soldiers, and the Tyranny of the *Decemviri*, which was the Cause of it. He even dropped some Ex-

Livy B. 3.
c. 42.

Dion. Hal.
B. 11. p. 705.

pressions, concerning the Necessity of such a Separation of the People, as had formerly been tried with Success. *Appius* watched over *Rome*, and all the Discourses of private Persons, with the Suspicions of a Tyrant. He was the main Spring in all Proceedings; nothing was done without his Orders, either in the City, or the two Camps. He therefore thought it necessary, to dispatch all those who had ill Designs upon the *Decemviri*, and thereby re-establish Discipline in the Armies. And accordingly he wrote to his Generals, to put all those, to Death, who did not appear to be well-affected to their Party; to forge Crimes against those of mean Rank; and to expose the Lives of the most considerable *Patricians*, to inevitable Danger. Nay, he began these barbarous Executions with that of the famous *Sicinnius*. He sent for him, and after many Caresses, examined him about *Fabius's* Conduct, and what he thought of the present Generals. He commended him for his Experience, and desired him to explain himself with Freedom. True Valour is a Stranger to Jealousies and Distrusts, and is sometimes wanting to it self in point of Circumspection. *Sicinnius* was sincere. He blamed *Fabius's* Proceedings without Reserve, and enumerated all the Faults of the Generals. Then, the perfidious *Decemvir* prevailed on him to set out for the Camp, at *Crustumium*; and persuaded him to go and assist *Fabius* with his Advice. In order to deceive him the more artfully, he created him Lieutenant-General of the *Roman* Armies. This was then a very honourable Post, not only on Account of the Rank it gave an Officer, but more so on the Security it placed him in, against the Attempts of the Soldiery. The Person of a Lieutenant-General was sacred, *i. e.* Religion protected him from any Insult. Being then honoured with this Title, *Sicinnius* set out for the Camp in *Sabinia*, with Confidence. *Fabius* received him with extraordinary Demonstrations of Joy, and distinguishing Regard for his Merit. He was even profuse in the Presents he made him. And he found it no difficult Matter to impose on a Man of Candor and Ingenuity, by these Means. *Sicinnius* opened himself to the General, concerning the ill Management of the Campaign. He did not approve of their encamping in the *Roman* Territory, and proposed leading the *Legions* into *Sabinia*, where they would subsist, at the Enemy's Expence. This was what *Fabius* waited for, from the wise Lieutenant-General, and found Means to make this very Advice his Ruin. *Why don't you go in Person*, replied he, *and find out a Place proper for us to encamp in? Your long Experience, and military Expeditions, make you the most proper Man in the World to execute your own Scheme.* Go *Sicinnius*. *I will take care to provide you a Guard which shall attend you. Your Age is indeed now too great for you to serve on Foot. Go therefore on Horseback. It is a Distinction which is due to you, though contrary to Custom.* This seemed to be raising him to the Rank of a *Roman* Knight. *Sicinnius* did not decline the Commission, and demanded only an hundred Foot to attend him. These were chosen by the cruel *Decemvir*, who sent none with *Sicinnius* but Men of his own Party. And Orders were given them to dispatch him in their March, for which they were to expect a Reward. The Lieutenant-General took with him only one Servant, who was an active Man, and whose Valour and Fidelity he knew. The Troop went out of the *Roman* Camp by Night. They marched before their Commander, and led him almost to *Crustumium*, through a narrow and stony Road, in which he could not advance without Difficulty, and could not escape, either to the right Hand, or to the left. This was the Place the Guard chose, for his Assassination. *Sicinnius's* Servant first perceived the Plots of these treacherous Guides, and the Motions they took to surround his Master. This he informed *Sicinnius* of; who finding his Horse could be of no Use to him, dismounted, and posting himself so, as best to prevent being surrounded, drew his Sword, and stood on his own Defence, assisted only by his Servant. The whole Troop advanced against them, and the Battel began. *Sicinnius's* Defence was more than human. Fifteen of those who attacked him were killed on the Spot, and above thirty more were wounded by those two brave Men. The cowardly Assassins therefore thought the Hero invincible; and they attacked him, Hand to Hand, no more. They climbed up to the Top of the Hill, and overwhelmed him with Stones from that Distance. Thus fell this glorious Man, whose great Courage, unparallel'd Integrity, and generous Love of his Country, advanced him to all the Honours, which the Nobility would then suffer any *Plebeian* to enjoy.

Year of
R O M E
CCCIV.
AP. CLAUDI-
US, &c. De-
cemviri.

Dion. Hal.
B. 11. p. 706,
707.

Year of
R O M E
CCCIV.
AP. CLAUDI-
US, &c. De-
cemviri.

THIS done, the Guard returned to the Camp, and carried back their Wounded with them. It was easy for them to pretend, that they had been attacked by a Party from the Enemy, and that *Sicinnius* had lost his Life in the Battel. The Falshood of this Story was not discovered till the Soldiers came to the Place, where this pretended Attack was made. The whole Army marched out under Arms, to fetch *Sicinnius's* Body, and give it an honourable Burial. And they were surprized to find him in his Cloaths. Besides, the *Romans*, who were killed round about him, lay all with their Faces towards him; and not one of them was stripped. There did not appear one *Sabine* killed on the Field of Battel, by this brave *Roman*. These Marks, joined with others, convinced the Army, that *Sicinnius* had not fallen by the Hand of the Enemy, but that his Death was the Work of the *Decemviri*. The Soldiers therefore, who attended the Corps to the Camp, expressed more Rage than Grief at what had happened. All the Troops demanded, that military Justice should be executed on the Assassins, and that they should be condemned in the Camp. Several offered to become their Accusers. And the Confusion and Delays of the General shewed them, that he was the Author of the Crime. He concealed the Soldiers of this murdering Guard, and declared, he would not suffer the Accused to be judged any where but at *Rome*, when the Army returned thither. These Proceedings filled all Mens Minds with such Resentment against the *Decemviri*, as we shall see produce its Effect in due time. *Fabius's* Army marched against the Enemy no more, but was content with defending it self in its Entrenchments.

ON the side of the *Æqui*, the five *Legions* of *Romans* fought with yet less Success, and the Affairs of the Republick were in greater Confusion. *Cornelius* had fixed his Camp near the *Algidus*, and he had not Dependence enough on his Troops, to dare to march out of it. If he sometimes, in Obedience to *Appius's* Orders, sent out some of the Enemies of the *Decemviri* to make Incursions, they were heard of no more. Their Destruction was managed with a great deal of Artifice. The Generals gave honourable Commissions to fight the Enemy, only to such as were not of his Party, and they often lost their Lives in Battel. Thus, some of the *Romans* perished by the Hands of the Enemy, others by the secret Snares of their Generals: So that the Army was considerably diminished. These Advantages the Enemy saw; and knew how to make a good Use of them. They came and attacked *Cornelius's* Camp, and made themselves Masters of it. The *Roman* Soldiers were not much concerned at the Loss of their Baggage, and were rejoiced to see their General humbled. As for themselves, they retired to *Tusculum*, and there met with a kind Hospitality, among those antient Allies of *Rome*. Nevertheless, the *Roman* Army did not want such brave Men, as would have done Honour to their Country under other Generals. One *L. Virginius* distinguished himself in it. He was a Man of Honour, famous in the City for his Probity, and in the Army for his Valour. Though his Family was *Plebeian*, he made a Figure in the Troops. He was then a *Centurion*, and had led several Detachments against the *Æqui*, as Commander in Chief.

§. XI. BUT whilst *Virginius* was signalizing himself on the Frontiers, his Daughter *Virginia* had inspired the Tyrant of *Rome* with a violent Passion for her, without her knowing it. *Appius*, as cruel as he was, and as dead as he seemed to be to all the softer Passions, had seen the young *Roman*, and was fallen desperately in Love with her. And indeed *Virginia* was the most beautiful Woman in *Rome*. Her Mother was dead, who in her Life-time had given her an Education truly *Roman*, and filled her Heart with the Love of Virtue. Since her Father's Departure for the War, she had been committed to the Care of an Uncle, by her Mother's side, who shewed for her all the Affection and Concern of a Father. She was now marriageable, and *Virginius* had already promised her to a young *Roman*, named *Icilius*, of a *Plebeian* Family, but descended from the famous *Icilius*, who established the *Tribuneship*, and was the first *Tribune of the People*. It was then customary at *Rome*, for young Persons, of both Sexes, to go and pursue such Studies, as were proper for them, in different publick Schools, erected in the *Forum*. It was there *Appius* accidentally saw the young *Virginia*, and was charmed both with her Beauty, and her intent Application to a Book she had in her Hand. From that time, this severe Magistrate, and grave Law-giver, formed unlawful Designs upon her. He was at first seen often walking round the Schools, at the Times the Scholars were there. It was said, his Office obliged him to appear frequently in the *Forum*. The more he saw of *Virginia*, the

Livy B. 3.
Ibid.

Dion. Hal.
B. 11. p. 709.

the more his Heart was enflamed with the Love of her. *Appius* was married, and though Divorces were then lawful at *Rome*, yet no Instance had been seen, of any Woman divorced: So strictly was conjugal Fidelity observed there. Besides, Polygamy was not suffered among the *Romans*; and as a still greater Obstacle, the *Decemvir* himself had just then published a Law, forbidding all Marriages between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*. *Appius* therefore resolved to corrupt this innocent young Person, since he could not have her for his Wife. First he hired Women, to go and make rich Presents to *Virginia*, and her Governesses. These Managers were ordered to conceal *Appius's* Name, and only to declare, that these earnest Advances were made by one, who was able to do much Good, or much Harm, as he pleased. But *Virginia* had too exalted a Mind, to yield to Addresses, which dishonoured her. And *Appius's* Passion therefore suggested a Contrivance, which he thought himself able to go through with, by Means of his Authority. He made one of his Clients, named *M. Claudius*, his Confident; declared the Violence of his Passion to him; told him the Steps he was to take, to bring *Virginia* before his Tribunal; and gave him the Plan of the Prosecution, he would have him carry on against her. *M. Claudius* was a Villain, capable of undertaking the most infamous Offices. He took a Company of resolute Fellows with him to the Schools, and there seized *Virginia*, with the Authority of a Master, who was carrying back a fugitive Slave to his House. At this Sight, the People flocked together, and were all in Commotion in the *Forum*. Then *M. Claudius* summoned *Virginia* to appear before the *Decemviri*, and in Obedience to the new Laws, the young *Roman* was forced to follow him to their Tribunal. *Appius* designedly sat on the Bench alone that Day. He gave Judgment, and came to a Decision of the Affair, without seeming to have known any Thing beforehand, of the Cause which was brought before him. He was just ready to pronounce Sentence, and to give the young Woman to his Client, as his lawful Slave, when those who were present cried out, that *Virginia's* Relations ought to have Time given them to defend her Right. As absolute, and as enamoured as *Appius* was, he durst not precipitate so odious a Sentence. He suspended the Affair for a little while, and gave *Numitorius*, the Girl's Uncle, some time to appear. He came to the Tribunal, attended by young *Icilius*, who already considered himself as the Husband of the young *Roman*. A Company of the most considerable *Plebeians* followed them: But this Appearance did not put a Stop to *Claudius's* Calumnies, who spoke to this Effect.

I HAVE not, illustrious *Appius*, either done any thing contrary to Law, or proceeded in an unjustifiable manner. I found my lost Slave, and seized her, and now throw my self at your Feet, only claiming what is my own. I had a Woman-Slave, who was so to my Father. She became with Child, and was Mother to this young Woman, who now appears before you under the Name of *Virginia*. The Friendship her true Mother had with *Virginius's* Wife, emboldened the latter to desire my Slave to give her her Child. This supposititious Infant was brought up in *Virginius's* House, who thought her his own Daughter; and by this secret Robbery I am deprived of what by Law belongs to me. A Slave ought to follow her Master. I have only taken Possession of what is my own, and am ready to prove my Right when required, and to give Security, that I will produce the young Woman to this Court again, when *Virginius* returns from the War.

VIRGINIA's Uncle was an intrepid Man, and in great Credit among the People. He perceived that *Appius's* Client was only serving the Passion of his Patron, and that the Prosecution against his Niece, was only a disguised Rape, of which the Judge himself was the Author. And he inveighed bitterly, without Fear, both against the Calumny of *Claudius*, and the infamous Designs of the *Decemvir*. My Niece, said he, was always brought up by *Numitoria* my Sister, and educated in Principles of Honour, suitable to a Roman Woman of free Condition. Her Beauty, and her Virtue, are the Causes of her Misfortunes. The reducing her to a State of Slavery is only a Pretence, to sacrifice her to Debauchery. And let us a little observe the Time that is pitched upon, to run away with her, in this odious manner. For fifteen Years together, no Dispute was ever started about *Virginia's* Condition, or Birth. But an Opportunity is taken to raise it, at the very time that her Father is absent from *Rome*, hazarding his Life for the Service of his Country. If *Virginius* was present, who could refuse him the Liberty of keeping Possession of his Daughter, till full Proof was made, that she was born in Slavery, and imposed upon him by his Wife? And in

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R O M E
CCCIV.
AP. CLAUDI-
US, &c. De-
cemviri.

Livy B. 3.
c. 44.
Dion. Hal.
B. 11. p. 710.

Year of *his Absence, I, as her Uncle, have all the Rights of her absent Father. With me only*
 R O M E *therefore ought Virginia to be entrusted, till his Return. Publick Justice requires it*
 CCCIV. *and our new Laws enjoin it. Have not you your self, Appius, together with your*
 AP. CLAUDI- *Collegues, enacted in the Twelve Tables, That the Presumption shall be in favour of*
 us, &c. De- *Liberty? And will you be the first Infringer of your own Laws? Remember, that as a*
 cemviri. *Decemvir, you act in the double Capacity, both of a Consul and a Tribune. And as a*
Tribune, we implore your Assistance. As such, revenge the Cause of a Plebeian Wo-
man, who is oppressed by Calumny. I might demand that her Cause should not be
heard, till after the Armies Return, and then only in full Comitia. But since there
are private Reasons, (are you ignorant of them, Appius?) for hastening so much the De-
termination of the Affair, give us leave to call Virginius from the Camp, and in the
mean time let me, who have the Care of her Person, be the Guardian of her Ho-
nour.

THIS Demand of Numitorius was thought very reasonable by the whole Assembly; whose Murmurs expressed such an Horror at what passed, as would have made an Impression on the Decemvir, if Love had not blinded him. But Appius waited only for a Moment's Silence, and then spake thus. *The Law of the Twelve Tables subsists, and shall continue inviolate. It is just that a Person, whose Condition is disputed, should continue in Possession of Liberty, till full Proof is made of his Slavery. But here the Case is different. On one Hand, a Father who is a Free-man, owns Virginia to be his Daughter; and if he was present, he should be maintained in his Possession till the Affair was decided. On the other, a Master reclaims a Woman as his Slave, which had been unjustly taken from him: And he being present, seizes his Goods wherever he finds them. In this Case, where the Father is absent, and the pretended Master present, the right of Possession belongs to the Master; provided he gives Security to restore the Woman, at the Return of the Father. Let Virginia therefore be put into Claudius's Hands.*

Livy B. 3.
c. 45.
Dion. Hal.
B. 11. p. 613.

THE Iniquity of a Decision which Passion had dictated, highly incensed all that were present. The Women who surrounded Virginia made such Outcries, that they were heard at a great Distance. Icilius instantly forces his Way through the Crowd, and draws near the Tribunal, to defend his dear Virginia. A Licitor endeavours to stop him, and cries out to him, *Sentence is passed.* But nothing can stop him; all Opposition gives Way to his just Indignation. Then taking Virginia in his Arms, he says; *No, no, nothing but Death can separate me from the Wife who was appointed for me. Tyrant, add my Death to the many Crimes with which thou art already polluted. That is the only Way by which thou shalt force me to be silent. By that Means indeed, thou mayest hinder me from publishing the Mysteries of thine Iniquities! Virginia is promised to me. And to the last Breath I have to draw, I will defend her Honour. Assemble thy Licitors, or if thou wilt, those of thy Collegues. As long as I live, I will never suffer a young Woman, who ought to be my Wife, to be carried to any House, but those of her Relations. Have you then deprived us of the Protection of our Tribunes, only to subject our Wives and Children to your Debaucheries? If you will exercise your Rage upon our Estates, and Lives, do; but spare the Chastity of our Virgins. If any Attempt be made on Virginia, I call the Gods to witness, her Dishonour shall not be washed off, without a great deal of Blood. What will not Virginius and Icilius be able to do, when the one is to revenge the Cause of an injured Wife, the other that of a dishonoured Daughter!*

He was going on, when the Licitors had Orders to take him away. Claudius had laid his Hands upon Virginia, to carry her from her Uncle, and all her Relations; but those who were present immediately cried out, and uniting together in their Rage, fell upon the Officers of the Decemviri, and put them to flight. Claudius himself was obliged to take Refuge under the Tribunal. And Appius's Consternation was exceeding great, to see the Concern of the People carried even to Rage. He called Claudius to him, and whispering something in his Ears, caused Silence to be made, and spake these Words. *It is not the Fury of the violent Icilius that makes me comply, but the Intreaties of Claudius my Client. He is willing to waive the Right he has of carrying Home his Slave, upon giving Security. He commits her to the same Hands, in which she was before, provided they promise to bring her to her Tryal again to morrow. The Persons concerned have therefore all the remaining part of this Day, and four Hours of to morrow, to fetch Virginius from the Camp. This seemed to be*

a very

a very short Time; *Numitorius* demanded more: But the *Decemvir* rose up, and ordered the *Curule Chair* to be taken away.

§. XII. *ICILIUS* instantly dispatched his Brother, and *Numitorius* his Son, to the Army at *Tusculum*, to bring back *Virginius* to the City. They went with exceeding great Expedition; so as to prevent *Appius's* Courier, who carried Orders to the Generals, to put *Virginius* under Arrest, thereby to hinder him from coming out of the Camp. The unhappy Father was no sooner informed of the Danger his Daughter was in, but he made all Haste to get Leave to return, and in the Evening set out for *Rome*. In the mean time *Appius*, being equally hurried on by his Passion, and vexed at the Obstructions he had met with in his Way to satisfying it, had determined with himself, to take *Virginia* from her Family the next Day, whatever should happen. He took it for granted, that her Father would not appear in Court, and resolved to take Advantage of that Default. Besides, he thought it probable, that the Publick would easily suffer themselves to be imposed upon, by this Appearance of Justice; and in order to guard himself against the Fury of the People, let the Event be what it would, he had assembled together his Friends and Clients, and had desired some of them to surround the Tribunal, whilst others dispersed themselves about the *Forum*. But whilst *Appius* was taking such Measures, as the Violence of his Passion suggested, *Virginius* arrived in the City. He had had the Happiness to escape two Companies of Soldiers, which were sent, one from the Camp to pursue him, the other from *Rome* to stop him. Early in the Morning therefore he appeared in the *Forum Romanum*, dressed like one in Affliction, and leading his Daughter in deep Mourning. She was honoured with the Company of a great Number of Ladies, who followed her, and interested themselves in her Misfortunes. All *Rome*, if I may so speak, was come together to the Place, where this new Cause was to be determined. The unfortunate *Virginius* addressed himself to his fellow-Citizens, as he passed by them, and uttered his Complaints to them, with such an Air of Dignity, that he seemed rather to demand their Assistance, than implore it. *I, said he, every Day expose my Life, for the Safety of your Wives, and your Children. You will scarce find an Officer in the Army, whose Intrepidity is better known, and whose Exploits are more boasted of. But what does it signify to preserve Rome from her Enemies, if her Tyrants make her suffer all the Violences and Oppressions, which would be exercised in a City taken by Assault?* *Icilius*, for his part, broke in among all the Crowds of the People who were assembled, and transmitted the Rage of his own Mind into theirs. The *Roman* Ladies wept in Silence, and the dumb Eloquence of their Tears was more powerful, and affecting, than the Complaints, either of *Icilius* or *Virginius*. *Appius* was informed of the Disposition the People assembled were in; but his Love made him overlook every thing he had Reason to fear. He came to the *Forum*, ordered the Tribunal to be got ready, and sat upon it. He first ordered *Claudius* to be brought near, on one side, and *Virginia* on the other. Her Father and her Defenders followed her. *Claudius* spoke first, as being the Claimant: And this artful Minister of the Tyrant's Iniquity, began with complaining of the little Regard *Appius* had for him. *Ought my Interest to be neglected, said he, because I am your Client? Ought I not to have been put in Possession of my Slave which I had seized, Yesterday; and been maintained in the Possession of her? To Day, at least, let your Scruples give Way to the Goodness of my Cause. I have brought with me the Witnesses which will testify what I say, and among the rest, the Woman who is the Mother of the pretended Virginia. Interrogate them. I consent that my Slave shall be examined by Torture. But let not your Compassion for an afflicted Girl, lead you to overlook the Evidence I bring of my Right.* The Depositions of these suborned Witnesses were favourable to *Claudius*; but all the Marks of Truth were against him. *Virginius* laid them open in the plainest manner, in the artless Language of a Soldier. He had married *Numitoria* when she was very young; and *Virginia* his Daughter had come into the World, soon after that Marriage. Where was the Necessity then for *Numitoria's* imposing a Child upon her Husband? Or if she had resolved to play so useless a Cheat, why should she rather choose the Child of a Slave, than one of a free Woman? Why should she impose a Girl upon him, rather than a Boy? Besides, was it probable, that a Contrivance carried on between two Women, should continue so long a Secret? Or, at least, would not the Slave have made her Court to her Master, as soon as *Numitoria* was dead, by discovering a Secret to him, which would have put him in Possession

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Possession of a young Woman, well educated, and of excellent Beauty? Why was this Mystery kept undiscovered till *Appius* was *Decemvir*, since the Slave, for a long Time past, could have no Interest to conceal it? And to these Presumptions *Virginus* added Proofs. He brought some of the most considerable Women in *Rome*, who deposed, some that they had seen *Numitoria* when she was big with Child, and that she had all the Marks of a breeding Woman; others, that they had assisted at her Labour as Relations, and had seen her bring into the World the Child now in Dispute; and lastly others, that *Numitoria* had suckled her Daughter with her own Milk, an evident Mark of her having been pregnant, and a Mother. These Proofs were thought unanswerable by all present; whose Attention was now wholly fixed on *Virginia*. Her Eyes bathed in Tears, the Modesty of her Countenance, and her Looks fixed on the Ground, as a Victim who expected to die, filled their Minds with many moving Reflections. What a Turn is here in Fortune, said they, a wealthy young Woman is going to be made a vile Slave! She is going to exchange the Embraces of a Father, for the haughty Dominion of a Master! If our Liberty be once made precarious, who can be sure of a better Fate, either for himself or his Children? And the Compassion of the People was raised yet more, by the ravishing Beauty of the young Roman. *Her Form was more than human*, says an Historian, *and by her Air, one would have taken her for a Goddess*.

Dion. Hal.
B. 11. p. 716.

ALL that now remained, was for *Appius* to give Sentence. His Power, his Passion, the Number of his Flatterers, and the Troops he commanded in *Rome*, hardened him, against any Remorse at the notorious Iniquity he was going to commit. And therefore when Silence was made, the *Decemvir* ¹²⁸ spake thus. *This is not the first Time I have heard of Numitoria's Intrigue, and of her imposing upon Virginus, a Girl who was a Slave. Claudius's Father revealed the Secret to me at his Death, when he made me his Son's Guardian. Afterwards I examined into the Matter, and found it to be true; but I left it to my Pupil, to recover his Right which had been given from him, or to agree with the Parties concerned, when he came of Age. But now that the Cause is brought before me in Judgment, being obliged to give Sentence according to my own personal Knowledge, I, both as Judge and Witness declare, that the young Woman belongs to Claudius, and my Sentence is, that she be delivered up to him, as his Property.*

Livy B. 3.
c. 47.

THIS Determination, which was so very ill disguised, discovered plainly the secret Intentions of the *Decemvir*, to the meanest Understandings. *Virginus* was no longer Master of himself. He trembled with Rage, and accompanying his Words with a threatening Gesture, said; *Infamous Wretch, I never designed my Daughter for thee! I educated her for a lawful Husband, and not to serve the Pleasures of a lustful Ravisher. Must then brutal Passions take the Place, with us, of honourable Marriages? Romans, will you suffer these Things? The Army at least, will have a just Indignation at thy Villany, and will do thee Justice, and revenge my Wrongs.* Upon this, a great Cry was heard all on a sudden, among the People; which was a publick Proof of their Indignation. *Appius* had been affrighted at it, if his Friends and Flatterers had not kept up his Confidence. He thought it necessary to intimidate the People on so critical an Occasion. *I know*, said he, with an affrighted Air, *that all the last Night has been spent in Plots and seditious Assemblies. Do I then command the Troops here, and have I dispersed them about in the Capitol, and on the Ramparts, in vain? Don't force me to turn those Arms against you, which were designed only to be employed against the Enemy. Let every one retire to his own House, and no more presume to give Law to Lawgivers. As for you, Claudius, seize your Slave, and make use of my Guard to disperse the Crowd.* The imperious Tone of a Tyrant, surrounded with Troops, drove away the Multitude. Every one

Livy B. 3.
c. 48.
Dion. Hal.
B. 11. p. 717.

¹²⁸ *Livy* did not think it proper to put so ill-judged a Speech in the Mouth of *Appius*, as *Dion. Hal.* makes him speak, before he gave Sentence against *Virginia*. Not that the *Latin* Historian was inclined to call it in Question, but the Improbability of the *Decemvir's* making such a mad Discourse, prevented his inserting it in his History, as he himself declares, in his 8th Book. *Quem decreto sermonem protulerit (Appius) forsitan aliquem verum auctores antiqui tradiderint—quia nusquam ullum in tanta seditate decreti verisimilem invenio, id quod constat nudum videtur proponendum.* Ne-

vertheless the *Greek* Historian ascribes such a Discourse to *Appius*, according to the faithful Memoirs he made use of. It is true, the Magistrate does here act both as Judge and Witness, and determines barely upon the Strength of his own Testimony. But though this Discourse seems not to have the least Appearance of Truth, to those who know *Virginus's* Right, and the unjust Passion of the Tyrant: Yet it might at least colour over and conceal *Appius's* Iniquity, from some Persons, whose Eyes were dazzled with his Authority.

left the *Forum* sighing, and with Tears in his Eyes. In the mean time *Claudius* caused *Virginia* to be carried towards his House, and *Appius* followed him with his Guard. But the unfortunate Father could not yet resolve to leave his Daughter, in so melancholy a Conjunction. He walked by her side, and kept his Arm round her Waste. *Virginia* did not fall short of her Father in Tenderness, and in taking her Leave of him, made use of the most moving Appellations. At length they came to the farthest side of the *Forum*, over against the Temple ¹²⁹ of *Venus Cloacina*.

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It was here *Virginius* formed the Design of sacrificing his Daughter, rather than see her dishonoured. He drew near to *Appius*, and in a suppliant manner, said, *Pardon, Sir, the unguarded Words against you, which escaped me in my first Transports. Permit me to speak privately to Virginia one Moment, that I may interrogate her, concerning her real Birth, and may carry Home with me the Satisfaction of being set right in so intricate an Affair.* *Appius* could not refuse *Virginius* so reasonable a Request, and kept at a Distance with his *Lictors*. *Virginia* saw her self alone with her Father, and her Governess. Then, either out of a greater Flow of Tenderness, for him to whom she owed her Life, or from the Horror, which now affected her more than ever, of the Treatment she was to expect, she fell down in a Swoon. Her Governess held her up, and *Virginius* seemed for some Time very earnest, in endeavouring to bring her to her self. And then, under Pretence of seeking for some Assistance, he ran to a Butcher's Stall, and seizing a Knife, returned to his Daughter, who was yet in her Swoon. But before he buried it in her Bosom, he said, *Take here, my dear Daughter, take here the last Pledge of my Love. Go, and follow thy Ancestors, whilst thou art yet free, and pure from Pollution.* At which Words, he gave her the fatal Blow, and turning to *Appius*, *By this Blood*, cried he to him, *I devote thy Head to the infernal Gods.* The *Decemvir* instantly commanded *Virginius* to be seized; but with the Knife in his Hand, and covered with Blood, he made his Way through the People who flocked round him. Nay he did more. He ran through a great part of the City, carrying the Marks of his Fury in his Eyes and Countenance, followed with the Acclamations of the People, who excited him to re-establish the publick Liberty. At length he arrived at one of the City-Gates, which he got through by the Assistance of the Multitude which guarded him, and mounting on Horseback, took the Road to the Camp.

§. XIII. WHILST *Virginius* went to excite the Army against *Appius*, *Numitorius* and *Julius* raised a great Commotion in *Rome*, among the People. They would not quit *Virginia's* dead Body, which lay a long Time on the Ground in the *Forum*. They

¹²⁹ *Lactantius* pretends, B. 20. that the Name of *Venus Cloacina* was taken from the great *Gloaca*, or *Common-Shore*, in which the Statue of this Goddess had been found. *Tatius*, adds this Author, consecrated this Image, with this Inscription, VENERI CLOACINÆ. *Gloacine simulachrum in cloacā maximā repertum Tatius consecravit; & quia, cujus esset effigies, ignorabat, ex loco illi nomen imposuit.* But how venerable soever *Lactantius's* Authority may be, it is evident he was mistaken, in supposing that there were then any Common-Sewers at *Rome*; they were not built till long after *Romulus*, in the Reign of *Tarquin the First*. What *Pliny* says on this Subject, seems more probable. *There was, says he, a Myrtle, in the same Place where the Romans and Sabines laid down their Arms, and concluded the Treaty of Alliance, which put an end to the War, which the Rape of the Sabine-Women, had occasioned. The two Nations, as soon as united into one, had Recourse, according to Custom, to the*

Ceremonies of Expiation, and in purifying themselves, made use of some of the Branches of this Myrtle. This Ceremony was performed near the Place, where a Statue was erected to *Venus Cloacina*. She was so called, adds *Pliny*, B. 15. c. 29. from the old *Latin* Verb, *Cluere*, which signifies to purify. *Tatius* built a Temple to this Goddess, in Memory of the Union of the Romans and Sabines. This Temple stood near the *Comitium*. The Reverse of a Medal of the *Mussidian* Family, is thought, by Antiquaries, to give us the Figure of the Rails which inclosed the *Comitium*. The Word CLOACIN in the Medal, points out the Temple of the Goddess, which stood in its Neighbourhood. One of the two Romans on the Medal seems to be putting a Ballot into an Urn, in order to give his Vote. *Mussidius* probably intended to shew the Antiquity of his Family, by this Monument, and that he gloried in deriving his Descent from the Sabines.

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cemviri.
Livy B. 3.
Ibid.
Dion. Hal.
B. 11. p. 718.

Livy B. 3.
c. 49.

Dion. Hal.
B. 11. p. 719.

Livy B. 3.
c. 49.

ran together from all Quarters, and heard the vehement Exclamations which *Icilius* and *Numitorius* uttered against the Tyrant. *Alas*, said they, *unhappy Virginia*, *was it necessary, that thy Beauty should prove fatal to thee! Was thy Father then reduced to the cruel Necessity of saving thy Honour at the Expence of thy Life!* The Women especially, were eloquent on what had happened to *Virginia*. *Are we Mothers*, said they, *only to have our Children taken away from us by Violence? Is this the Reward of Chastity and Fruitfulness?* The whole City was full of these Discourses. The People came round *Virginia's* Body, to exasperate themselves the more against the *Decemviri*. They were taught by *Numitorius* and *Icilius*, to demand the Re-establishment of the antient Government, and to sigh after the Restitution of the *Tribunes*. In the mean time *Appius*, who kept himself shut up in his House, was equally tormented to see so many Crimes prove abortive, and to find all the People filled with a just Indignation against him. His Grief had reduced him to such a Condition, that he was scarce Master of his Reason. Instead of appeasing the People, by giving Way to their just Resentments; instead of soothing them with Caresses, that he might afterwards have an Opportunity of purging himself, from the strong Suspicions they had conceived of him; every Step he took, tended only to inflame their Rage. He sent out *Lictors*, with Orders to seize *Icilius*, and carry away the dead Body. But *Icilius* refused to obey. And the Multitude would not suffer the *Lictors* to get to him, and tear him away from his dear *Virginia*. Upon this, *Appius* was rash enough, to come to execute his Orders, in Person. A chosen Company of young *Patricians*, who were entirely devoted to the *Decemviri*, attended the Tyrant. But he found the People, who held together against him, had Heads to lead them. And indeed, *Valerius* and *Horatius*, the two sworn Enemies of the *Decemviri*, had come to the *Forum*, upon the first News of *Appius's* march. Their Guard was more numerous than his, and all the People were for them. They therefore placed themselves near the Corps, which caused all the Uproar, and surrounded *Icilius*, who could not be separated from it. They at first repulsed the *Lictors*, and gave them to understand, that they had neither Law nor Power on their side; that the *Decemvir*, their Master, was only a private Man in *Rome*; and that his Strength was not superior to theirs. Nevertheless *Appius* advanced to support his Officers. His Company followed him, and the *Lictors* surrounded the two Senators. These began at first with Invectives; with which they loaded the Tyrant. Then they fell upon his Attendants, knocked down some, and beat others, whilst the People broke the *Fasces*. *Appius* was therefore obliged to retire, and took another Step, as unwise as the former. He fled to the Temple of *Vulcan* for Refuge, and caused the People to be called to him there, as if they had been still in his Interests. There he inveighed bitterly against those who defended *Icilius* and *Virginia*, pretended to exercise the Authority of a *Tribune of the People*, and demanded that the Disturbers of the public Peace should be thrown headlong from the *Capitol*. But the Discourse of the *Decemvir* was often interrupted with Hisses. And whilst he was haranguing, *Valerius* and his Party carried the Body of *Virginia* to the Top of a Flight of Steps, from whence the People might conveniently see it. Afterwards they chose out a Place in the *Forum*, from whence they could speak so as to be heard by the People. So that there were two Assemblies, and two Orators, in different Parts of the *Forum*, declaiming against one another, at the same Time. A great Number of Auditors very soon left *Appius*, to run to *Valerius*. No Body was left with the *Decemvir*, but some of the Zealots for the *Decemviri*, and an Handful of such cowardly Fellows, as are always Slaves to Men in present Power, and ready to desert them, as soon as they think their Ruin certain. The rest of the People were drawn away to *Virginia's* Advocates, partly by the Regard they had for them, and partly by their Impatience to see the antient Government re-established, and the *Decemvirate* abolished. *Appius* therefore seeing his Auditors desert him, had no Remedy left, but to hide his Face with his Robe, and seek for Refuge in a neighbouring House. Had he continued any longer in the *Forum*, he would have been stoned, and the People of *Rome* would have at once destroyed, both the Head, and the Author of the Tyranny.

§. XIV. *VALERIUS* and *Horatius* had already gained great Advantages over *Appius*, when *Oppius* arrived to defend his Collegue. This *Plebeian Decemvir* chose the most reasonable Method of the many which were proposed to him. This was to assemble the Senate, in order to put an end to a Dispute, the Consequences of

of which were much to be feared. Upon this, the People grew quiet in a very little Time. They promised themselves, that when the Senators were assembled, they would put an end to Tyranny, by destroying the *Decemvirate*. But *The Fathers*, who were then at *Rome*, were doubtless, for the most part, Friends to the *Decemviri*. At least, the Decree they made was favourable to them. It ordered the People to behave themselves peaceably, and gave a Commission to some young Senators, to go to the Camp, which was then ¹³⁰ near *Algidus*, to prevent the Seditions *Virginis* might raise in it. But a new sight put the Populace in Motion again. *Virginia's* Relations came to the *Forum*, in deep Mourning, to fetch away her Body. This was a Proof that they did not acquiesce in the *Decemvir's* Sentence. They would not have made so costly a Funeral for a Woman, whom they owned to be a Slave. The Funeral-Procession passed in good Order through the chief Streets of the City, and *Virginia* was exposed to every one's Eyes. The Women and their Daughters came out of their Houses in Crowds, and honoured this innocent Victim to *Roman* Chastity, with their Tears. The poorest threw Nofegays, and Crowns of Flowers, upon the Bier on which she lay. Others pulled off the Ribbons from their Heads, and their Girdles, and other Fineries, to adorn the Litter with them. Some cut off their Hair, and spread it over the dead Body. Whilst the Merchants furnished all Necessaries for the Funeral gratis. There was an Emulation, who should make the richest Presents, for the Decoration of the Procession. In short, nothing was talked of, in *Rome*, but *Virginia's* Funeral. These Expressions of the Sentiments of the Publick, turned much to *Appius's* Shame, and the *Decemvirate* became more odious than can be expressed. Nevertheless, the Fear of the Troops that remained in *Rome*, restrained the People from Insurrections, and *Valerius* did not think it yet proper, to put the City in Arms.

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§. XV. BUT in the Camp of the five *Legions*, which were sent against the *Æqui*, the Commotion was greater. *Virginus* ¹³¹ arrived there, after it was Night, when the Soldiers were at Supper. He was accompanied by about four hundred Citizens of *Rome*, who followed him in small Companies, and entered the Camp one after another. As for himself, he passed through the advanced-Guards, with the Knife, with which he had stabbed his Daughter, in his Hand, and all covered with Blood; and they left their Posts, to hear an Account of an Adventure, in which they thought themselves concerned. *Virginus* invited them to follow him, and the Tears he shed increased their Curiosity. In this Condition he passed through the Tents. The Noise of those that followed him, made the Soldiers come out with Lamps and Torches in their Hands. And this Appearance made his Harangue the more moving. At length he came to one of the Openings of the Camp, where several Ways met, and placed himself on an Eminence, that he might be heard the further. Those about him were all silent, and he spake thus. *Don't impute to me, dear fellow Soldiers, a Crime which Appius's Tyranny has forced me to commit. I have murdered my own Daughter. This is the Knife, which I just now buried in her Bosom. Great Gods! I tremble yet at the Thoughts of it! But let the Odium of so barbarous an Action fall upon the true Author of it! Virginia was dearer to me than my Life; but her Life was not so dear to me, as her Chastity. The chief of our Tyrants, had laid a Plot against my Daughter's Liberty and Honour. And I have by one Stroke, freed her from Slavery and Infamy. My Tenderneſs has made me cruel; and nothing could make me survive the Loss of her, but the ardent Desire of revenging it. It is your Assistance therefore, dear fellow-Soldiers, it is your Assistance, that I implore. You have Wives, Sisters, and Daughters, of your own. And to what Insults will they not be exposed, if Appius should escape with Impunity, which will only make him the more audacious in his Debaucheries? His Incontinence can do no more Mischief in my Family. It behoves you, to look to yours; and by shedding of the Blood of the guilty, to protect them from a Dishonour, which I could no otherwise prevent, than by shedding that of an innocent Daughter.*

Livy B. 3.
c. 50.
Dion. Hal.
B. 11. p. 720.

Livy B. 3.
c. 50.

¹³⁰ *Livy* places the *Roman* Camp upon the Hill *Vesilius*. But he is the only Historian who mentions any Hill of that Name. *Entropius* speaks only of the Hill *Algidus*; and *Livy* himself tells us, a little before, that the *Legions* had taken Possession of that Post.

¹³¹ *Aurelius Victor's* Account differs from that

of the other Historians, especially of *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* when he says, that *Virginus* carried his Daughter's Body to the Camp, and shewed himself to the Soldiers, with it bleeding in his Arms. Besides, it is not easy to imagine, how he could get above sixteen Miles from *Rome*, in so short a Time, and with so heavy a Burden.

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VIRGINIUS spoke these Words, with the Tone and Gesture of a Man out of his Senses. All that were present cried out, that they were ready to revenge his Injuries, and the publick Liberty. In the mean time, they enquired of the Citizens, who were come to the Army from *Rome*, and learned from them all the Particulars of so affecting a Story. Those that arrived last, exaggerated the Miseries of the City. They reported that *Appius*, being pursued by the Citizens, was forced to banish himself from *Rome*, and that the whole City was in a Combustion. And this News had like to have made the Soldiers snatch up the *Roman Eagles* immediately, and decamp. They instantly called upon their Commanders by Name, and desired them to be their Leaders. Several subaltern Officers went out of their Tents, and without Fear, publicly declared the personal Grievances they had suffered from the Tyrants. The five *Decemviri*, who commanded the Army, on their Parts, held a Council of War, in order to find Means to appease the Tumult. Word was brought them, that the Soldiers were retired to their Tents, and all was quiet. The Result of the Consultation was this, that *Virginus*, the Author of the Disorder, should be put under Arrest the next Day; that the Army should immediately decamp, march into the Enemy's Country, and be carried as far out of the reach of hearing what passed at *Rome*, as was possible. The *Decemviri* did not know, that the *Centurions* had conspired together to exterminate the *Decemvirate*, and re-establish the ancient Form of Government. The next Day therefore *Virginus* was summoned to appear at the General's Quarters. But the rest of the *Centurions* opposed it, and kept him under their Protection. And when they were informed of the Design of leading away the Army, in order to penetrate into the Country of the *Æqui*, they openly murmured at it, and reproached their Commanders. *You have indeed*, said they to them, *managed Matters so well hitherto, that we have Reason to expect great Things from this new March. Victory will as surely attend you in this, as it has done all the rest of the Campaign. What a Shame is it for you, that the most flourishing Army Rome has seen, should continue all this while unactive! The Enemy do what they please, before your Faces. They ravage our Country, erect Trophies on our Lands, and take from us our Houses, our Tents, our Slaves, and our Provisions.* *Virginus* therefore, seeing himself well supported, gave a Loose to his Resentments. He pressed the *Centurions* to snatch up the *Eagles*, carry away the Colours, and march out of the Camp, without the Privity of their Generals. And one single religious Scruple, was the only thing that suspended a little the Execution of it. They were afraid of violating those sacred Bonds, their military Oaths, and of profaning the *Eagles*, which were looked upon in the Camp, as a kind of Deities. Little Temples were built there for them, and they were never taken out from thence, but with the Consent of the Generals, and after having consulted the *Augurs*. But *Virginus* dispelled these vain Fears. *Our Oaths*, said he, *only oblige us to Obedience to lawful Generals. Whereas, are not they, who now command us, Usurpers, whose Authority is expired, and who have no manner of Superiority over us, but what our Cowardice gives them leave to assume?* These Words determined the Army to shake off the Yoke of the Tyrants. They all looked stedfastly on one another, encouraged one another to revolt, and in an instant, by a sort of Enthusiasm, the *Eagles* were plucked from the Ground, the Army followed their Standards, marched out of the Camp, and took the Road to *Rome*. There remained only a few *Centurions* and Soldiers with the *Decemviri*, who were not to be compared with the Deserters, for Number. The latter continued their March all Day, and did not reach the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, till towards Night. Upon their Arrival the City was in a general Consternation. The Citizens thought the *Æqui* had had Knowledge of their intestine Divisions, and were come to besiege them. But they took Courage, when they saw a *Roman Army* passing through the City, without committing the least Violence, protesting that they had separated themselves from the *Decemviri*, only out of Regard to the publick Good, and marching in good Order towards the Hill *Aventinus*, to encamp there. This Hill, which overlooked *Rome*, was then but thinly inhabited, and had spare Ground enough for a Camp. There the Army entrenched themselves, near the Temple of *Diana*. In the mean time, *Oppius* the *Decemvir*, caused the Senate to assemble; for *Appius*, the Author of all these Misfortunes, appeared no more in publick. The *Conscrip*t Fathers chose to act a moderate Part. They only

Livy, Ibid.

sent three ¹³² Senators of Distinction to the Army, on the Hill *Aventinus*; with Orders to ask, in the Name of the Senate, why they had left their Generals, and with what Intent they had given over the War against the Enemy, and were come to encamp under the Walls of *Rome*. The Answer was easy; but the Deferters had not yet chosen themselves a Head, and no private Man dared to give an Answer for the whole Body. These therefore all cried out with one Voice, *Let Valerius and Horatius be sent to us! We will send no Answer to the Senate, but by them.* Upon which the Deputies returned to *Rome*, and made a Report of their Negotiation to the Senate.

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US, &c. De-
cemviri.

VIRGINIUS was struck with the unexpected Fearfulness the Troops had shewn, when interrogated by the Messengers from the Senate. This made him sensible, that Heads were wanted to govern the Multitude, and to be its Mouth. Accordingly, it was agreed to choose ten, under the Name of *Military Tribunes*. The Troops were desirous to have *Virginus* at the Head of them, and prayed him to accept of the Command they offered him. But he made the Soldiers this Answer; *Reserve the kind Regard you have for me, against a more favourable Opportunity. My Daughter is dead, and I have not yet revenged it. No kind of Honour will become me, till her Manes are appeased. My Rage against the Tyrants is so violent, that you cannot expect from me very prudent, or moderate Counsels. I shall be of more Service to our common Cause, by acting in it, as a private Person.* One *M. Oppius* therefore, a very different Man from the *Decemvir*, was chosen into the Place which *Virginus* refused; And nine Collegues were joined with him. Under these military Governors the Army, designed against the *Æqui*, kept themselves at the Gates of *Rome*, without committing any Devastations in the *Roman Territory*.

Dion. Hal.
B. 11. p. 724.

§. XVI. THE three *Legions* sent against the *Sabines*, paid as little Deference to their Generals. The Massacre of the incomparable *Sicinnus* had provoked them: And created in them a Disposition to revolt, which *Numitorius* and *Icilius* exceedingly increased, by their Account of the Death of *Virginia*, which inspired them with new Rage against the *Decemvirate*. These *Legions* would have gone away from their Commanders, as soon as they retired to *Crustumium*, if the Fear of the other five *Legions*, commanded by *Cornelius*, had not kept them in their Duty. The Defection therefore of that General's Camp from him, was an Example which *Fabius's* Army followed. *Icilius*, who was at the Head of the Revolt, led on the Revolters towards *Rome*. And in his March he was informed, that the Army encamped on the *Aventinus* had chosen ten *Tribunes*. Upon which, he caused his Body of Forces to choose the like Number of Commanders, lest in the future Election of *Tribunes of the People*, the Electors should confine themselves to the ten *Military Tribunes*, already chosen on the Hill *Aventinus*. After this Precaution, which concerned himself, because he aspired at being a *Tribune of the People*, he continued his March towards *Rome*. He entered the City, with Colours flying, by the Gate *Collina*, and after having marched through the Streets, in order of Battel, arrived at the Hill *Aventinus*. There the two Armies united, under the Government of twenty *Military Tribunes*, resolved for the future to obey only two Generals, *Oppius* and ¹³³ *Manlius*. These two appointed themselves a Council, consisting of all the *Centurions* in the Army, and governed it with more Prudence than could have been expected.

Livy B. 3.
c. 51.

§. XVII. IN the mean time, *Oppius* the *Decemvir* thought to have put an end to these Misfortunes, by the Intervention of the Senate. He caused the Senators to assemble, by drawing them one after another, from their Houses. They met daily; but their Sittings were spent in Disputes, without coming to any fixed Resolutions. The Majority was for deputing *Valerius* and *Horatius* to the confederate Armies on the Hill *Aventinus*; but these two illustrious *Patricians* refused to go, till the *Decemviri* had laid down. But the latter insisted on continuing in their Offices, till the *Twelve Tables* were entirely confirmed: For the two last, at least, had not yet been accepted in *Comitia* by *Centuries*. These tedious Deliberations tired the two Armies. They therefore resolved to go and encamp at some Distance from *Rome*, for the greater Convenience of getting Provisions. And upon this Occasion, they remembered the *Sacred Mountain*, which was formerly so famous for the first Separation

¹³² These three Consular Persons were *Spurius Tarpeius*, *Caius Julius*, and *Publius Sulpicius*

¹³³ Livy calls him *Manilius*, and not *Manlius*.

Year of tion of the Roman People. *That Name alone, said the Troops, will be sufficient*
 R O M E to put the Senate in mind of the Constancy of the People in insisting on their Rights;
 CCCIV. and make them sensible, that it will not be possible for them to have Peace at Home,
 AP. CLAUDI- till they have restored us our Tribunes of the People. The two Armies therefore took
 US, &c. De- the Road to the Sacred Mountain, without committing the least Disorder in their
 cemviri. March, and when they arrived there, fortified themselves upon it, and observed the
 same exact Discipline, for which their Ancestors had been admired. The Soldiers,
 when they decamped from the *Aventinus*, were followed by all the Citizens of
Rome, with their Wives, and Children. *What have we to do, said they, in a City,*
where neither Liberty nor Honour is any longer safe? So that *Rome* was then no bet-
 ter than a vast Desert. The *Fathers* were surprized, as they came to the Senate-
 House, to see the Streets without Tradesmen and Artificers, and the *Forum* without
 any People in it. And then the Majority of the House spoke the same Language as
Valerius and *Horatius*. *Shall we suffer the Obstinacy of the Decemviri to make our*
Country desolate? What Pleasure can they have in governing a deserted City, and empty
Houses? Their Lictors do now almost exceed in Number all the rest of the Inhabitants
of Rome. What will become of us, if a foreign Enemy, or our own mutinous Troops
come and invest us? Do you pretend, Decemviri, to maintain your selves in your Sove-
reignty, till the Republick is utterly destroyed? Rome cannot subsist without Citizens,
nor will the People be satisfied without Tribunes. They formerly forced our Ancestors
to create them: And they have since found so much Benefit from their Protection, that
they are obstinate in demanding them again. Have not our own Severities to the Peo-
ple, made it necessary that they should have them? Give Way, Decemviri, to their
Pretensions. Restore the Senate its Consuls, and the People their Tribunes. Then the
Republick will flourish as much as ever, enjoy Tranquillity at Home, and be victorious
Abroad. The *Decemviri*, who were Generals, in vain demanded, upon their return
 from the two Camps, that the Conspirators should be punished. The Senators were
 almost unanimously of *Valerius's* Opinion, who voted for the deposing of the *Decem-*
viri, and for granting the Troops an Amnesty for what was passed. This thoroughly
 terrified the *Decemviri*, who were already frightened at the Retreat of the People. In
 short, they promised to lay down their Authority, provided the Senate would take
 them under its Protection, to guard them against the Violence of their Enemies.
 Then *Valerius* and *Horatius*, when invested with full Powers, to treat with the Army
 and People, on whatever Conditions they thought reasonable, accepted of the Depu-
 tation to the *Mons Sacer*.

It is not to be conceived what Joy, the Arrival of these two Senators spread, all
 over the Camp. They had been the Defenders of the publick Interest from the be-
 ginning of the Usurpation of the *Decemviri*. And they had been the Persons, who
 had now brought the Affair to bear at last. In short, they were the two Mediators
 the Troops so much desired. The latter began with returning them Thanks, for their
 Zeal for the publick Good. *Icilius* was the Speaker, who was commissioned to treat
 with the Deputies of the Senate. He was intrusted by the Council of the Revolters
 to demand two Things. 1. The Re-establishment of the *Tribunes of the People*, and
 the right of Appeal, from the Decisions of the *Consuls* to them. 2. The Punish-
 ment of the *Decemviri*, who they intended should be burnt alive. But the wise De-
 puties made a great deal of Difference between the two Articles. One, said they, is
 the Dictate of Reason, the other the Effect of Passion. *It is for your Safety's sake, that*
you desire the Revival of the Tribunate, and not in order to authorize Licentiousness.
This is a just Demand. But as to the Punishment of the Decemviri, we forgive in-
deed your carrying your Resentments so far as to desire it; but we should never forgive
our selves, if we were to grant such a Request. Ought their Injustice to be revenged
by a more shameful Iniquity? The Senate has not yet declared you innocent, and do you
already pretend to give Law to it? At this Rate, the mutual Hatred of the People,
and the Patricians will never end, but in mutual Cruelties. You are offered a Shield
for your Defence; don't take the Sword too, to begin an Attack. Is it not enough to
satisfy you, that whenever you shall have your Tribunes restored to you, you will then
have it in your Power, to condemn even the Patricians themselves, by your Suffrages?
Be content then, for the present, with recovering your Houses, your Liberty, and your
Protectors. The People submitted to these strong Reasons, threw themselves entirely
 into the Hands of the Deputies, and empowered them to make what Terms for
 them,

them, they thought fit. *Valerius* and *Horatius* returned to *Rome*, and their Report, was heard by the Senate with Attention, and received with Joy. Nine of the *Decemviri*, when they understood the People did not demand their Heads, readily consented to grant them every Thing else they asked. *Appius* was the only Man, who thought himself lost. To re-establish the Tribuneship, said he, is to put Arms into the Hands of the People. I find my Execution is only postponed. And my Life must be sacrificed to the publick Hatred! But since it must be so, let us begin with divesting our selves of the Decemvirate. Accordingly, the Senate passed a Decree, whereby they abolished the Decemvirate, and re-established the Tribunes of the People: And that the latter might be legally chosen, they nominated *Quintus* ¹³⁴ *Furius*, who was then *Pontifex* ¹³⁵ *Maximus*, to preside at the Election. After this, they decreed, that neither the ¹³⁶ People, nor the Troops, should ever be molested, on account of their Separation. And then the *Decemviri* immediately resigned. Those Citizens that were left in *Rome* were assembled, and, in their Presence, the ten Sovereigns laid down their Offices. This happy News was carried to the Camp by the two Deputies, and proclaimed in a lawful Assembly. Upon which, the Troops delayed no longer to return to *Rome*, with the People that had followed them. After they had passed through the City, they went and encamped a second Time, on the Hill *Aventinus*. There the *Pontifex Maximus* proceeded to the Election of ten Tribunes of the People. The three first chosen were *Virginus*, *Icilius*, and *Numitorius*. The People ¹³⁷ intended this as an Acknowledgment, that they now owed their Deliverance to the Father, and Defenders of *Virginia*, as *Rome* had formerly been indebted for her Liberty, to the Father and Defenders of *Lucretia*. Nothing perhaps was

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¹³⁴ *Asconius* gives him, who was *Pontifex Maximus* at this time, the Name of *Marcus Papyrius*, and not that of *Quintus Furius*. And *Sigonius* inclines to the same Opinion. His Reason is, that the Historians have hitherto made no mention of any *Quintus Furius*; whereas *Marcus Papyrius* has already appeared upon the Stage more than once.

¹³⁵ As there was no Magistrate in being, after the Abdication of the *Decemviri*, who had a right to assemble the *Comitia*, the Senate gave the *Pontifex Maximus* for the time being, an extraordinary Commission to do it. And indeed *Numa* had not only given him the Superintendency in all Things relating to the Worship of the Gods; but had likewise made him supreme Arbitrator between the Magistrates and the People. By this Preheminence of Office, he had a right to punish the Refractory, according to the Crimes they had committed contrary to Law; and that without Appeal, either to Senate, or *Comitia*. So that, according to *Sigonius*, it was necessary for a Man to have passed through the greatest Offices in the Republick, before he could be made a *Pontifex Maximus*. The Inspection of this Magistrate extended so far, that *Festus* gives him the Title of Judge, both of divine and human Things. *Cicero*, speaking of the *Pontifices*, says, it was their Business to provide for the Welfare of Religion, and the good Order of the Republick. We shall have frequent Occasions to mention the Prerogatives, and Duties, of this supreme Dignity.

¹³⁶ *Dion. Hal.* adds, that while they were busy in putting an end to these Troubles, some Officers arrived from the Camp of *Fidena*, to complain of the Deserters, and to demand a Decree of the Senate, for punishing the guilty. Upon which *Cornelius* proposed, that the Rebels should be obliged to return to the Camp, and that the Generals should have a Power of punishing the Heads of the Sedition at Discretion. But the Motion was rejected. *L. Valerius* shewed, that to use Rigour, would be to make the Disease incurable; and that therefore in such nice Conjunctions, it would be best, to proceed with Moderation, and endeavour at an Accommodation.

¹³⁷ According to *Livy*, not only the three Tribunes, *Anlus Virginus*, *Lucius Icilius*, and *Publius Numitorius*, *Virginia's* Uncle, were chosen at this

Election, which was made by *Comitia*, and held by the *Pontifex Maximus*; but also *Caius Sicinnius*, (Son or Grandson of the famous *Sicinnius Bellutus*, who was raised to the Tribuneship, when the *Plebeians*, confederating against the Nobility, retired the first time to the Sacred Mountain;) and *Marcus Duilius*; who had already been Tribune of the People, before the Creation of the *Decemviri*, and had laboured with an indefatigable Zeal, to reunite the People and Senate, in this Year, when *Appius's* Tyranny had brought so many Misfortunes on the Republick. To these five Tribunes were added five others, viz. *Marcus Titinnius*, *Marcus Pomponius*, *Caius Apronius*, *Publius Villius*, and *Caius Appius*. These latter were elected, says the *Latin* Historian, not so much to give them an honourable Reward for past Services, as in order to incline them to promote the Interests of the People; who promised themselves they would zealously protect them. By making one *Publius Villius* one of the ten new Tribunes, we follow, as we think our selves obliged to do, the Conjecture of *Sigonius*. It is true in the MSS. we read *Appius Julius*, and not *Publius Villius*; but this learned Author suspects that to be a Mistake of the Copyists. His Reasons for his Correction are these. 1. That none of the *Julian* Family ever had the Name of *Appius*. This Name was given only to *Sabines*, or to Men of *Roman* Families, which were originally *Sabine*. Such were one *Appius Herdonius*, and one *Appius Claudius*. 2. That none but *Plebeians* had yet been Tribunes of the People. Whereas the *Julian* Family was *Patrician*. And it is therefore improbable, that one of them should be chosen to exercise a *Plebeian's* Office so early, as in the Year 304. 3. *Sigonius* thinks we ought to read *Villius* instead of *Julius*, not only because the Tribuneship was most likely to be given to the former, who was a *Plebeian*, but likewise because the Copyists have actually confounded these two Names, more than once. Nevertheless, we must acknowledge, that it was not uncommon among the *Romans*, for Clients, or *Freed-men*, to take the Names of their Masters or Patrons, in Honour to themselves. So that this *Julius* might have been of that Number. And the Reader has a right to embrace which Opinion he likes best.

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Interregnum.

more glorious in the antient *Romans*, than this steady Love of Chastity, by which alone the two first Revolutions in their State were brought about. They seem to have had more Indulgence for any other Attacks upon their Liberty. But when Attempts were made on the Honour of their Wives, and Daughters, they were so implacable in their Revenge, as to overturn every Thing, rather than let them escape unpunished.

§. XVIII. WHAT now remained, in order to the perfect Re-establishment of the Republick, was to assemble all the several Orders, in the *Campus Martius*, and there to choose two *Consuls*. None of the *Patricians* were then in the Magistracy, and indeed, properly speaking, *Rome* was yet without Governors. So that, either the *Pontifex Maximus*¹³⁸ must have presided himself at these *Comitia*, during the *Interregnum*, in right of his Office, or nominated a President. But however that were, the *Centuries*, which consisted of all the Citizens of *Rome*, as well Noble, as *Plebeian*, had Regard to the Services so lately done their Country, by *Valerius* and *Horatius*; and named them for¹³⁹ *Consuls*. They immediately entered upon the Execution of their Offices; but did not enjoy them a whole Year. The *Decemviri* had at least usurped their Offices for the first Months of it. But notwithstanding the Shortness of their Government, these new *Consuls* found Means to signalize themselves, both in War, and Peace.

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LUCIUS VALERIUS POTITUS, and M. HORATIUS BARBATUS, Consuls.
Dion. Hal. B. II. p. 725.

*LUCIUS Valerius*¹³⁹ *Potitus*, and *Marcus Horatius Barbatus*, his Colleague, were both of those Families which were called *Populares*, or *Popular*. Though descended from the most illustrious *Patricians*, they had always adhered to the Interests of the People, and this Inclination had been transmitted from Father to Son. *Valerius* had derived this Love of the People, with the Blood of *Poplicola* his Grandfather, and *Horatius* with that of his Grandfather *M. Horatius Pulvillus*. These two *Consuls* kept the Promise they had made the People on the *Sacred Mountain*, of favouring them in every Thing, and doing them signal Service, in case they should be chosen into Office. Upon this new change then, they were wholly bent upon giving the *Plebeians* a Superiority over the Senate. This was evident from the Laws they made in it. Formerly, the Ordinances made by the People in *Comitia by Tribes*, obliged only the *Plebeians*. In order to a Law's being of general Obligation upon all the different Orders of Men in the Republick, it was necessary it should be confirmed in *Comitia by Centuries*. Besides, it is well known, the *Plebeians* had the Ascendant in the *Comitia by Tribes*, and the *Patricians* in the *Comitia by Centuries*. But the new *Consuls* now enacted,¹⁴⁰ that the Decrees of the *Tribes* should be as universally observed by the *Patricians*, as those of the *Centuries* were by the *Plebeians*. This was establishing a great Equality between two Bodies, which had always opposed and rivalled one another. Nay, the *Consuls* did not stop here. In order to secure the Republick for ever against the Tyranny of Magistrates, invested with unlimited Authority, like the *Decemviri*; and in order to maintain the *Tribunes* in perpetual Possession of their Right of judging any Causes, which were brought to their Tribunal by Appeal; they

Livy B. 3. c. 55.

¹³⁸ It is not probable, that when there were no *Consuls*, the *Pontifex Maximus* had a right, by virtue of his Office, to assemble the People by *Centuries*, and preside at the Election of these chief Magistrates. The *Roman Story* gives us no one Instance of it. Besides, it belonged to the *Comitia by Tribes*, to elect the *Pontifex Maximus*. So that it seems improper for a Magistrate, who was chosen by the *Plebeians*, to preside, when the People were assembled by *Centuries*, to choose new *Consuls*. And *Tully, Ep. 9. to Attic. B. 9.* gives us a Reason for it. *No inferior Magistrate*, says he, *is permitted to propose another of a superior Authority*. For this Reason, the *Prætors*, or *Censors*, never presided in the *Consular Comitia*, i. e. in the *Comitia* which chose the *Consuls*. So that, *Livy's* Account is most probable, who says, the Senate reduced the Publick to the State of an *Interregnum*, and created a President, under whose Direction, the *Comitia* might be assembled.

¹³⁹ *L. Valerius Poplicola Potitus*, was Son of the famous *Publius Valerius*, who lost his Life in defending the *Capitol* against *Herdonius*. *Marcus*

Horatius was the Grandson of him, who had been *Consul* with *Publius Valerius*, after the Expulsion of the *Tarquins*, and had dedicated the *Capitol*. *Dionysius Siculus* is defective, as usual, in the Names of these two *Consuls*. *Zonaras* pretends, upon the Credit of some Annalists, that these two chief Magistrates of the Republick, who had hitherto had the Name of *Prætors*, began to have the Title of *Consuls* given them, *Quia libertati plebis consuluerunt*; i. e. because they had provided for the Interests and Liberty of the *Plebeians*, in Prejudice to the Authority of the *Patricians*, by having decreed, that whatever should be concluded on in the *Comitia by Tribes*, should have the Force of a Law, to all Citizens, without Distinction; *Ut quod Tributim plebs jussisset, Populum teneret*. *Livy B. 8.*

¹⁴⁰ If this Law was in force at first, it is clear, it afterwards sunk into Disuse; since, according to *Livy B. 3. Publius Philo* renewed it, long after it had been made. *Pliny* affirms, it was again promulged, a third Time, by *Hortensius*, the *Dictator*.

enacted.

enacted likewise, ¹⁴¹ *That for the future, no Magistrates, of any kind, should be created, and invested, with a supreme Authority, without Appeal; and that it should be lawful for any one to kill the Authors of such an Innovation.* By this Means, the People were freed from all Fear of being any more deprived of the Privilege of having recourse to their Defenders. The *Tribunes* were likewise replaced in their former Security. The *Consuls*, in favour to them, renewed the antient Ceremonies, whereby their Persons were put under the Safeguard of Religion. It was declared anew, ¹⁴² *That if any Person whatsoever made any Attempt upon their Persons, his Head* ¹⁴³ *should be devoted to Jupiter, and his Effects sold, and appropriated to the Temple of Ceres* ¹⁴⁴, Bacchus, and Proserpine. And to these Regulations, was added ¹⁴⁵ another, viz. *That the Decrees of the Senate should, for the future, be carried to the Ædiles, and kept in the Temple of Ceres.* This was done for fear the succeeding *Consuls* should suppress these Decrees, as usual, and render them useless. Indeed the Senate did not juridically oppose these *Consular* Laws, because, after all, no one Senator was personally injured; but they plainly saw how much they tended to the Diminution of their Credit and Authority.

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LUCIUS VALERIUS POTI-
RUS, and M.
HORATIUS
BARBATUS,
Consuls.

§. XIX. THE *Tribunes* now finding that they were more firmly established than ever, thought themselves in a Condition to undertake, whatever a just Revenge could dictate. They therefore made it their Business to humble the proud *Decemviri*, whom it was now a popular Thing to prosecute. But to attack them all together, would be to engage against their united Strength. And if they began with the weakest, it would not indeed be difficult to ruin them; but that would have been only destroying the most innocent: And the Publick, tired with the Executions of the first, would perhaps have pitied the most guilty, and the most powerful. They therefore attacked them all, one after another: But the Head of the *Decemviri* first felt their Fury. *Virginus*, with the Consent of his Collegues, cited *Appius* to appear, and undertook to be his Accuser himself. *Appius* appeared on the Day appointed; but the Company which came with him to guard him, served only to increase the Hatred of the Publick to him. The young *Patricians* who followed him, put the People in Mind of the Violences, of which he had made them the Instruments, during his *Decemvirate*. And on the other Hand, the sight of *Virginus*, who appeared ready to accuse him, made all Hearts bleed afresh, by renewing the Remembrance of *Appius's* Crime, and the Fate of the unfortunate *Virginia*. The Accuser spoke thus. *It were*

Dion. Hal.
B. 11. p. 726.

Livy B. 3.
c. 56.

¹⁴¹ This Law, which related only to new-created Magistrates, did not at all lessen the Power of *Dictators*. They, as has been observed, had Authority to determine Causes without Appeal. But for fear of their abusing their Authority, the Republick had taken proper Precautions against it. It is well known, the Time of this supreme Magistracy was limited to six Months, after which his Power expired. Besides, the *Dictator* himself was, in several Cases, subject to the Will of the Senate, and the People. For Instance, he could not make use of the Money in the publick Treasury, without first having the Consent of the *Conscript Fathers*, or the *Comitia*.

¹⁴³ That is, the Criminal should be from that time looked upon as a Victim devoted to *Jupiter*. A Man, who was loaded with this Curse, could no otherwise save his Life, than by Flight. Any Citizen might kill him with Impunity.

¹⁴⁴ This Temple, which *Aulus Posthumus* had made a Vow to build, during the War between the *Romans* and *Latins*, was dedicated by the *Consul Cassius*, in the Year 260. According to *Dion. Hal. B. 6.* and *Tacitus, Annal. 2.* it stood at the Extremity of the *Great Circus*. We have already spoken of the three Divinities, to whom it was consecrated, in the seventh Book.

¹⁴⁵ The *Consuls* added two other Laws to those already mentioned. The first ran thus: *Ut Senatus-consulta in ædem Cereris, ad Ædiles Plebis deferrentur.* That is, that for the future the Decrees of the Senate should be carried to the Temple of *Ceres*; and committed to the Care of the *Plebeian Ædiles*. By the second Law, those Citizens who should hinder the Election of the *Tribunes of the People*, or Attempt to abolish their Office, are condemned to lose their Heads, after having been first beaten with Rods. *Qui Plebem sine Tribunis reliquisset, quique Magistratum, sine provocatione creasset, tergo ac capite puniretur.* The same Punishment is likewise inflicted by this second Law, upon any, who should contribute to the Creation of a supreme Magistrate, from whom there was no Appeal. Whence we may judge, how jealous the People of *Rome* were, of their Rights and Liberties.

¹⁴² *Livy* states this Law in these Words: *Ut qui Tribuni plebis, Aedilibus, Judicibus, Decemviris, novisset, ejus caput Jovi sacrum esset, familia ad ædem Cereris, Liberi, Liberæque venum iret.* The *Decemviri* here mentioned, are the *Tribunes of the People*, who were so called, because their College consisted of ten Persons. No Man surely will say, that the Design of the Law-givers was to provide for the Safety of those *Decemviri*, whose Tyranny had made them the Detestation of the People. The first Clause therefore of this Law, *Ut qui Tribuni plebis, &c.* provides for the Safety of the *Tribunes of the People*, in general; and the latter Clause, points them out in a more particular manner, by the Name of *Decemviri*. The Word *Aedilibus*, signified the *Plebeian Ædiles*, who were a sort of Servants, or Assistants to the *Tribunes*. The Term *Judicibus* was then used, according to *Festus*, only to signify Magistrates, and such as had some Authority in the Republick.

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needless to spend much Time in exposing known Villanies. What could I add, to give the People a stronger Conviction of them? You your selves, Romans, have been already so fully convinced of Appius's Oppressions, and infamous Actions, that you have thought your selves obliged to revenge them by Arms. Your military Proceedings against him, are irrefragable Proofs of his Guilt. Let us therefore prevent his committing a new Crime, by not suffering him to shew his Insolence in his Justification. Appius, I would willingly overlook the numerous Acts of Injustice, by which you have blackened your Character, for these two Years. I shall confine my Accusation to one particular only, which is this. Is it not true, that contrary to Law, you refused a young Woman, who was in Possession of her Liberty, the Right of enjoying it, upon her giving Security? Name your own Judge, who shall determine it. Or, if not, I order you to be laid in Irons, and thrown into a Dungeon. The miserable Appius had neither the People, nor the Tribunes on his side. To whom then could he have Recourse? For the Senate did not judge of capital Cases. As he therefore named no Judge, the Officer of the Tribunes immediately seized his Person. At length he cried out, *I appeal*. This was the only Word he spoke, in order to recover his Liberty. Silence was made. Every Body was surprized, that this Expression should drop from a Man, who had a little before refused all Liberty of Appeal to Virginia. And the People said one to another, *The Gods never neglect to punish the Guilty*. Sooner or later they execute signal Vengeance. Would any one have thought, that the Tyrant who had absolutely forbidden all Appeals, should ever be forced to appeal himself? Or that the Oppressor of the People should be obliged to implore the Favour of the People? He who denied others the Enjoyment of their Liberty, now stands in need of that right of Appeal, by which we defend our selves from being cast into Prison! But these Discourses among the People were interrupted by Appius's Harangue. He enumerated the Services his Ancestors had done the Republick. He spoke of the Zeal he himself had shewn for the publick Good, in abdicating the Consulship, in order to apply himself wholly to the Laws of the Twelve Tables. He demanded, as a Roman Citizen, the common Right of defending himself. *I am not so suspicious*, added he, *either of my own Cause, or your Prejudices, but that I have still some Dependence on the Goodness and Justice of my fellow-Citizens*. If the Tribunes resolve to condemn me to Prison, without being heard, I appeal to themselves. Will they do the very same thing to me, which they disapprove in me? If they think they have a Power to deprive me of the right of Appealing, which they accuse me of having taken from others, I cite them to appear before the People. I claim the Benefit of the Laws, which the Tribunes, and Consuls, have just made, in favour of Appeals. If a Claudius be refused this Privilege, what Citizen has Reason to expect it? You will see, Romans, by the Proceedings against me, whether the Laws of the new Government are solid and lasting, or whether they are vain Scraps, fruitless, and ineffectual. Virginius answered Appius's Discourse, in this manner. No; such a Monster as you, is not worthy to partake of the common Benefits of Society, or enjoy the Protection the Laws give all other Citizens. Cast your Eyes, Romans, cast your Eyes upon this Tribunal, which the infamous Decemvir made a Sanction for all sorts of Villanies. There his Cruelty sported with the Lives of Citizens, without Controul. There his Lictors, or rather, his Executioners, who attended him, employed their Rods, and Axes, in spilling Blood. There he authorized Rapines, and Extortions, by his Decrees. And lastly, there it was, that Innocence and Chastity, reduced to Slavery, and delivered up into the Hands of the Ministers of his Lust, had very like to have fallen a Sacrifice to the Violence of his Passions. My Hand alone preserved them. From thence, Virginia's Corps was carried away, covered all over with Blood. From thence her Uncle, and her destined Husband, had like to have been carried away by Appius's Commands, in order to be dragged to a Dungeon. From his Tribunal an unhappy Father was forced to fly, more to avoid the Wrath of a disappointed Debauchee, than of a Judge, who endeavoured to revenge a Murder. Remember the Prison Appius built, and called it, The Habitation of the Romans. Shall he be suffered to escape it, by giving Security? He! Who would take none, when it was to preserve my Daughter from Slavery!

THIS Sentence of the Tribune was not disapproved by the People. On the contrary, they thought the Recovery of their Liberty the more perfect, the greater Punishment they saw inflicted, on a Villain, who was formerly so much exalted in the Republick. Appius was therefore carried to the Prison he himself had built. But a

definitive

definitive Sentence was not hastily passed upon him. The *Tribune* deferred it to the third Market-Day. And in this Interval, old *Claudius*, who had retired to *Regillum*, returned to *Rome*. The Danger of his Nephew, though he condemned his Conduct, had brought him back thither. As he was a good Republican, and a Man of Honour, so he was a good Relation. He therefore appeared in a negligent Dress, in the *Forum*, caressed the People, and made his Supplications to them. Spare, said he, the *Claudian Family* the Shame, of seeing a Man of their Blood judged worthy of Bonds, and Imprisonment; of seeing a Decemvir, whose Image will hereafter have a Place of Distinction, among those of the *Claudii*, ranked with Thieves and Robbers. You have restored us our Liberty, by your Courage; reunite all Hearts, by your Clemency. Thus spake this venerable old Man; but the People were more strongly affected with Compassion for *Virginia*, and her Father, than with Concern for the Dishonour of the *Claudian Family*. Three *Tribunes of the People*, who were all personally concerned to revenge the Death of the young *Virginia*, had greater Weight than old *Claudius*. So that he lost all Hopes of being able to deliver his Nephew out of Prison. As for *Appius*, he is said to have killed himself, to avoid the Shame of being convicted of his Crimes, and punished for them. But other Historians say, that the *Tribunes* were suspected of putting him to Death.

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Liv. B. 3.
c. 58.

§. XX. NEXT to *Appius's* Prosecution, followed that of *Oppius*, one of his Collegues. *Numitorius* the *Tribune* was his Accuser. The Hatred this *Decemvir* had drawn upon himself, fell little short, of what the chief of his Brethren in the *Decemvirate* had incurred. But nevertheless, he was not really so blameable for any personal Mis-carriages, as for not preventing the Violences of *Appius*. The Witness who appeared against him, was a Man who had served in the Army twenty seven Years, and had been eight Times honoured with military Rewards. He shewed the People the Prizes he had gained, and at the same time uncovered his Shoulders, on which appeared the Marks of the Rods with which he had been whipped, by *Oppius's* Orders. And he offered to undergo the same Treatment again, if his Judge could give any just Reasons for his Cruelty. This was enough of it self, to cause *Oppius* likewise to be imprisoned. And whether with Grief, or outward Violence, he died the same Day. So that, the rest of the *Decemviri* being terrified with these Imprisonments, which were followed by such sudden Deaths, banished themselves; and did not wait for such fatal Citations. None now remained to be punished, but *Claudius* the Client, who had been suborned, to serve the Pleasures, and carry on the Iniquity, of his Patron. He was condemned as his Master had been; but *Virginus* had Pity on a Wretch, who had not offended, but at the Instigation of a powerful Magistrate, and a Sovereign, from whom he could have no Appeal. Upon his confessing, that he had been suborned, his Life was saved, and he was only banished. *Tibur* was the Place, whither he was sent to end his Days. The Estates of the Dead and Banished were confiscated, and given to the *Quæstors*, to be applied to the Service of the Publick. The *Tribunes of the People*, might have carried their Enquiries farther, against the Accomplices of the *Decemviri*; but *Duilius*, who was one of them, remonstrated, that it was very improper to pursue Vengeance any longer, that it would reflect Dishonour on themselves, and be disagreeable to the *Consuls*; and lastly, that the Senate began now to look on the *Tribunes*, as so many *Decemviri*. A general Amnesty was therefore granted to all, for what was past; and now the State was wholly taken up with making Preparations for the War. Then the *Latins*, and the *Hernici*, those ancient Allies of the Republick, sent to compliment her, on the Reconciliation of the Senate and People. In Memory of this happy Event, they caused a Crown of Gold to be hung up in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, which was indeed of no great Weight but was a Monument of the Religion of the two Nations, and of their zealous Attachment to *Rome*.

Livy B. 3.
c. 58.

§. XXI. DURING these Broils among the *Romans*, the *Æqui* had joined the *Volsci*, in order to give the finishing Stroke to the divided Republick. And on an other side, it was attacked by the *Sabines*. These Enemies had taken Advantage of the last Defection of the *Roman* Troops, and all the Frontiers were plundered. It was therefore necessary to raise two Armies, under the Command of *Horatius* and *Valerius*, to repair the Losses sustained by the Management of the *Decemviri*. Accordingly, the Senate ordered Levies to be raised, and the People consented to it. And their Affection for these favourite *Consuls* was so great, that none refused

Dion. Hal.
B. 11. p. 727.
Liv. B. 3.
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to enlist themselves. Even the Citizens, who were no longer obliged to bear Arms, shewed their Zeal, and offered to march as Volunteers. The Troops were divided between the *Consuls*, who chose their Stations by Lot. The *Æqui* fell to *Valerius*, and the *Sabines* to *Horatius*. But there was another Work to finish at Home, before they took the Field. Two of the *Twelve Tables* had not yet been received in due Form. It was necessary that they should be accepted in a legal manner, as the ten first had been, in *Comitia by Centuries*. And accordingly, they received a proper Sanction, were written in Brasses, and fixed up in the *Forum*; from whence they afterwards diffused their Influence, through all Nations in the World.

THE *Roman* Armies now wanted nothing to render them invincible. The Soldiers loved their Generals. One Army marched against the *Æqui*, under the Command of *Valerius*, the other against the *Sabines*, under that of *Horatius*. *Valerius* had to do with two confederate Nations, one of which alone, had, the last Year, gained the Advantage over five *Legions*, commanded by five *Decemviri*. This Success had made the *Æqui* formidable. But the *Roman* General acted a very wise Part. When he came near the *Algidus*, which had been the Scene of Action between the *Romans* and the *Æqui*, he spun out Time, and was not very hasty to come to a Battel. He even affected to be afraid. He not only encamped on an Eminence, which was difficult of Access, but likewise guarded his Camp with a deep Ditch, and raised very high Ramparts round it. This Camp was separated from that of the *Æqui*, by a Plain of about a thousand Paces over. Here, the latter often drew up in Battalia, and bid Defiance to the Enemy. But *Valerius* let them spend their Fire and Reproaches, in vain; he kept close in his Camp, and was unconcerned at their Insults. This made the *Æqui* very impatient; and they loved Plunder. Being therefore tired with offering Battel to no Purpose, they divided their numerous Army into several Bodies, which marched out to a great Distance from their Camp, in order to go and pillage the Territories of the *Latins*, and the *Hernici*. They had so much Contempt for the *Romans*, that they left but a small Number of Troops to guard their Entrenchments. *Valerius* seized this Opportunity, to return the Insults he had received from the Confederates, and terrify them. He in his Turn appeared in the Plain, and bid Defiance to the Enemy, who continued close in their Camp. *Valerius* saw, by the Posture of the *Æqui*, that they were exceeding weak. The next Day then, he advanced with his Troops, as if he designed to invest their Camp. But neither did this Motion draw the Confederates to a Battel. They contented themselves with sending Couriers to their Troops, which were dispersed in several Places, to call them back to the Camp. And now *Valerius* was as active, and expeditious, as he before had been slow and dilatory. He made all the Haste he could to attack the Camp. This brought the Confederates to a Resolution, to draw out their Troops into the Plain. Their present Danger, and the Shame of seeing a victorious Army obliged to shelter it self behind its Entrenchments, forced them to it. The Soldiers in the Army of the *Æqui*, and *Volsci*, asked Leave of their Generals to fight, and obtained it. Whilst they were preparing to engage, they saw several small Bodies of their Men return to them from different Quarters, but without any Order or Regularity in their March: And this Reinforcement increased their Confidence. They opened their Camp-Gates, and gradually marched out their Troops, in order to advance to the Posts, to which they were ordered. But *Valerius* did not give them all Leave to reach the Plain, and draw up, before he attacked them. The *Romans* began, with terrible Outcries, their Attack upon those *Cohorts*, which were in Motion, gave them a severe Shock, and made them lose Ground. However, this first Blow was not decisive. The Confederates rallied, and returned to the Charge. The *Consul*, on his Part, exhorted his *Romans* to fight, not as before, for the Glory of an *Appius*, and his *Decemviri*, but for the Honour of *Valerius*. From the Battalions he flew to the Squadrons, and encouraged his Horse to ride over their Enemies, who were already disordered, by the Valour of the Infantry. And his Exhortations were not vain. The *Roman* Horse rode full stretch, and fell upon the *Cohorts* of the *Æqui*, broke through them, and penetrated to the hindermost Ranks of their Army. So that the Rout of the Enemy left a great deal of Ground open. The next Care of the *Roman* Horse was to hinder the Fugitives from returning to their Camp. Surrounding therefore the Entrenchments of the *Æqui*, they kept off their scattered straggling Men from entering them; whilst *Valerius's*

Dion. Hal.
B. 11. Ibid.
Livy B. 3.
Ibid.

Livy B. 3.
Ibid.

Foot endeavoured to force them. The *Consul* took the Camp by Assault, made a great Slaughter in it, and gained a greater Booty. And now, being Master of the Country, he entered the Territory of the *Æqui*, and amply retaliated upon them the Ravages they had committed, in the Dominions of the Allies of *Rome*.

§. XXII. THE News of so complete a Victory, both filled the City with Joy, and raised an Emulation in the Army, which *Horatius* led against the *Sabines*. This General had hitherto observed the same Conduct, as his Colleague had done. Without hazarding his Troops in a general Action, he had contented himself, with employing them, in making Incursions into the Enemy's Country, and in slight Skirmishes. This he thought a proper Way to season them, and prepare them for Victory. He knew the *Sabine* General was both a great Commander, and a brave Soldier. Besides, the Advantages of the last Year, had raised the Courage of the Enemy. They had almost forgotten the Ascendant which the *Romans* had always gained over them. These Considerations suspended *Horatius's* Activity for some time. He continued to restrain the Ardor of his Troops, notwithstanding the Reproaches of the *Sabines*, for his losing Time, in little Skirmishes, which determined nothing. Till at length, his *Romans* shewed the same Eagerness for fighting, as their Fathers of old had done. They pressed the *Consul* to lead them to Glory. *What a Shame will it be to us*, said they, *to have Valerius's Army reproach us, at our return to Rome, with having continued inactive.* *Horatius* heard these innocent Murmurs in his Camp with Pleasure. He assembled his Army, and addressed himself to it, in these Words. *You are not ignorant of the Victory Valerius has gained over the Æqui. This is the Fruit of our having recovered our Liberty, and of the Unanimity which reigns between me and my Colleague. He has done nothing without consulting me, and I will undertake nothing without first having his Advice, and yours. We may either prolong the Campaign, or put a speedy end to it by a Battel. If you chose the former, I know how to protect you from Danger. If you prefer the latter, it is your Valour must determine the Event. If your future Courage be answerable to your past Obedience, I will answer for the Success. If therefore you choose to come to a decisive Battel, make such a Shout, as would terrify the Enemy, if you were going to attack them.* Upon this the Soldiers gave a terrible Shout, both to shew their Valour, and the Part they chose to act. And the General, upon these auspicious Assurances of Success, promised his Troops to lead them to the Battel the next Day. The remaining part of the present Day was spent in preparing for a general Action.

THE *Sabines*, who perceived that the *Romans* had at last resolved to come to a decisive Battel, were not in an Humour to decline it. The *Sabine* General understood his Business. He drew out no more of his Men in Lines, than the *Romans* had in theirs; the rest he kept as a *Corps-de-reserve*, of about two thousand Men, which were to fall on the left Wing of the *Romans*, in the Heat of the Action. This done, a Charge was sounded. And the two Armies were engaged, when all on a sudden, the left Wing of the *Romans* found it self surrounded. But the Courage of the *Roman* Cavalry preserved it. They instantly dismounted, to the Number of six hundred Men, came and placed themselves in the first Rank of the Infantry, and made Head against the Enemy. They first shared the Dangers of the Wing attacked, and afterwards raised an Emulation in the *Roman* Infantry. These were ashamed to be outdone, in an Engagement on Foot, by the Horse, who were now distinguishing themselves in a Way of fighting, to which they were not accustomed. The Foot therefore wheeled about, and came round into the first Line; where they fought with so much Fury, that they made the opposite Wing give Way. Upon this, the Horse retired through the Files of their own Army, and mounted again. Which was no sooner done, but they instantly flew to the other Wing of the *Roman* Army, and there gave out, that their left Wing was victorious, though the Enemy's main Strength lay against it. Upon this, they immediately rushed furiously upon the *Sabine* Battalions, and put them into Disorder. All the Honour of the Day may indeed be justly ascribed to the Cavalry. As for the *Consul*, he was every where. *Horatius* encouraged the cowardly, commended the brave, and communicated his own Valour, from *Legion* to *Legion*. By his Orders the whole *Roman* Army gave a fresh Shout. This was, as it were, the Signal of a second Battel. And now every Thing gives way to the Valour of these brave Men. The *Sabines* retire, disperse, and leave their Camp to the Mercy of the Conqueror. The *Romans* not only found

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Year of the Spoils in it, which had been taken from the Allies, as in the Camp of the *R O M E* *Æqui*; but the Booty likewise which had been carried away from their own Territories. These therefore they seized, and upon their return Home restored to every Man his own, after having first deducted the Part, which was appropriated to the Gods.

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§. XXIII. THE whole Republick shared the Benefits of the two Victories of *Horatius* and *Valerius*. And the Senate was the only part of it, which seemed cool in their Acknowledgments to the Generals. It was usual, after gaining any signal Advantage, for the Senate to order all the Temples in *Rome* to be opened, and publick Prayers to be offered up to the Gods, under the Name of *Supplications*. But now the Senate confounded the two Victories together, and decreed but one ¹⁴⁶ *Supplication* to be made for both. Their Intent in it was to shew, that they were displeased with the two *Consuls*, whose Popularity gave them Umbrage; and they complained of the Laws made by them, in favour of the *Tribunes*. The Anger of the *Patricians* induced them to give this Mortification to *Valerius*, and his Collegue: But the People found Means to make them Amends. They prolonged the Ceremony of their own Authority, and continued it all the next Day. And it was observed, that the second *Supplication*, which was not commanded by the Senate, was celebrated with more Solemnity, than the first. It is also certain, that the two Conquerors had deserved a Triumph. But nevertheless, they were apprehensive that they should be thwarted in it by the Senate. However, as they acted unanimously, they agreed between themselves, to lead back their Troops at the same time, and to come to *Rome*, on the same Day, immediately after one another. So that the two Armies joined, and came and encamped in the *Campus Martius*. There the *Consuls* assembled the Senate, to determine what Honours were to be paid them at their Reception. And upon the *Conscript Fathers* scrupling to make any Decrees in the midst of an Army, and in the Camp, they had Leave to assemble in the *Flaminian* ¹⁴⁷ Field. There the Generals presented their Petitions for a Triumph. Nothing now hindered the Freedom of their Debates. So that every Senator spoke with the Warmth with which his Sentiments inspired him. Old *Claudius* distinguished himself among the Adversaries of the *Consuls*. He was piqued at *Appius's* Condemnation, and the little Regard which had been shewn to his Interposition. *Horatius* and *Valerius*, said he, have effaced the Merit of their Arms, by their Irregularities in their civil Administration. They are good Generals, but bad Commonwealth's-men. What terrible Laws have they made to the Prejudice of the Nobility! In what Instance have they not been partial, to the *Tribunes* of the People! Have not they given up the unfortunate *Decemviri*, whose Lives ought to have been secured, by the Faith of mutual Covenants, to their Vengeance? Was not Impunity promised to both Parties, and the Promise ratified by the Blood of Victims? Wretched *Appius*! What a tragical End wast thou brought to, by the Cruelty of the *Tribunes*, supported by the Authority of the *Consuls*! Were thy Days shortened by thine own Hands, or by their Orders? How unjust were the Proceedings, in the Sentence that was passed upon thee! No; the People would never have condemned thee, if they had seen thee in the *Curia*, attended by thy Relations, urging the Nobleness of thy Extraction, and making use of the Tears of thy Family, to soften them! A joint Cabal of the *Tribunes* and *Consuls*, deprived thee of thy Life!

Dion. Hal.
B. 11. p. 728.

¹⁴⁶ A signal Victory was usually followed by *Supplications*. It belonged to the Senate, to decree these Festivals, at the Request of the Victors, who sent Letters to the Senate, for this Purpose. These Letters and the *Lictors*, whose Business it was to present them, were adorned with Branches of Laurel. By this Symbol, the General shewed the Prosperity of his Arms. During these *Supplications*, all the Temples were opened. The People who crowded into them, there returned solemn Thanks to the Gods, in the Name of the Conqueror. Prayers and Vows were made to them, in Gratitude for the Advantages gained over the Enemies of the Republick. The Blood of the Victims which were offered up, flowed in all Parts. The Courts of Justice were shut up. And in short, these Days were spent in Feasting and Rejoicings. These *Supplications*, which were appointed in Honour to

the General, were likewise often followed by Triumphs. The Time allotted for this Solemnity was longer, or shorter, according to the Importance of the Victory. We shall in the Sequel of this History find *Supplications* appointed for fifty and sixty Days. They never were appointed in civil Wars, in which the greater the Victory, the greater was the Loss the Republick sustained. This we learn from *Cicero Philip. 14. Numquam in civili bello Supplicatio decreta est. Decretum dico? ne victoris quidem litteris postulata est.* But it was also usual to appoint these Solemnities, in Times of publick Danger, and general Calamities.

¹⁴⁷ It is uncertain, whether this Field, or these Meadows, for so *Livy* calls them, had then the Name of *Flaminian*. All that is certain, is, that a *Circus* was afterwards built here, which bore this Name, as we shall observe hereafter.

THUS spake the old Man, and they all cried out, *It is a Favour to the Consuls, if we don't order them to be punished; but as for a Triumph, they are unworthy of it.* Valerius and Horatius were both present at the passing this ignominious Decree. And it is easy to judge of their Anger at it, by the Pride, which their Birth and Merit naturally inspired. They therefore took a new Way, to obtain the Honour, which was due to them. They assembled the People, and made them Judges of their Pretensions. The Tribunes backed their Request, and Icilius spoke to it. It was the Interest of the People, to assume to themselves a right of decreeing Triumphs, which had hitherto belonged to the Senate, in Conjunction with the People. It was therefore to no Purpose for old Claudius to cry out, *That the Consuls were going rather to triumph for the Defeat of the Senate, than for that of the Enemy: That they would owe that Honour more to the Gratitude of a Tribune, than their own Merit: That this was usurping a Power, which belonged to the Senate, and had been enjoyed by them, ever since the Time of the Kings; That the Tribunes ought to be content with their own Privileges, without usurping new ones; and That some sort of Equality, at least, should be preserved between their Power, and that of the Patricians.* None of these Things made any manner of Impression on the People. Icilius declared in their Name, that the Consuls should enjoy the Honours of a Triumph. So that Claudius's Opposition gained the People a new Privilege. It was the Fate of his Family to do so. They more than once increased the Prerogatives of the People by too obstinate an Adherence to the Patricians; and raised the Power of the Plebeians, by opposing it. Horatius and Valerius actually enjoyed a Triumph, and it was thought so legal a one, that we see it has found a Place in the *Fasti Capitolini*.

§. XXIV. THE little that remained of the Consuls Year, was spent in canvassing for the ensuing Elections. The Tribunes had formed a Design of continuing themselves in their Offices for the next Year. And the better to conceal their Ambition, they were very willing that the Consuls also should continue in theirs. Their Pretence for it was, that new Consuls, and new Tribunes, would not support the Laws of the Twelve Tables, with the same Steadiness, as Plebeian Magistrates, and popular Patricians, who lived in perfect Union among themselves. *What a Misfortune would it be, said they, if civil Broils should again disturb the Repose of the Republick, through any Misunderstanding between the Heads of the People and the Nobility!* But all the Tribunes did not enter into this ambitious Scheme. M. Duilius was a Man of Probity, who preferred the Interests of the Publick, before aggrandizing himself. He foresaw what Hatred such an illegal Attempt would bring upon his Collegues. He therefore undertook to defeat their Designs: And he found an Opportunity of doing it effectually. It fell to his Lot, to preside in the *Comitia by Tribes*, in which the Tribunes were to be elected. And he there declared, that the Votes, which should be given for continuing his Collegues in the Tribuneship, should go for nothing. The other Tribunes opposed this, and pretended, that the People ought to be left at their Liberty, to give their Suffrages for the old Tribunes, if they thought fit. Duilius could find no other Expedient to remove these Difficulties, but to bring the Consuls into the *Comitia*, and to ask them, whether they would accept of the Consulship again, in case the People should incline to continue them in it. Their Answer to the People was, that they should be far from imitating the odious Usurpation of the *Decemviri*! And their Moderation was much commended. The *Comitia* were held, and the People gave their Suffrages. It had been customary, for some time, to elect ten Tribunes, but they could now agree upon no more than five. The old Tribunes therefore readily took hold of this Pretence, and contended, that they were thereby authorized to continue in their Offices. It signified nothing to represent to them, that there would then be fifteen Tribunes of the People, which was an Innovation, contrary to the Laws and Customs of Rome. They persisted: And Duilius was forced to propose this Law to the People. *When, in the Comitia, which choose the Tribunes of the People, the Electors cannot agree upon ten, let those who shall be agreed upon, be empowered to choose the rest of their Collegues; and let those whom they shall pitch upon be esteemed Tribunes, as much as if they had been chosen by the People.* This Law was accepted, and the Tribunes of the former Year were disappointed. The five Tribunes elected by the People, nominated five others to make their College complete. And in so doing, they followed the wise Advice of Duilius, who persuaded them, to choose two of the Tribunes out of the Patricians. The Proposal was accepted, and put in Execution

Year of
R O M E
CCCIV.

LUGIUS VALERIUS POTITUS, and M. HORATIUS BARBATUS, Consuls.

Livy B. 3.
c. 63.

Year of
R O M E
CCCIV.
LUCIUS VA-
LERIUS POTI-
TUS, and M.
HORATIUS
BARBATUS,
Consuls.

cution to the Satisfaction of the Senate. Two Men, who formerly signalized themselves in the *Consulship*, in the Year of Rome 300, did not think it beneath them now, to become *Tribunes of the People*. These were ¹⁴⁸ *Sp. Tarpeius*, and *A. Æternius*, who were the first *Patricians*, who had Seats in a College of *Plebeians*. This was a wise Expedient, to maintain a good Understanding between the People and the Nobility, if it had been but lasting. However, *Duilius* had the Satisfaction of seeing, that at his going out of his Office, he was equally beloved, both by Senate and People.

THE Election of the *Consuls* soon followed that of the *Tribunes*, and passed without any Disturbance: Thus ended a Year very fruitful in Events, which had like to have overturned the Republick. Rome had seen her Glory eclipsed for above a whole Year together. But a sudden Revolution restored her to her antient Splendor. And those Clouds themselves, which obscured her, gave Birth to those ¹⁴⁹ *Twelve Tables*, which determined the Rights of private Families, and whose Authority equally reached to all Orders of the State; so that these venerable Laws became, for the future, a strong Barrier, against the irregular Passions of Men.

¹⁴⁸ The *Tribuneship* was now conferred on *Patricians* for the first Time, notwithstanding that the Nobility had been excluded from it, by the sacred Law, made at the Time of the first Separation. *Spurius Tarpeius*, and *Aulus Æternius*, who were now elected *Tribunes of the People*, had been chosen *Consuls* in the Year of Rome, 299.

¹⁴⁹ In order to give a just Idea of the Wisdom and Usefulness of the Roman Laws, of the *Twelve Tables*, we need only repeat the very great Encomium Tully gives us, in his first Book, *de Oratore*. After having divided this antient Body of Roman Laws, into three Parts, one of which related to the rights of Religion, another to those of the Publick, and the third to those of private Persons; he makes *Crassus* give this Account of these Laws. The *Twelve Tables*, says he, give us a lively Image of Antiquity. By them we learn what Terms were then in use. We are here taught the Manners and Customs of our Ancestors. Would you apply your self particularly to the Study of the Civil Law? Have Recourse then to the *Twelve Tables*, and you will there find every thing that relates to the Government of Cities, and the publick Welfare. Or would you rather apply your self to a more sublime Philosophy? I will then venture to affirm, that you must draw all the Principles of it, and all the Ground-work of your Disputations from the *Twelve Tables*. Though all Mankind were of a different Opinion, I cannot conceal mine. I think the little Book of the *Twelve Tables* of the Roman Laws, preferable to all the Libraries of Philosophers,

both on Account of their Authority, and the Numberless Advantages they have procured the Republick. The Latin runs thus, *Plurima, inquit Crassus, est in duodecim Tabulis, antiquitatis effigies, quod & verborum prisca vetustas cognoscitur, & actionum genera quadam majorum consuetudinem, vitamque declarant. Sive quis civilem scientiam contempletur, totam hanc, bene descriptis omnibus civitatis utilitatibus, ac partibus, duodecim Tabulis contineri videbitis; sive quem ista præpotens, & gloriosa philosophia delectat, dicam audacius, hosce habet fontes omnium disputationum suarum, qui jure civili & legibus continentur.*—Fremant omnes licet, dicam quod sentio, Bibliothecas mehercule omnium Philosophorum, unus mihi videtur duodecim Tabularum libellus, si quis Legum fontes, & capita viderit, & autoritatis pondere, & utilitatis ubertate, superare. Let any Man but examine into the Foundations of these Laws, and attentively consider the wise Maxims which they contain; and he will not be able to refuse them the Commendations they deserve. How many and great Pleasures flow from a Knowledge of these precious Monuments of Antiquity! What an Extent of Knowledge do they open to us! The Love of Virtue, and an Abhorrence of Vice, good Men rewarded, the bad punished with Ignominy, or a severer Treatment, and good Order established in the State; these are the Fruits which have been reaped from this Body of Law, which is so agreeable to the purest Dictates of right Reason.



T H E

Roman History.

B O O K · XI ·

§. I. **W**HEN *Valerius* and *Horatius*¹ went out of their *Consulship*, they left the Republick in a perfect Tranquillity. The *Sabines* and the *Volsci* were weakened. The Interests of the Publick, and of private Persons, were secured by wise Laws. And in short, the Abolition of the *Decemvirate*, left the *Consuls* and *Tribunes of the People*, in the quiet Exercise of their respective Offices. In these happy Circumstances, *Lart. Herminius*², and *T. Virginus*, took Possession of the *Consulship*. The Peace which then reigned in *Rome*, did not produce any great Events; but the Years which furnished the fewest Materials for an History, were not the least advantageous to the People. The *Romans* had now Time to breathe, after so many Wars, and domestick Broils. And the new *Consuls* contributed not a little to the publick Happiness. They held the Ballance even between the *Patricians* and the *Plebeians*; but their Moderation was not imitated by all the *Tribunes of the People*. In their College, in which were now, contrary to Custom, two *Patricians*, there was a Man of a factious and turbulent Spirit. His Name was *L. Trebonius*. His Restlessness, while in his Office, and his warm Hatred against the *Patricians*, got him the Surname of *Mutinous*. He could not bear to see this Way opened for admitting the *Patricians* to the *Tribuneship*; and he complained that he had been deceived by them, and betrayed by his Collegues, when the two *Patricians* were added to the five *Tribunes*, chosen by the People. Besides, he feared, that if *Duilius's* Law continued in force, and the *Tribunes* were suffered to fill up their Number themselves, whenever it was incomplete, this likewise might give the *Patricians* Admittance among them. In order therefore to calm his Fears, and satisfy his Hatred, he drew up a Law, which he had Credit enough to get accepted by the People. It was this: *Whenever the Tribunes of the People are to be chosen, let not him, who presides, put an end to the Comitia, till the Tribes have chosen ten.* By this means the *Tribunes* lost all Hopes of filling up their College occasionally; and it was not at all probable, that the People, when assembled by *Tribes*, would ever admit any of the *Patricians* into the *Tribuneship*. This Law, which was called the

Year of
R O M E
CCCV.

LART. HER-
MINIUS, and
T. VIRGINI-
US, Consuls.

Livy B. 3.
c. 65.

Livy, Ibid.

¹ The *Consulship* of *Valerius* and *Horatius* ended with the 304th Year of *Rome*. So that they held their Offices only for that Space of Time, which was wanting to complete the third Year of the *Decemviri*. Now it is certain, according to the Chronology of the *Fasti Capitolini*, that the *Decemviri* were created in the Year 302. from the first Year of *Romulus's* Reign. *Entropius* and *Livy* likewise place the beginning of this new Office, in the same Year. And we have already seen, that *Appius Claudius* so well understood the Art of making an Interest among the People, that he got the greatest part of them, to give him their Suffrages, and elect him *Decemvir* a second time, for the Year 303. The Year 304. put an end to *Appius's* second *Decemvirate*. Nevertheless he and his Collegues maintained themselves in the Possession of the tyrannical Power they exercised in *Rome*, in Contempt of the Authority of the People and Senate. Till at length, being grown odious for their Violences, and especially by the

wicked Attempts and Oppressions of *Appius*, they were forced to abdicate, before this Year was ended; and the remaining part of it was filled up with the *Consulship* of *Valerius* and *Horatius*. So that they did not govern long after the *Ides of May*, at which the second Year of the *Decemvirate* expired, as we are told by *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* This Computation does also agree with the time of the Triumph of *Lucius Valerius*, and *Marcus Horatius*, which the *Fasti Capitolini* place on the *Ides of August*, in this Year. For this Reason, *Rufus*, *Festus*, *Tacitus*, and *Cassiodorus* in his *Chronology*, will not allow the Administration of the *Decemviri* to have continued longer than two whole Years.

² This is the first time they were made *Consuls*. The *Fasti Capitolini* give *Lar. Herminius* the Surname of *Aquilinus*, and *Virginus* the two Surnames of *Tricostus* and *Calimontanus*. The Names of these two *Consuls* are very differently written by some old Annalists.

Year of *Trebonian*, was the only remarkable Event which happened in the *Consulship* of *Herminius* and *Virginus*.

ROM E
CCCVI.
M. GEGANI-
US, and C.
JULIUS, Con-
suls.
Livy B. 3.
c. 65.

§. II. THE following *Consulate* was a Year of little less Tranquillity than the last. *M. Geganius* ³ and *C. Julius* had been chosen *Consuls* by the *Centuries*. The *Patrician* Youth indeed grew a little licentious, and committed some Disorders, during their Administration, as in the Time of the *Decemviri*. The common People suffered by it, and the *Tribunes* began to stir them up against the Nobility, by their Harangues. But it was no difficult Matter for the *Consuls* to allay this rising Tempest. They pacified the *Tribunes*, without condescending to any thing below the Dignity of *Patricians*. As for the People they quieted them, by threatening to raise Levies among them, and lead them out against the *Æqui* and *Volsi*. Experience had taught the *Romans*, that the true Secret of keeping their Enemies quiet Abroad, was to live peaceably at Home. And in order therefore to avert the Hostilities of their Neighbours, they suppressed the civil Disturbances which began to be raised in the City. How could it possibly be otherwise, than that some Divisions must sometimes arise between the Nobility and People? The Inferiority of the latter, was continually furnishing the former with fresh Occasions of shewing their Pride, and exercising Oppressions. In the last Months of the *Tribunes*, when little was to be feared from their expiring Power, the young Nobility grew very insolent to the common People. This made the *Plebeians* complain of the Weakness of their Protectors, and regret the want of the brave *Icilius* in the *Tribuneship*. And indeed the Defenders of the People, for two Years last past, had been very indolent and unactive. It is true the Senate did neither authorize, nor even approve of, the Licentiousness of the *Patrician* Youth; but after all, since in the present State of Affairs, some Contests between these opposite Bodies were in a manner absolutely inevitable, they were better pleased to see their Party have the Advantage. And indeed, the whole Difficulty of the *Roman* Government may be said to have consisted in maintaining a perfect *Æquilibrium* between two Powers, which were pretty near equal, and each of which was incessantly endeavouring to incline the Ballance to its own side. The Faction, which was for making it self formidable one Day, found Reason to be afraid of the other the next; and in revenging one Injury received, a much greater was very often committed. These Inconveniencies of a Republican Government, long retarded the rising Grandeur of *Rome*; and these were the Reasons, why those Men who were invincible in War, had yet made but small Additions to their Dominions.

Year of
ROM E
CCCVII.
T. QUINCTI-
US CAPITOLINUS, and
AGRIPPA FURIUS, Con-
suls.
Livy B. 3.
c. 66.

§. III. THE succeeding *Consuls* found by Experience how difficult it was to maintain the Interests of both the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, in such a manner, as to prevent all Dissentions between them: Notwithstanding that, one of the wisest and most experienced Men in *Rome*, *T. Quinctius*, surnamed *Capitolinus*, was placed at the Head of the Republick. He had been three Times *Consul* already, and was now raised to that Dignity ⁴ a fourth Time. His Colleague was one *Agrippa* ⁵ *Furius*, a Man of a mild Disposition, and very ready to submit to the superior Understanding of his Colleague. When they entered upon their Office, they found the People strongly exasperated against the Nobility. This made them foresee, that *Rome* would soon be at War with her Neighbours. And indeed the young Nobility had been guilty of new and provoking Insults, both to the People and their *Tribunes*. The latter therefore had had Recourse to their usual Arms, which were to cite the Factious to appear before the People, and have them tried by the *Curia*. But these Trials were scarce ever brought about, without great Disturbances. In the present ones, the Accusers were interrupted in their Harangues, the People driven from the *Comitia* by Violence, and the Dispute often came to Blows. The News of these domestick Broils could not be concealed from the *Æqui* and *Volsi*, two Nations who were always upon the Watch, to seize all Opportunities of disturbing the Peace

³ According to the *Fasti Capitolini*, *Marcus Geganius* was surnamed *Macerinus*. They give *Caius Julius* the Surname of *Iulus*. *Diodorus Siculus* mistakes, when he gives the latter the *Prænomén* of *Lucius*, as *Cassiodorus* does, when he calls him *Claudius Julius*.

⁴ According to the *Greek Tables*, *Titus Quinctius* *Barbatus Capitolinus*, was made *Consul* the third

Time, in the Year 307. But this is an Error which ought to be corrected, by the *Fasti Capitolini*.

⁵ This is the first time *Agrippa Furius* was *Consul*, to whom the *Fasti Capitolini* give the Surname of *Fusus*. In some Copies of *Livy*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Cassiodorus*, we find him called *Aulus* instead of *Agrippa*.

of *Rome*, and plundering the Territories of her Allies. So that the Heads of these People assembled their Troops, and informed them That the *Romans* were divided among themselves, and would find it as difficult as formerly to raise an Army, and bring it into the Field; That Licentiousness enervated the Vigour of their Discipline; That the Publick Welfare was neglected, and the Interests of private Factions promoted; and That now was the Time to attack these ⁶ *Wolves* in their Dens, whilst they were blinded with their domestick Jealousies. And this was enough to prevail on those Men to take up Arms, who were greedy of Spoil, and lived more by pillaging than by Labour. They entered the Lands of the *Latins*, and laid them waste; and from thence advanced into the *Roman* Territory, on the side of the ⁷ *Esquilin* Gate. They exercised their Robberies, without Opposition, and erected Trophies of them, wherever they came. And at last they retired near *Corbio*, in a Body, in order to enjoy their Booty at Home. These Insults therefore of the *Æqui* upon the *Romans*, and the new IncurSIONs the latter had Reason to expect, made the brave Consul desirous of punishing the Aggressors. But he had no Hopes of bringing the *Tribunes* to consent to the raising an Army. However, he assembled the People, and addressed himself to them thus.

WITH what Difficulty have I at length resolved to appear before you, and conquer the Shame which dissuades me from it? Shall it be said, that the *Æqui* and the *Volsci* had the Impudence to appear at our Gates, in the fourth Consulship of *Quinctius*? What? Have two Nations, who are inferior in Number to our Allies the *Hernici*, had the Insolence to come and insult us under our very Walls? Could I have foreseen this, Death or Banishment should have preserved me from an ignominious Office. What? Would *Rome* have been taken, in my Consulship, if the Enemy had had Courage enough to attack it? Upon whom does this shocking Affront fall? Upon the Consuls, or upon you? If we have brought it upon our selves, depose us, *Romans*. *Quinctius* and *Agrippa* are then very unworthy to govern you. And if the Outrage was intended against You, shew what insulted Valour can do. But what am I saying? The Aggressors do not despise your Courage. But they think themselves able to turn our Divisions to their own Advantage. Discord is a Poison, which infects all Orders of Men in the Republick. The Great set no Bounds to their Ambition; I grant it: but don't the People likewise carry the Love of Liberty to an Excess? What have they to ask or desire, which is not granted them? They desired *Tribunes*; we established them. They wanted *Decemviri*, we consented that they should have them. They insisted upon their being removed, and we removed them. They desired to have the *Tribunes* revived; and we suffered it. They desired that some of the *Plebeians* might be chosen Consuls, and we chose them. In short, we have from Time to Time suffered them to enjoy the Protection of their own Magistrates, and a right of Appeal to their Tribunal, and have subjected our selves to the Laws they have made in their own *Comitia*. All the Prerogatives of the Nobility are come to nothing. And is not their Humiliation enough to put an end to our Broils? Though conquered, they give less Disturbance to the State, than their Conquerors. Ought you not to think it enough to become formidable to us? Must your Hatred likewise promote the Interests of the Enemy? We have seen the *Æqui* pass the *Hill Esquilius*, without Controul. No, *Romans*, no; you are never willing to take up Arms but against us. At least, when your Fury against the *Patricians* shall be satisfied, when you have filled your Prisons with them; then arm, march into the Field, or if you dare not do that, at least mount your Ramparts. Take a View from thence of your desolate Fields, your plundered Farms, and your burning Houses. Is it the State only that will suffer by these Ravages? Will not your own Families have a Share in the common Desolation? How melancholy will be the News you will soon hear from your Estates?

⁶ This Name was often given to the *Roman* Citizens by the Enemies of *Rome*; either in Allusion to the fabulous Story of the *Wolf*, which suckled *Romulus*, or to the warlike Genius of those Conquerors of the World, who imitated the Rapaciousness of that insatiable Animal.

⁷ The *Porta Esquilina*, or *Esquilin* Gate, took its Name from the *Hill Esquilinus*. It led towards *Præneste* and *Gabii*. Whether it was different from the Gate called the *Gabian* Gate, is uncertain. But it is at least past doubt, that they were very near one another, if, as some Authors contend, they were

two different Gates. *Donatus* thinks the *Esquilin* Gate, was the same with that which is now called *The Gate of St. Lawrence*. But others are of Opinion, that the Situation of the latter agrees better with the Position of the *Navian* Gate, or *The Gate of Tiber*. *Nardini* pretends that the *Esquilin* Gate, stood between the present Gates of *St. Lawrence*, and *Maggiore*. But this is not easy to determine. The many Names the Antients gave to the same Gate, have caused great Confusion and Perplexity among learned Men.

Year of
R O M E
CCCVII.

T. QUINCTI-
US CAPITO-
LINUS, and
AGRIPPA FU-
RIUS, Con-
suls.

Livy B. 3.
c. 67.

Year of
R O M E
CCCVII.

T. QUINCTI-
US CAPITO-
LINUS, and
AGRIPPA FU-
RIUS, Consuls.

Who is there in the City, that can repair your Losses? your Tribunes? They indeed know how to amuse you with their Discourses, to invent new Laws, and to use the Nobility ill. But what do you carry Home from these seditious Harangues, more than personal Enmities, and ill-will against the Government? It was not so, when your Fathers, who readily obeyed the Commands of the Consuls, chose rather to fight in the open Field, than to engage in civil Broils, in Assemblies summoned by Tribunes. They brought Home to their Wives and Children, the Spoils of the conquered Enemy, and the Honours of Victory. But how are the Times changed! The Aequi have taken the Place of the Romans. They gather in our Harvests, before our Eyes. How many Wars shall we bring upon our selves, by endeavouring to avoid one? Shall not we be forced to fight, at least when our Walls are attacked? Shall we then fall foul upon one another like Women, in shameful Disputes, and idle Quarrels? I am sensible, many People will not like this Discourse. But I had rather save you from Ruin, than please you. I am not one of those Flatterers, who will neither let you take up Arms, nor live in Peace. They find their Account in our Dissentions, and turn our Misfortunes to their own Advantage. If you can disengage your selves from their Chains, reassume the old Roman Spirit. Follow me into the Field, and I dare promise my self I shall, in a little Time, carry the same Desolation, and Terror, into their Territories, and Cities, which the Aequi have spread among us.

NEVER was the Harangue of any Tribune more favourably received by the People, than that of this venerable Consul. The Roman Youth no longer thought of refusing to enroll themselves. They were now wholly bent upon a War. And their Ardor was increased at the Sight of the many unhappy People, who had been plundered and abused in the Country, and fled to the City for Refuge. Nay, they fancied the Misfortune to be greater than it appeared to be. So that the Senate was assembled, to order the Levies to be made. The Senators ran out into great Encomiums on the Consul. They said his Harangue was worthy of the Post he filled, worthy of the Dignity of the old Consuls, and of the Honours he had often received, and oftener merited. They compared the Weakness of some Magistrates, with *Quinctius's* Steadiness, and the Pride of others, with his Moderation and Condescension. They exhorted him and his Colleague, to undertake to maintain the Interests of their Country, and then addressed themselves to the *Tribunes of the People*. These were entreated to give their Consent, that the Enemy should be driven far from *Rome*, and to engage the People to obey the Consuls. In short, the Decree was passed unanimously; and the Consuls lost no Time in completing the Levies. They commanded all the young Men, who were obliged to serve, to appear the next Morning in the *Campus Martius*. They declared, that they had not then time to enquire into the Excuses of those who absented themselves, but that, when the Troops returned, all who should have been absent without lawful Cause, should be treated as Deserters. So that all, without Exception, came to the Place appointed for inlisting the People. Every Cohort then consisted of six Centuries, and every Legion of ten Cohorts. Each Cohort had Leave to choose their own Centurions; and besides them two Senators were placed at the Head of it, as supernumerary Officers. And these Bodies were completed with such Expedition, that in four Hours time, the Troops were ready to fetch the *Roman Eagles*, from the *Questors Houses*, to whose Care they were committed; and the new Army had Time enough the same Day, to go and encamp ten Miles from *Rome*. The next Day it came in sight of the Enemy near ⁸ *Corbio*, and the third Day gave Battel. The Generals did not think it proper to suffer the Ardor of those Troops to cool, whose Shame for their past Revolts, and Desires of making Amends for them, pushed them on to Conquest.

§. IV. BOTH the Consuls were then in their Army. And their Power must be allowed to have been equal; but *Agrippa* did his Colleague Justice, and complimented him with the Command. On the other Hand, *Quinctius* made *Agrippa* share his Glory, though he suffered him to have no part of the Care and Trouble. He com-

⁸ The City of *Corbio*, which the Abridger of *Stephens* calls *Kopvian* stood in the Territory of the *Aequi*, on the Frontiers of *Latium*, near the Road which led to *Laticum*, on the side of *Prænestæ*, fifteen Miles East of *Rome*. *Ortelius* places it, where *Carbognano* now stands; but he

did not consider that the Situation of *Corbio*, does not agree with that of *Carbognano*, which is in *Tuscany*. *Holstenius* guesses it was near the Place, where *Rocca priora* now stands. And *Kircher* places the Ruins of this antient City, in the Neighbourhood of *Monfortino*.

municated all his Designs to him, and made him partake of the Honour, both of the Advice and the Execution. *Quinctius* posted himself in the right Wing, and *Agrippa* in the left. *Posthumius*, one of the Lieutenant-Generals, commanded the main Body of the Army; and *Sulpitius*, who was the other, had the Command of the Horse. The Consul *Quinctius* was to engage with the *Volsci*, who were posted in the left Wing of the confederate Army; and who fought with all the Valour, for which their Nation was remarkable, and with all the Art, their Experience had taught them, in the many Battels they had fought with the *Romans*. Nevertheless, the latter regained here also, the former Superiority they had acquired over them. But after all, *Sulpitius* was the Man who determined the Victory in favour of the *Romans*. He broke into the main Body of the Enemy's Infantry with his Horse, made his Way through them, and put them into Disorder. And he had Time enough to return to his Post, before the Enemy rallied. But he chose rather to attack the Confederates in the Rear, or force them to make two Fronts, and fight both Ways. He would have broken a second Time through the main Body of the Enemy's Foot, which he was harraising in the Rear; and the united Cavalry of the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, could not have suspended his Victory long: But he went from Squadron to Squadron, and commanded his Horse to fall upon those of the Enemy, which were surrounded on all sides, and had no Communication with the rest of their Army. *You must not be content*, said he, *with putting them to flight, you must spare neither Man nor Horse*. And *Sulpitius* was obeyed. The *Roman* Knights presented their Darts against the Enemy's Horses, dismounted their Riders, and made a great Slaughter of them. The Defeat of the Cavalry of the Confederates, was followed with the entire Rout of their Army. Their main Body, which had been already broken by the *Roman* Horse, first gave Way. Then the *Volsci* were defeated by the Wing *Quinctius* commanded. The News *Sulpitius* sent him of his Victory, had encreased the Courage of his *Romans*. But *Agrippa* had not the same Advantage over the *Æqui* in the left Wing. He therefore, being in full Heat of Youth, and animated with a laudable Emulation, snatched some of his Ensigns out of the Hands of those who carried them, and threw them into the midst of the Enemy's Squadrons. And then, the Efforts of his *Romans* to recover them, made the Advantages of his left Wing, equal to those of the right, and rendered the Victory complete. Before *Agrippa* had done fighting, *Quinctius* advanced towards the Enemy's Camp, to besiege it. But he deferred beginning the Attack of it, till his Collegue came up to him. He was afraid, that if he had not stayed for them, the *Legions* of the left Wing, would have lost their just Share of the Spoil, he was going to take. *Agrippa* came up, and the Camp was taken, almost without fighting. The Spoils which had been carried off from the *Roman* Territories were reserved for the proper Owners, and the rest given up as Plunder to the Soldiers. So memorable an Action did well deserve to be rewarded with the Honours of a Triumph. But perhaps the Modesty of the two Conquerors made them neglect a Distinction, of which they were thought worthy. Or perhaps, they wisely chose, not to confirm the People in the Right they had usurped, of decreeing Triumphs. Or else their Love of Peace, might perhaps make them unwilling to lead the Senate and *Tribunes* into a second Quarrel. Or else lastly, they might perhaps think they could not deserve those Honours, by one single Victory, which the Senate had refused to grant *Valerius* and *Horatius*, after two. But be the Cause what it will, they had no Triumph.

§. V. THE Year of *Quinctius's* Consulship, would have been very glorious, *Livy B. 3: c. 71.* without any Allay, if the People had not dishonoured it a little by an unjust Judgment. There had been a Quarrel between the Inhabitants of *Ardea*, and those of *Aricia*, about a considerable Tract of Ground, to which each of the Cities pretended a right. They had often disputed it with their Swords, and being tired with fighting so many Battles, both Parties at length agreed to make the People of *Rome* Arbitrators in the Case. And the *Tribes* had been already assembled by order of the Magistrates, both Parties had already pleaded their Causes with Zeal; the Witnesses had been heard, and the People were just entering into the Voting-Place to determine the

⁹ The City of *Aricia* was situated, according to *Strabo B. 5.* in *Latium*, behind the Hill of *Alba*, in the *Appian Way*. It was the same Place which is

now called *Aricia*. See what we have said of this City, *B. 5.* We have spoken of the City of *Ardea*, *B. 2. p. 65. Note 50.*

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AGRIPPA FUL-
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Affair, by their Suffrages; when a Roman, named *Scaptius*, stood up. He was of the lowest of the People, but venerable for his Age. He was eighty three Years old. He cried out with a strong Voice, *That if the Consuls and Republick thought fit, he would draw the Arbitrators out of an Error, which might be prejudicial to the Romans.* The Consuls at first had no Regard to what he said, and though he cried out, *That the Interests of their Country were betrayed*, they ordered him to be driven away, as a troublesome Fellow. But the Tribunes always favoured the common People, and it was a Rule with them, to defend them in all their Interests and Privileges, though of never so little Moment. The People therefore desiring that *Scaptius* might be heard, the Tribunes gave him leave to speak.

I HAVE known the District in Question, said he, *about forty seven Years. I bore Arms in it when* ¹⁰ *Corioli was taken. I was not then very young. I had already made* ¹¹ *twenty Campaigns. I am not at all surprized, that the Romans should forget that those Lands belong to them. But for my own part, I remember it perfectly well. The Lands in dispute belonged to Corioli, and by a right of Conquest, they now belong to the Romans. Is it possible, that the Inhabitants of Ardea and Aricia should contend about a Territory, which neither of them ever claimed, as long as Corioli was in being? And what seems still more strange, is, that they should choose to have their Claims determined by the Suffrages of the Romans. But this is a Snare which they lay for us. Their Design is to put it out of our Power to demand it again, when once it has been given them by a Decree of the People. I am an old Man*, added he, *and free from Passions; but I could not tamely see a Territory I helped to conquer, taken from the Conquerors, without speaking. For my part, I am not of Opinion, that a false Modesty should hinder the Romans from seizing it. The Consuls could not hear the old Man's Deposition without Concern, or see the Approbation it met with among the People, without Uneasiness. With the Help of some old Senators, who dispersed themselves among the Multitude, they endeavoured to persuade the Tribes, That it was a dangerous Thing to give the Allies of Rome so bad an Example, as that of an Usurpation which would appear to be unjust: That the Reputation of Fidelity and Integrity was of more Consequence to them, than every thing else: That to lose it, would be to alienate the Minds of the neighbouring Nations from them, to give their Enemies an Opportunity to triumph over them, and to give great Uneasiness to the Cities in Alliance with them: That the Dishonour of so partial a Judgment, would not fall upon Scaptius alone, but upon the whole Republick: That the Romans would be thought a covetous People, who took Advantage of the Deference others had for their Judgment, and turned it to their own Interest: That no Instance had ever been known, of an Arbitrator's appropriating to himself, what was submitted to his Judgment; and lastly, That Scaptius himself would not act in this manner, in any private Arbitration, wherein he was a Referee. It could not be denied, but the right of the Romans had a pretty good Foundation. It was not easy to conceive, how a Territory, which lay near Corioli, and was divided from Ardea and Aricia, by the Lands of Lanuvium, should belong to either of the Cities which claimed it. But after all, the Romans were obliged in Honour not to take Advantage of a Reference made to their Judgment, and not to deprive the Claimants of an Estate, in order to give it to themselves. However, the People proceeded to determine the Affair by Vote, and three Urns were placed to hold their Ballots. One for those, which favoured the Inhabitants of Aricia, another for those who were for the Ardeates, and lastly, the third for those which favoured the Pretensions of Rome. The last was immediately filled, and the Romans, who were Judges in their own Cause, invaded a Territory which they adjudged to themselves. But we shall soon see the Republick repent of their Covetousness, and generously restore, what they had appropriated to themselves in such an infamous manner. This shameful Act did not indeed Dishonour Quinctius, but it cast a Blemish on the Roman Probity in general.*

Dion. Hal.
B. 11. p. 729.

¹⁰ The City of *Corioli* was taken by *Marcus Coriolanus*, in the Year of Rome 260, when *Spurius Cassius Viscellinus*, and *Posthumus Cominius Aruncus* were Consuls a second Time. Now, from the Year 260, to the Year 307, in which we now are, is just forty seven Years.

¹¹ That is to say, *Scaptius* was then thirty seven

Years old, supposing he began to bear Arms at the Age of seventeen, according to the Roman Laws. Now if we add thirty seven to forty seven, this will make at least eighty three Years complete; which is the Age *Scaptius* makes himself to be of, in *Livy B. 3.*

§. VI. THE *Plebeians* had long gained such an Ascendant over the Nobility, that the *Tribunes of the People* thought themselves in a Condition to pursue their Pretensions as far as it was possible to carry them. They were jealous of the *Questors* being chosen solely by the *Consuls*. The *Questorship* was originally a Branch of the *Consul's* Office, and had been dismembered from it. The Great *Poplicola* discharged himself of the Care of the publick Money, and committed it to two *Patricians* of his own choosing; and in the same manner, the *Consuls* in being, had ever since nominated the *Questors* for their Year. This was an Office of Importance and Honour in the Republick. It was sometimes given to such as had been *Consuls*; but more frequently to *Patricians* who aspired to the *Consulship*. The Jurisdiction of the *Questors*, in all Matters relating to the Finances, was absolute, and their Sentences were without Appeal. They were always of the Party of the *Consuls*, who had nominated them. To deprive the *Consuls* therefore of their right of Nomination to the *Questorship*, was to lessen the Power and Prerogatives of their Office. Nevertheless the *Tribunes of the People* attempted it, and gained their Point. This was the first Time the People ever took upon them to name the *Questors*. But they still kept to the ancient Custom, of nominating none but *Patricians*. They did not introduce *Plebeians* into all the superior Magistracies, till afterwards.

§. VII. THE Encroachments of the People on the Rights of the Nobility were carried to a much greater height, under the succeeding *Consuls*. *M. Genucius Augurinus*, and *C. Curtius Philo*, were no sooner in their Office, but the new *Tribunes* formed new Designs. *Appius* had made a Law in the second Year of the *Decemviri*, and placed it among those of the *Twelve Tables*, which declared it unlawful for *Patrician and Plebeian Families to intermarry*. And the People who then confirmed it, in Compliance with the Necessity of the Times, now thought it in their Power to ease themselves of it. There was a very warm and active Man at the Head of the *Tribunes*. His Name was *Canuleius*.

He therefore drew up a Petition to be presented to the People, in which he desired the *Appian Law* might be abolished. The *Tribune* gave an odious Turn to the Reasons upon which a Law, so much for the Honour of the Nobility, was founded. The *Patricians*, said he, *think their Blood dishonoured, if mixed with that of the most*

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11 It may not be improper to add here, to what we have already said of the *Questorship*, B. 5. as much as may be necessary to give the Reader a just Idea of this Office. And we shall therefore observe, 1. That it was very antient. *Ulpian B. 1. Dig. Tit. 13.* quotes the Authority of *Junius Gracchanus* in Proof of this, who in his seventh Book of Magistracies, carries the Origin of the *Questors* up as high as *Romulus* and *Numa*. He pretends that even in that Time, there were *Questors*, the Election of whom was in the People. But the Offices of these *Questors* were indeed very different from the Employments of those *Questors of Rome*, who are said by the Historians to have been first instituted by the Great *Poplicola*, and who were called *Questores Urbani*. The Authority of the former was confined to the taking Cognizance of, and judging criminal Causes, in extraordinary Cases. Such were the *Questors* which were appointed in the Reign of *Tullus Hostilius*, to enquire into the Murder committed by young *Horatius*, on his Sister. 2. That the principal Business of the *Questors* we are here speaking of, was to take care of the publick Money, to receive the constant Revenues of the Republick, and the casual ones that arose from Confiscations, and from the Spoils taken from the Enemy. When the Army returned from any War, the military Ensigns were put into their Hands, to be by them deposited in the Temple of *Saturn*. 3. That the Choice of these Magistrates was, according to *Tacitus*, and *Livy Annal. B. 11.* wholly in the *Consuls*, who named two every Year. But *Plutarch*, *Zonaras*, and several other Authors say, that *Valerius Poplicola* gave the People a Right to choose the *Questors*. And besides that there is better Authority for the latter Opinion than the former, it seems most agreeable to *Poplicola's*

Character. Every Body knows what Lengths he went, in favour of the People. When he was *Consul*, he made no other use of his Power, but to favour them, by continually granting them new Privileges. And it is therefore very probable, that *Poplicola* waved his Right of nominating the *Questors*, in favour of the Commons, or *Curia* assembled; and that the succeeding *Consuls*, who had less Regard for the People, recovered a Right from them, which they had never enjoyed, but by a voluntary Concession. Indeed, this Right could originally belong to none but the *Consuls*, since the *Questorship* was only a dismembered part of their Office, as we have observed above. 4. That the People assumed the Right of nominating two *Questors*, towards the Close of this Year 307; which *Questors* were *Lucius Valerius Pontius*, and *Marcus Aemilius Mamercinus*. The latter was the same Man who was afterwards a *Military Tribune*, and three Times *Dictator*. The former was Great Grandson to the Great *Poplicola*, and the Son of that *Lucius Potitus* who declared against the Tyranny of *Spurius Cassius*. And 5^{thly}, That the *Patricians* maintained themselves in the Possession of the *Questorship*, till the Year 344, as we shall observe hereafter.

12 *Varro* speaks of these two *Consuls*, B. 4. *de Ling. Lat.* on Occasion of the *Lake Curtius*, which he says took its Name from the *Consul Curtius*, as we have already observed, p. 40. Note 142. In several Copies of *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, this *Consul* is called *Publius*, and *Caius*, *Curiatius*. In some Editions of *Dion. Hal.* he is called *C. Quinctius*, and his Collegue *Marcus Minucius*; but it is a Mistake. *Diodorus* gives *Curtius* the *Prænomēn* of *Agrippa*.

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illustrious Plebeians. Nay, *Canuleius* ventured to go farther. He added to this a second Request, which was of much greater Consequence than the former. He proposed, that the *Plebeians* should have Leave to stand for the *Consulship*, and be made capable of being nominated to it, if the *Comitia* thought fit. These two Claims highly provoked all the *Patrician* Party. One single *Tribune* indeed, did oppose the strange Demand of his Collegues, concerning the Advancement of the *Plebeians* to the *Consular* Dignity. But the Moderation of one was forced to give Way to the Ambition of the other nine. The Disputes which arose upon the two Articles of this Petition, had their usual Effect. They put the old Enemies of *Rome* in Motion again, and raised up new ones. The Detection of the *Ardeates*, who were offended at the Sentence the *Romans* had given against them, was followed by a Declaration of War on the part of the *Veientes*. And at the same time, the *Æqui* and *Volsci* prepared great Armies to come and fall upon the *Roman* Territory. They had indeed a reasonable Pretence for renewing their Hostilities. The Republick had then just fortified ¹³ *Verrugo*, a little Town of the *Volsci*, for a Barrier against their IncurSIONS. So that *Rome* had Enemies on both sides the *Tiber*; but the most formidable were those she cherished in her own Bosom. Upon the Report of all this bad News, the Nobility seemed to triumph. They even exaggerated the Misfortunes the Republick was threatened with, in Hopes that the Apprehensions of a War Abroad, would put a Stop to the immoderate Desires of the *Tribunes*. The Senators and their Party were even brought to wish, that the *Roman* Territory might be plundered, provided it would but avert the Storm, with which the *Tribunes* threatened them at Home. The *Conscript Fathers* passed a Decree for raising Troops, with all the Rigour the Law would admit of. The *Romans* had then a Custom, which both checked the growing Grandeur of the Republick, and favoured the Enterprizes of the *Tribunes*. Their Armies took no Oaths but to the *Consuls* for the Year; and when therefore they went out of their Offices, the Obligation of the Military Oaths ceased. Their Successors were forced to apply to the Senate for new Orders, to make new Levies, if there was Occasion for them, and to require new Military Oaths, whenever new Troops were raised. Indeed this did not hinder the *Roman Legions* from being continually filled with experienced Soldiers. Every *Roman*, of what Quality soever, was obliged to serve the Republick at least twenty Years, and to take the Field, whenever it fell to his Lot. But the *Tribunes of the People*, by means of the Rights they had given themselves, had it in their Power to oppose the Levies, though ordered to be made both by *Consul* and Senate. This was the great Defect of the Power of the *Patrician* Magistrates, and the Foundation of all the Encroachments the *Tribunes* so often made, upon the Authority of the Nobility.

WHEN *Genucius* and *Curtius* would have gone on with the Levies, the *Tribune Canuleius* protested against it, as unnecessary. *In vain*, said he, *do the Consuls attempt to draw our Citizens into the Field, in order to make them forget the Laws I have drawn up. There shall no Army be raised in Rome, till my Motion has been received.* These Oppositions raised a Commotion in the Senate. The Senators first tried gentle Methods. They intreated the *Tribunes* to suspend the Pursuit of their ambitious Pretensions, till Provision was first made against the common Danger. They urged, that *Canuleius* would be equally in a Condition to carry his Point, when the Troops returned, as now. But the *Tribunes* obstinately insisted, that no Body should be enrolled, till the Senate had passed a Decree, to authorize them to assemble the People, in order to determine whether the two Laws should be accepted. So that the Senate plainly foresaw, that if on the one Hand the two Articles passed, the Nobility would be utterly deprived of all Distinctions; and that if, on the other, the *Veientes* entered the *Roman* Territory one Way, and the *Æqui* and *Volsci* another, the Ruin of the State would soon be the Consequence. And much Time was spent in Debates. The *Consuls* spoke in the Senate, with the utmost Warmth and Vigour. They represented, That the extravagant Pretensions of the *Tribunes* were no longer

¹³ *Verrugo* was a little Town belonging to the *Volsci*, on the Borders of the Territories of the *Æqui*, between *Cora*, *Algidus*, and *Velitrae*. It is the same Place, which *Diodorus Siculus* calls *Ερρυόνα*. It seems to have been conquered by the *Romans*, who fortified it, to put it in a Condition of De-

fence against the Attacks of the Enemy. But neither *Livy* nor *Dion Hal.* say any thing of this Conquest. It is probable *Verrugo* was taken, at the same time as *Velitrae*, in the Year 259, or the Year following, when *Corioli* was taken from the *Volsci* by *Coriolanus*.

to be indured; That the preceding *Consuls* had both caused and increased the Infolence of their College, which had lost all Fear of Seditions, because it always found its Account in them; That there would therefore never be any end of them in *Rome*, since they always brought certain Advantages along with them; That these were the Means by which the People had gained so much Ground upon the Nobility, as to bring them all upon a Level with themselves; That to judge of the future by what was passed, the Government of *Rome* would soon be brought to a mere Democracy; That *Canuleius's* two Laws would introduce an infamous Mixture of the Blood of all the *Roman* Families, and soon put the right of *Auspices* into the Hands of the vilest of the People; That from the Intermarriages of the *Plebeians* and *Patricians*, would arise a Race of Monsters, consisting, as it were, of two different Natures; That if the *Consulship* fell into the Hands of the *Plebeians*, Men of factious Spirits would be made supreme Magistrates in the Republick, and such Men as *Canuleius* and *Ilcius* be placed at the Head of Affairs. Avert, O ye Gods, added they, so great Misfortunes! Let us die rather than suffer so shameful a Law to pass! If our Forefathers could have foreseen, how far the People would have carried their Desires, they would have suffered any thing, rather than have given them a Footing in the Government. Their having granted them Tribunes, is what has put it in their Power, to demand by Degrees, whatever their Ambition dictates. It is no longer possible for a Senate, and Tribunes of the People, to subsist together in *Rome*. One or t'other must be destroyed. The domestick Seditions of the Tribunes at Home, bring foreign Enemies upon us: And when there is a Necessity for going into a War, these very Men oppose the raising of Troops. Is not this betraying their Country, and being the Causes of its Ruin? What have you now to do, Tribunes, but to call in the Enemy, and put them in Possession of the Capitol? To deprive the Republick of its Forces, and to take away the Courage of the Consuls, is to give the *Æqui* Hopes, that by the Help of a *Canuleius* only, they shall be able to seize our Ramparts.

BUT though these Declamations inflamed the Senate, *Canuleius* encouraged the People not to abate any thing of their Pretensions. Is it then to no Purpose, said he, that it has been our Fate to be born in the same City with the *Patricians*, and to be joined with them in the same Republick? Nothing ever gave me a more just Sense of the Contempt our fellow-Citizens have for us, than the Opposition they make to the two Laws I propose. We only desire to be enabled to make those Alliances with them, which they don't refuse to enter into with Strangers. Besides, what is there new in requiring, that the Centuries shall choose whomsoever they please for Consuls? Is there any thing irregular, in leaving them entirely at their Liberty in giving their Suffrages? If not, why then this mighty Warmth in the Senate? One would imagine, by what has been said, that the whole Constitution is overturned, and every thing to be given up for lost. What? Is giving the Publick a Power, to advance any to the highest Dignities, whom it judges worthy of them, destroying it? These Men seem to think it as indecent to place a *Plebeian* in the Consulship, as it would be to raise a Slave to that Dignity. And won't the Nobility envy us likewise the Air we breathe, because we enjoy it in common with them? It is also pretended, that Religion excludes us from these Dignities, which none are to enjoy without favourable Auspices. One Reason given why we should not be admitted to the Consulship, is, that the ¹⁴ *Patricians* have the Superintendency over Things sacred, the Appointment of the Festivals, and the Direction of the Calendar. Vain Scruples! We shall soon come to understand these religious Rites, which are not

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¹⁴ According to *Numa's* Institution, the *Pontifex Maximus* had the Superintendency in Things sacred. He was the supreme Interpreter of Religion, and all Things relating to the Worship of the Gods, were under his Jurisdiction, as we have more than once observed. The *Vestals* were under his Inspection, and all other Persons, who were devoted to sacred Offices. Neither Dedications of Temples, or Altars, Vows made to any Divinity, Adoptions, Marriages, Testaments, nor, in a Word, any Acts which were to be performed with religious Ceremonies, were thought valid, any farther than they had been ratified by the *Pontifex Maximus*. He had likewise a Right to oppose the Execution of any Decrees of the Senate, or People, when not conformable to the Rules prescribed by

Religion. Nevertheless he could grant Dispensations, in case of need; and it was a part of his Office to appoint Festivals, and fix the Days on which they were to be celebrated, in the Calendar; but he was more especially obliged to preserve the Memory of all Events, in Registers, which were called, the *Great Annals*, because the History of the Republick was in them digested by Years. Now only *Patricians* were ever hitherto, or a great while after, quite down to the Year 454, admitted into this Office. Even the inferior *Pontifices* were then chosen out of the Nobility. So that the *Plebeians* were excluded from the Priesthood, and had no Share in sacred Offices. This was a Matter of Complaint, which *Canuleius* made use of, in favour of the Commons.

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a Secret even to the common People. But after all, what is the Consulship it self among us, but the Continuation of the Regal Dignity? And were all our Kings Patricians? Numa was not so much as a Roman. The first Tarquin, was not so much as of Italian Extraction. Servius Tullius, a Man of no Birth, his ¹⁵ Father no Body knows who, and his Mother a Slave, owed his Advancement to his Merit. Nay, which is more, have we absolutely excluded all Foreigners from the Consulship, since the Expulsion of the Kings? Sabinia gave Birth to the Claudii, and yet Rome suffered them to rise to the highest Posts in the Republick. Shall then Roman Citizens be treated with more Contempt than Sabines or Slaves? Is it impossible, that any Plebeian should have natural or acquired Endowments enough, to make him a wise Politician, or an able Soldier? And what more is necessary to deserve the Honour of the Consulship? Would such Heroes as Numa, Tarquin the First, and Servius, be refused Admittance into the highest Offices, if they were now alive? Yet what Comparison is there between these great Men, and the Patrician Decemviri? But it is a Novelty it seems. What! Ought nothing that is new to be allowed of in a Republick, which is it self but newly established? There was no Regularity observed in Rome in Affairs of Religion, in Romulus's Time, yet Numa introduced Order in them. There were no Numberings of the People before Servius, yet that wise King instituted the Census. No Consuls before the last Tarquin, yet Brutus established them. No Dictators before Larcus, yet it was found absolutely necessary to create them. The Tribuneship, Questorship, Edileship, and Decemvirate, are the Inventions of our Fathers in our own Time. And is it to be doubted, but that in length of Time, many new Things are introduced in all States? Is not even the Law it self, which forbids the Nobility and People to intermarry, a new Institution? Any Patrician might, if he pleased, disdain and refuse to unite his Blood with ours; but to make a Law about it, is in some sort to banish us, and exterminate us out of Civil Society. It is to make two Cities within the same Walls. And after all, what are these Nobles? The greatest part of them are only so by Courtesy. They are People gathered together out of Alba and Sabinia. And what need had they to refuse us their Daughters by Law? Could not they have kept them from Intermarrying with Plebeians, by their own private Authority? We should not have made any Attempts upon their Honour. Such Audaciousness as that, is the Privilege only of the Nobility. Why don't they likewise add another Clause to this Law, and forbid the Poor to marry with the Rich? They leave it to the Prudence of every Family, to take Care of its Interest in Marriages. And why are not they contented to leave it likewise to the Discretion of the Patricians, whether they will enter into improper Alliances or not? We shall not find Fault, if they don't. The Law only is what gives us Offence, and disgraces us. The Patricians have now nothing more to do, but to forbid us living in their Neighbourhood, and going to the Forum, which they frequent. Besides, what Disorders are to be apprehended from our mutual Alliances? A free-born Child takes the Rank of his Father. A Patrician will always be a Patrician, though born of a Plebeian Woman. Why then should a Law be made, which can have no other Effect but to raise Contentions? But to come to the Point. Was the Republick established only to give the Nobility an independent Authority over us? Have not the People here always had a right of drawing up, and passing Laws? Ought the Senate, upon the first Report of our designing to pass a Law, immediately to order Levies, under Pretence, whether true or false, that we are threatened with a War? Shall they always interrupt the Course of our Comitia, by ordering the People to go and encamp? Who can say, that the Preparations the Æqui and Veientes are making, will end in actual Hostilities? If they do, the Consuls will find us ready to march against them, if they restore us our antient Liberty of marrying the Daughters of Patricians, and leave the Comitia free, to raise Men of Merit to the Consulship, wherever they find them.

Dion. Hal.

B. 11. p. 731.

THIS Harangue of Canuleius made such an Impression upon the People, that they all bound themselves by the most solemn Oaths, not to obey any Orders about enrolling themselves, till the Senate had given Authority for calling an Assembly, in which the two Laws should be reported. This Obstinacy therefore affrighted the

¹⁵ What Livy makes Canuleius say here of Servius Tullius, does not agree with what the same Author says of him, B. 1. when he declares himself of their Opinion, who say, that this King was

the Son of Tullius and Ocrisia, who were both considerable for the Nobleness of their Extraction, as we have before observed, p. 134.

Consuls. They had private Meetings, to which they invited only the gravest and oldest Senators. In these *C. Claudius* gave his Opinion first. He was a Man, whose Temper inclined him to Severity, and whose Education led him to hate the *Plebeians*. He was of Opinion, That as to the *Consulship*, the Senate ought never to submit so far as to grant it to the People; That Endeavours might be used to persuade them to desist from their Law; but That, if the People continued inflexible, they themselves ought to have Recourse to the Sword, fall upon both *Tribunes* and People, without Distinction, and treat these Disturbers of the Peace of the Republick, as common Enemies. But *T. Quinctius*, who spoke next, had more Moderation. He shewed how much they ought to abhor shedding the Blood of their fellow-Citizens, and especially of the *Tribunes*, whose Persons were made sacred by Religion. And all embracing *Quinctius's* Opinion, *Claudius* himself came over to the Majority. He even proposed an Expedient, which was embraced. *Let us not shed any Blood*, said he, *neither let us ever suffer Plebeians to be Consuls. If we are forced at last, by the Clamours of the People, to yield any Thing in their Favour, let it be in another Way. Instead of suffering any Plebeian to be made Consul, let us make a Proposal to the Commons, to appoint for the next Year six or eight Military Tribunes, half Patricians, and half Plebeians, who shall jointly govern the Republick with Consular Authority. We must even use Art, if we will succeed in this Project, which we will never propose, till reduced to the last Extremity. When we are obliged to assemble the Senators, and ask their Advice, with relation to the Demands of the People, we will take Care, that Valerius and Horatius the two Senators, who are so much devoted to the People, shall speak first. They will carry Things to excess in favour of the Commons; and we will hear them with Patience. After this I will speak with my usual Fire, when I declaim against aggrandizing the People. Then Genucius, the Consul's Brother, shall deliver his Opinion, and by way of reconciling the two Parties, shall propose to have no more Consuls, but to create Military Tribunes, half Patricians, and half Plebeians. After which the Consul shall pronounce the Decree, agreeably to his Brother's Opinion. The People will be satisfied, Troops raised, and our Country relieved.* This wise Advice was followed with Applause.

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§. VIII. But how secretly soever the *Consuls* held their Assembly, the *Tribunes* were not ignorant of it: And they endeavoured to guard against the secret Resolutions which had been taken in it. In order to this, they also assembled together such Citizens as they thought most zealous and hot in the popular Party; not refusing Admittance to the *Consuls* themselves. Here they at first spoke set Speeches against the *Tribunes*, and the Pretensions of the People, as stated in the two Laws. And then the Speakers on both sides fell to Altercations. *Canuleius* asked the *Consuls*, *For what Reason they pretended to exclude the People from the Consulship?* The *Consuls* replied, *Because the Auspices are not for Plebeians.* At which Words the Citizens were full of Indignation. *Are we then*, cried they, *so much despised by the Gods, that they refuse us a Part in the Mysteries of Divination?* And then the Transports of the People were so violent, and the Obstinacy of the *Tribunes* supported with so much Fury, that the *Consuls* were terrified at it. Their only Refuge was to grant one Article without the other. They promised to come into that of mutual Marriages: And by this Compliance, thought to have satisfied all the Desires of the People. But Experience shewed them, that the more the People gained upon them, the more they demanded. In the mean time, the Levies became daily more and more necessary. Yet still the *Tribunes* persisted in opposing them, and the Senate was alarmed at it. At length it assembled to put an end to the Affair. The sitting began with ordering the *Tribunes* to explain their Pretensions, and to give their Reasons for the two Laws, they desired to have proposed to the People. But *Canuleius*, who was their Speaker, did not trouble himself to explain the Grounds and Reasons of his Petition, and expose them to the Examination and Censure of the *Conscript Fathers*. He took another Way to gain his Point. His whole Harangue turned upon the Irregularity of secret Assemblies, which were never before heard of in the Republick, and below the Dignity of the *Roman* People. He inveighed against the double-dealing of the *Consuls*, who after they had come to a Determination in private, proposed an Affair to the Deliberations of the *Fathers*, which had been already decided. And in the last Place, he complained, That *Valerius* and *Horatius*, those ancient *Consuls*, those Destroyers of the *Decemvirate*, had not been invited to the private Meeting. The

Livy B. 4.
c. 6.

Dion. Hal.
B. 11. p. 733a

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M. GENUCI-
US AUGURI-
NUS, and C.
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PHILO, Con-
suls.

Dion. Hal.
B. 11. p. 734.

Reason of this was, added he, that they were afraid these Men would be too equitable for them, their Desire being to sacrifice the Interests of the People, without hearing their Defenders. In answer to this, *Genucius* endeavoured to appease the *Tribunes*, and those Senators who had not been called to this irregular Council, which was held in a private House; by protesting, That they had nothing in view in it, but to prepare the Way for Concord; and That they did not invite *Valerius* and *Horatius*, for fear it might somewhat lessen their Interest in the People. And he concluded with saying, That as a Proof of the Esteem he had for their Advice, he invited them to speak out of their Turns, and before the most antient *Consular* Senators. *Valerius* therefore began. He justified the Conduct his Family had all along observed from the Time of the Great *Poplicola*. *It has always, said he, been attached to the People, because always full of that Republican Spirit, which it imbibed at the Foundation of the Republick. It has all along been sensible, that without a perfect Equality between the two Bodies of which the Republick consists, the weaker will always be oppressed by the more powerful. Now the present Design is to establish this Equality, by a reciprocal Communication of Blood, between the same fellow-Citizens, and by suffering all, indiscriminately, to enjoy the highest Dignities. By this Means there will be an equal Emulation of Virtue, in all the Members of the Society, and the Number of great Men will be increased, by the Multitude of Competitors for Glory, and by the Participation of the noblest Blood. Not that I am for assembling the Comitia immediately, and for examining the two Laws, and coming to a Determination about them, upon the Spot. The Levies are more wanted at present. The Enemy ought first to be conquered, before we hear even the just Desires of the People. But let us at least encourage them to contend for Victory, by giving a preliminary Form to the two Laws, that is, by giving the Tribunes Authority, either by a Decree, or at least by a written Promise, to propose them to the Assembly of the People, as soon as the Campaign is ended. This Opinion was embraced by Horatius, who spoke next. But many who approved of delaying the Conclusion of the Affair of the two Laws, disliked the making a Decree, or giving a Promise, that the People should be assembled in order to their being accepted. So that long and warm Debates arose upon it. Till at length the Consuls asked C. Claudius his Opinion, as had been agreed. And this furious Enemy of the People, laid open all the Innovations upon antient Customs, which the Commons had from Time to Time demanded, and concluded with declaring, that he was against suffering the two Laws to be proposed to the People in *Comitia*, either now or hereafter. But this Opinion was too harsh, and caused a greater Ferment than *Valerius's* had done. At last, T. *Genucius* the Consul's Brother played his Part. He compared the two Misfortunes to which the Republick was exposed together. *Either, said he, our domestick Dissentions will expose us defenceless to a foreign Enemy, or the superior Order of Men in the State, must part with some of their Prerogatives in favour of the inferior. One of these two Evils is inevitable. Wisdom therefore advises us to choose the least. Let us then rather share the Honours of the highest Posts with our fellow-Citizens, than give our Enemies the Glory and Advantage of being superior to us in the Field. Will not the People be satisfied, if the Consulship, which is now enjoyed by two Patricians, should be divided among six Persons, three chosen out of the Nobility, and three out of the People? We will call them Military Tribunes, and their Power shall be equal to that of the Consuls. And when their Year shall be expired, we will then consider whether it shall be most proper to continue the same kind of Government, or to return to that of Consuls.* This Advice of *Genucius* was approved of, both by Senate and *Tribunes*. The Decree for changing the *Consular* Government, was immediately passed; and this we may call the third Revolution in the Roman State. *Canuleius* instantly carried the News of it to the Assembly of the People: And in declaring it, highly commended the Moderation of the Senate. So that now there was an universal Joy in Rome.*

Livy B. 4.
c. 6.

No Time was lost in holding the *Comitia*, which were to choose these six new Governors of the Republick. And the *Plebeians* were extremely pressing and ambitious, to have a Share in these three new Dignities. The *Tribunes of the People*, and all those in general, who had by their Factions helped to sink the Nobility, aspired at this new sort of *Tribuneship*. The Desires of the *Plebeians* were warm, and their Solicitations earnest. Whilst none of the *Patricians* would vouchsafe to solicit Offices, which they were to enjoy in common with some of the People. The most sensible of the Nobility were forced to make use of all their Authority, to persuade some of their

their own Body, not to deliver up the Government entirely into the Hands of the *Plebeians*. At last some of them determined to make their Habits *whiter* than ordinary, to shew they were *Candidates* for the *Military Tribuneship*. How different are the same People from themselves, when spirited up by seditious Harangues, and when left to their own Reason! As soon as the Disturbances among the *Plebeians* were over, they did themselves Justice, and became sensible, that it did not belong to them to possess the highest Posts in the State. When they came to give their Suffrages, they would only promote three *Patricians* to be *Military Tribunes*, and refused to nominate any *Plebeians* to be joined with them. They seem to have been content with trying their Power, without exerting it to the uttermost. The whole Body of the People did themselves Honour, by a piece of Magnanimity, of which we can find few Instances even in single Persons. As for the foreign Enemies of the Republick, they seem to have been dispersed, as soon as Concord was re-established in *Rome*. For we don't find that in all the remaining part of the Year, there appeared any Necessity of raising Troops, or marching out and engaging these *Æqui, Volsci, Veientes* and *Ardeates*, from whom the *Romans* had apprehended so much Danger.

§. IX. THE next Year three *Patricians*¹⁶ were placed at the Head of the Republick with the Title of *Military Tribunes*, whose Names were *A. Sempronius*¹⁷, *L. Attilius*, and *T. Clælius*. They having been pitched upon for this Office, ever since the last Year, entered upon it with all the Solemnity and Authority of *Consuls*. But these Governors of the Republick did not continue long in an Office, which they had not accepted of, without Regret. They seem to have consented to their being dispossessed of it, under a vain Pretence of Religion. The third Month after their Establishment was not yet expired, when *C. Curtius*, one of the preceding *Consuls*, thought fit to start a Scruple to them, about their Installation. He was the Man, who had presided at their Election in the *Campus Martius*. Now this Solemnity ought to have been accompanied with certain religious Ceremonies, the want of any one of which was sufficient to make the Election void. The President, with the *Augurs*, ought to have consulted the flying of Birds, before he went out of *Rome*; and if the Omens were inauspicious, it was unlawful to go out in order to the Election. And farther; when the five *Classes*, of which the *Comitia by Centuries* consisted, arrived in the *Campus Martius*, in order of Battel, they actually placed themselves, as in a Camp, round a Tent, which was pitched for the President of the *Comitia*, as if he had been a General of an Army. But before the President entered this Pavillion, he renewed the *Auguries*, and if they were in the least defective, the *Augurs* declared the Assembly unlawful, and then the Election was deemed null. *Curtius* therefore declared to the *Military Tribunes*, three Months after their Election, that the *Auguries* he had consulted, before he entered into his Tent, had been inauspicious, which disannulled their Promotion. This Declaration, was probably an artful Contrivance between the Nobility and *Military Tribunes*, not to let this new Form of Government take Root. The three Magistrates readily agreed, that the Scruple which had been started was just, and they all abdicated the Dignity to which they had been promoted. By this Means *Rome* fell into an *Interregnum*. And *T. Quinctius*, who then governed the Republick for a Time, assembled the People, and left it to their Choice, either to revive the old *Consular* Government, or leave *Rome* in the Hands

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M. GENUCI-
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CURTIUS
PHILO, Con-
suls.
Dion. Hal.
B. II. p. 736.
Livy B. 4.
Ibid.

Year of
R O M E
CCCIX.

A. SEMPRO-
NIUS, L. AT-
TILIUS, and
T. CLÆLIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.

Interregnum.
Dion. Hal.
B. II. p. 736.
Livy B. 4.
c. 7.

¹⁶ We have followed the Order of the *Fasti Capitolini*, in placing the first *Military Tribunes* in the Year of *Rome* 309, after the *Consulship* of *Marcus Genucius Augurinus*, and *Caius Curtius Philo*. So that we differ from *Livy*, who places the beginning of this Magistracy in the Year 310. *Dion. Hal.* says, these Magistrates began to exercise their *Consular* Power for the first Time, in the third Year of the 84th *Olympiad*, while *Diphilus* was *Archon* of *Athens*; i. e. about the Year of *Rome* 311. In this Difference of Opinions, we thought the Authority of the *Fasti Capitolini* decisive. *Suidas* brings down the Establishment of the *Military Tribunes*, so low as to the 315th Year of *Rome*. Perhaps he overlooked those which were created in the Year 309, because their Election was deemed unlawful.

¹⁷ *Aulus Sempronius Atratinus*, *Lucius Attilius*

Longus, and *Titus Clælius Siculus*, were then the first *Military Tribunes*; for so they are called in the *Fasti Capitolini*. Instead of *Titus Clælius*, we read in *Livy*, *Titus Gæcilius*, and in some *Greek* Copies of *Dion. Hal.* κλάσιος. Some Editions of that Author do likewise give *Lucius Attilius* the Surname of Λούσια, which was very improperly put for Λόγγος. According to *Livy*, some Historians pretend, that the Defection of the *Ardeates*, and the Motions of the *Æqui, Volsci*, and *Veientes*, who threatened *Rome*, were the only Causes that gave Birth to the *Military Tribuneship* of this Year; and that, from an Opinion, that two *Consuls* were not enough to fight so many Enemies, all at once. And these Authors, adds *Livy*, make no mention of the *Cannuleian* Law, which brought about this Revolution.

Year of of new *Military Tribunes*. The Senate was for the *Consular* Government, and the
 R O M E *Tribunes of the People*, for continuing the *Military Tribunes*. Whilst the Commons,
 CCCIX. who were determined to give the supreme Dignity to none but *Patricians*, were very
 L. PAPYRIUS indifferent, whether it had the Name of a *Consulship*, or *Tribuneship*. At last all agreed
 MUGILLANUS, and L. to restore the old Form of Government. *Patricians* only were permitted to stand
 SEMPRONIUS for the *Consulship*, and the *Centuries* chose two *Consuls*; one named ¹⁸ *Lucius Papy-*
 ATRATINUS, *rius Mugillanus*, the other *L. Sempronius Atratinus*. Thus the *Roman* Nobility, by
 Consuls. giving Way a little to the Violences of the People, averted, for some Time, the Storm
 with which they were threatened.

THE Union which now reigned among all Orders of Men in the Republick, kept the neighbouring Powers quiet. Even the *Ardeates* returned to their Duty, and sent a Deputation to the Senate. They offered to make their Submission, provided the *Romans* would restore them the Territory which they had adjudged to themselves. It was absolutely out of the Power of the Senate to repeal a Decree of the People. They therefore dismissed the *Ardeates* with good Words, telling them they would bring their Reconciliation to bear in due Time, and then use their Endeavours to do them Justice. But the *Ardeates* renewed their Alliance with *Rome*, a few Months after, without the Restitution of their Lands. The *Consuls Papyrius* and *Sempronius* signed this Alliance. Which is a certain Proof of their Advancement to the *Consulship*; but this is not generally observed ¹⁹ by the antient Historians. It is uncertain whether they continued in their Office a whole Year, or only nine Months, to complete the Year of the *Military Tribunes*. But it is certain, that the Time of Elections was postponed, since the following *Consuls* did not take Possession of their Offices till the *Ides of December* ²⁰.

Year of §. X. THE People having been again consulted, whether they would keep to the
 R O M E *Consular* Government, consented, and the Republick chose two *Patricians* of great
 CCCX. Authority. The first was *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*, who was now raised to the *Consul-*
 T. QUINCTI- ship the fifth Time. The second was *M. Geganius*, who had been *Consul* once before.
 US CAPITOLI- These two great Men applied themselves wholly to the Study and Promotion of the
 NUS, and M. Welfare of their Country. It was now seventeen Years, that *Rome* had neglected the
 GEGANIUS, having any *Census*, which *Servius Tullius* had appointed, should be taken every five
 Consuls. Years: And each *Census* was to be closed with a *Lustrum*, which made it an Act of Religion. Wars Abroad, and Disturbances at Home, had found the *Consuls* so full

¹⁸ Tully speaks of these two *Consuls*, in a Letter to *Papyrius Pætus* in his *Epist. ad Famil. B. 9.* *How can you deny*, says he to him, *that there ever was a Papyrius, who was not a Plebeian? For there were several Patricians of the second Order, of your Name, the Chief of which was Lucius Papyrius Mugillanus, who was Consul with Lucius Sempronius Atratinus, in the Year of Rome 312. But then your Family was called Papyrian.* His Words are these. *Sed tamen, mi Pæte, qui tibi venit in mentem negare Papyrium quemquam unquam, nisi Plebeium fuisse? Fuerunt enim Patricii minorum gentium, quorum Princeps Lucius Papyrius Mugillanus, qui Consul cum Lucio Sempronio Atratinio fuit, anno post Romam conditam, 312. Sed tum Papyrii dicebamini.* We may here observe, how uncertain the *Consular* Years are, since the most celebrated *Roman* Authors agree so little, in the course of them. *Dion. Hal.* charges the greatest part of the *Roman Annals* with being unfaithful. Some say nothing of the *Military Tribunes* we have been speaking of, and others say nothing of the *Consuls*, who governed for the remaining part of the Year 309.

¹⁹ We neither find the *Consuls* for this Year, says *Livy*, in the antient *Annals*, nor in the Registers of the Magistrates. Perhaps, adds he, because the *Military Tribunes*, who began the Year, were thought to have completed it. In Proof of this, he quotes *Licinius Macer*, who wrote *The Annals of Rome*. The latter declares, that the Names of these two *Consuls* were to be seen in the Treaty which the Republick concluded with the *Ardeates*, and in the *Linnen* Books which were found in the Temple of

Juno Moneta. For it was not then customary to write on Tables covered with Wax, or Parchment, or Barks of Trees prepared for that Purpose, but on *Linnen Cloths*, which were made fit to write upon. *Pliny* confirms the Truth of this Custom, *B. 13. c. 11. In palmarum foliis primo scriptitatum. Deinde quarundam arborum libris; postea publica monumenta plumbeis voluminibus, & mox privata Linteis confici capta, aut cereis.* i. e. Men first wrote on Palm-Leaves, then on Barks of Trees. Afterwards they made use of Plates of Lead for publick Monuments, and Linnen or Tables covered with Wax, for private Use. *Ansonius* describes this Custom thus,

*Per licia texta querelas
 Edidit, & tacitis mandavit crimina telis.*
 Epist. 23.

²⁰ That is the 13th of *December*. The common Disputes between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians* might probably retard this Election; for we have already observed, that ever since the Government of the *Decemviri*, the *Consular* Years ended the 15th of *May*. Whence we may judge what Perplexity and Uncertainty these Confusions and Variations must make in Chronology. Here *Dion. Hal.* leaves us. But it is certain, that his History originally consisted of twenty Books, as we learn from *Photius*. And *Stephen of Byzantium* must have had them, since he quotes the 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th Books. Only eleven Books now remain of this great Work. The rest is lost: And we have not even the 11th entire.

Employment

Employment for all that Time, that they had not had Leisure to discharge this part of their Office; though there was scarce any part of it, of more Importance to the publick Welfare. For want of this necessary Care, the Condition and Circumstances of Families in *Rome*, were unknown. The *Tribes* were assessed, without knowing how much each could bear. There was no exact Account taken of the young Men, who were at Age to bear Arms. The Habitations of the many Families in *Rome*, who were dispersed Abroad in the several Quarters of the City were not known; nor the Situation of their Estates, which were dispersed in the several *Tribes* in the Country. The most cunning escaped Contributions, and publick Services, whilst the more honest were overburdened with them. But *Quinctius* and *Geganius* found themselves in a Condition to remedy this Disorder. Though after all, they were sensible that so laborious a Work, was too much for the Strength of two Men, who were already taken up with so many other Affairs, both civil and military. And it is probable, that they proposed to the Senate, to discharge themselves of so heavy a Burden, and lay it upon two new Magistrates created on Purpose, who with the Title of *Censors*, should have the Care of numbering the People, and taking an Account of their Effects. The *Censorship*, at its Institution, seemed to the *Fathers* to promise more Labour than Honour to the *Censors*. Nevertheless they consented to the Establishment of it. The more they multiplied the Employments of the *Patricians*, the more they increased the Honours of the Nobility. Whilst on the other Hand, the *Tribunes of the People* made no Opposition to it, either because they thought the Employment of little Importance, or because they would not bring a Disgrace on themselves, by eternally thwarting the Inclinations of the *Consuls*, in every the most trifling Thing they could propose. They did not then foresee to what a Pitch of Grandeur and Power the Office of *Censor* would in Time arrive. So that a Law was passed, determining and settling what should be the Business of these ²¹ *Censors*. If we may depend on the Account we have of it, it was drawn up in these Terms. *Let the Censors enquire into the Ages, and Number of the Persons in every Family, and the Value of the Effects, which belong to them. Let them have the Inspection of the Temples, Streets, Fountains, publick Treasure, and Taxes. Let them determine to what Tribe every Citizen shall belong. Let them inform themselves of every one's Age and Income, that they may place all in their Order. Let them keep a Register of the Roman Knights, and of the Foot-Soldiers. Let them take care that no Body lives single. Let them inspect the Manners of the People, and not suffer any Stain to rest upon the Senate. Let there be two Censors, and let them continue in their Office five Years, though other Magistrates are changed annually. And lastly, Let this Office continue in the Republick for ever.*

BUT how considerable soever the Privileges annexed to this new Office were, we don't find any *Patricians* of the first Rank offering themselves for it. So that it was given to *Papirius* and *Sempronius*, the two *Consuls* for the last Year, whose *Consulship* had been in some Respects defective. They were chosen by the People, to be the first *Censors*, took a *Census* of the People, and finished the eleventh *Lustrum*, reckoning from their Institution.

§. XI. IN the mean time the *Consuls*, though eased of the Burden of the *Census*, found Business enough to employ them, Abroad and at Home. The *Ardeates*, who had very lately, and very happily for themselves, renewed their Confederacy with *Rome*, were now unhappily embroiled in a civil War. It arose from a slight Cause, and such a one, as Men generally ascribe to Fate, though it be the natural Effect of the Corruption of their own Hearts. Two Citizens of *Ardea*, of different Conditions, both fell in Love with a young Woman of great Beauty, of the same City. One was a substantial Citizen; the other of a noble Family, well esteemed in *Ardea*. The young Woman was of an honourable *Plebeian* Family. So that it seemed more suitable to her Station, to give her to the young *Plebeian*. This was a Family-Affair, the Determination of which seems to have concerned only the Relations of the Fair

²¹ The Office of *Censor* had originally nothing in it, which could flatter the Ambition of the Great. It was then in a manner wholly confined to the right of taking an Account, or *Census* of the *Roman* People; but it afterwards became the highest Post of Honour, by Means of the Prerogatives

which were annexed to it. In the Sequel of this History, we shall meet with *Censors*, invested with a Power, in some Measure arbitrary; and such as made them formidable, to all the different Orders of Men in the Republick.

Year of
R O M E
CCCX.
T. QUINCTI-
US CAPITOLI-
NUS, and M.
GEGANIUS,
Consuls.

Cicero de Leg.
B. 3.

Livy B. 4.
c. 9.

Year of
R O M E
CCCX.
T. QUINCTI-
US CAPITOLI-
NUS, and M.
GEGANIUS,
Consuls.

Ardeatē; but they could not agree. The Mother of the Girl, so earnestly courted, was an ambitious Widow, who thought to have raised her self, by advancing her Daughter into a noble Family. On the other Hand, the Guardians of the young Woman thought it more decent to marry her to a Man of her own Rank, and of their Body. And the Disputes about this Marriage engaged all *Ardea* in the Quarrel. The Nobility declared for one of the Suitors, the People for the other. At length, the Affair was brought to a Trial: And it is scarce to be imagined, how much Respect was then shewn to the Authority of Mothers over their Children. The Magistrate pronounced Sentence in favour of the Mother, and against the Guardians. But the latter would not stand to his Determination. They had recourse to Violence and Sedition. After they had gathered some *Plebeians* together, whom they had seduced with their Discourses, they entered the Widow's House, and took away her Daughter. The Nobility on the other Hand took part with the Mother, ran to Arms, and fell upon those who had run away with the young Woman. A Battel was fought, and a great deal of Blood spilt. The *Plebeians* were repulsed and defeated, ran out of the City like Mad-men, went and encamped upon an Hill in the Nighbourhood; and without shewing the same Moderation as the *Romans* had done on a like Separation, dispersed themselves all over the Lands of the Nobility, and plundered and burnt every Thing they met with. Nor was all this enough to satisfy them. The Mutineers seduced all the rest of the Artificers, and other Citizens in *Ardea*, who had not been concerned in the first Battel: And with this Reinforcement they prepared to besiege the City. What horrible Effects were then produced by a Passion, which has often been more fatal to great Nations, than either a Famine, or a Pestilence!

BUT in the mean time, the Nobility of *Ardea*, who were thus exposed to the Dangers of a Siege, implored the Assistance of the *Romans*. Their Deputies represented the Goodness of their Cause to the Senate, and the Danger of their Country, which was like to be utterly ruined by the Transports of two young Rivals, who seemed to have communicated their Fury, each to his own Party. The Senate therefore ordered an Army to be raised, to go and restore Peace to a City in Alliance with *Rome*. The Consul *Geganius* had the Charge of leading the Army into the Field, whilst the wife *T. Quinctius* continued in the City to maintain Peace there. The *Romans* took part with the Nobility of *Ardea*. Besides that they had the better right on their side, the *Romans* were angry that the People of *Ardea* had had recourse to the *Volsci*, those eternal Enemies of their Republick. And indeed, the Troops of the *Volsci* had already joined those of the Revolters. They had already drawn their Circumvallations round the City. They had chosen themselves a Commander, an Officer among the *Æqui*, whose Name was *Cluilus*. This was their Situation, when the *Roman* Army appeared before *Ardea*. Upon his Arrival, *Geganius* did two Things. 1. He surrounded the Circumvallations of the *Volsci* with his Troops, and shut them in within their own Entrenchments. This the *Romans* executed with incredible Expedition. And 2^{dly}, He dug a subterraneous Passage from the City to his Camp, for a Communication between the Besieged, and his own Army. *Cluilus* was surprized to find himself more closely invested, than the City he besieged. And having sat down before *Ardea* in haste, he had not brought Provisions enough with him for the Subsistence of his Troops. Before the *Romans* arrived, he had maintained the *Volsci* at the Expence of the Country, which he plundered. But now finding himself inclosed by the *Roman* Army, and in great Danger of perishing by Famine, he demanded a Conference with the Consul. He told him with great Confidence, *That if the Romans were only come to raise the Siege, he would agree to march his Army to another Place.* But *Geganius* understood himself better. He replied, *It is not for the Conquered to give Law to their Conquerors. The Volsci shall not go from hence as they came. Let them deliver up their General to me, acknowledge themselves conquered, and become subject to the Romans. Without this, I will treat them as Enemies, whether they stay or go. I had rather return to Rome with a certain Victory, than the Promises of a fallacious Peace.* *Cluilus* was too proud to submit to these Conditions. He chose rather to attempt to break his Way through the *Romans* with his Sword, and try the Fate of a Battel, since he had no other Hopes. The Place where he was inclosed, was neither convenient for fighting, or flight. But he had no Choice in these Circumstances. *Cluilus* therefore ventured a Battel; but being invested and attacked on all sides, his Men immediately cried out for Quarter, upon

upon the first Onset. Nevertheless the *Romans* refused to grant the *Volsci* their Lives, till they had delivered up their General. Then they were ordered to lay down their Arms, were made to *pass under the Yoke*, were stripped, and had Leave to return Home. And in their Way thither, this disbanded, tattered, and mangled Army, made an Halt in the Neighbourhood of *Tusculum*. Upon which the *Tusculans* gladly seized this Opportunity of revenging themselves upon their old Enemies. They even glutted their Revenge, and made so great a Slaughter of them, that there were scarce enough left to carry home the News. As for the *Ardeates*, *Geganius* gave Leave to all, whom the Sword had spared, to return into their City. There the Conqueror reconciled the People and the Nobility, after he had cut off the Heads of the chief Authors of the Sedition. Their Goods were likewise confiscated, not to the *Romans*, but to the publick Treasury of *Ardea*. So that the *Ardeates* now thought sufficient Amends was made them by this Means, for the Loss of the Lands, the *Romans* had adjudged to themselves. But the Senate did not think enough yet done, to wipe off the Stains of that Avarice, which reflected so much Dishonour on the Republick. We shall soon see what Methods they used, to take away this Reproach.

§. XII. THE *Consul Geganius* returned to *Rome*, with all the Glory of a Conqueror. A Triumph was decreed him, and the Procession made with uncommon Pomp and Solemnity. The Spoils of all the Army which had *passed under the Yoke*, were carried before him, and the General of the Conquered in Chains, honoured the Victor's Triumph. And yet it may be truly said, that his Colleague, *Quinctius Capitolinus*, had acquired more Esteem among the People, than the Conqueror himself. Whilst he continued in *Rome*, he made his Residence there more useful to the Publick, than if he had obtained a Victory in the open Field. This great Magistrate was scarce inferior in Merit, to the famous *Quinctius Cincinnatus* his Brother. He was an excellent Soldier, but an incomparable Statesman. He was not one of those who have no Weight any longer than they are in Office. He seemed a *Consul* in all Parts of Life: And when advanced to the highest Post, less Respect was shewn to his Office, than his Person. And indeed, his Conduct was uniform, in all his *Consulships*. There always appeared in him a Mixture of Severity and Sweetness, which no Body ever knew how to temper together, so perfectly as himself. The Senators themselves thought him too severe to the People, and yet the People were perfectly satisfied with his Goodness to them. He kept the *Tribunes* within Bounds, not so much by any Victories over them in the *Comitia*, as by their Awe of his Authority: And it is easy to imagine, that during his wise Administration, the People did not think of changing the old Government, and creating *Military Tribunes*. In this happy *Consulship*, *Herodotus* came into *Italy*. He resided there some time in the City of ²² *Thurium*,

Year of
R O M E
CCCX.

T. QUINCTI-
US CAPITOLI-
NUS, and M.
GEGANIUS,
Consuls.

Pliny B. 12.
c. 4.

²² *Strabo* B. 6. places *Thurium* between the two Rivers, *Crathis* and *Sybaris*, now *Crati*, and *Cochile*. This City, which was at first called *Sybaris*, arrived, according to him, at so great a Degree of Power, that it commanded four neighbouring Nations. Within its Territory, says he, were reckoned twenty five Cities, and its Compass was fifty *Stadia*, or six thousand two hundred and fifty geometrical Paces, i. e. about $2\frac{1}{2}$ Leagues. In the War it carried on against the Inhabitants of *Croton*, it raised an Army of three hundred thousand Men. But at last, its Inhabitants being worn out with Debauches, were not able to withstand the Attacks of the *Crotoniates*. These, after they had made themselves Masters of the City, drowned it, and covered it with the Waters of the *Crathis*, the Course of which they had turned. But some who escaped the common Destruction, did, in some Sense, repair the Ruins of *Sybaris*. In order to this, they associated to themselves a Colony of *Athenians*, and other *Greeks*, who, by a most infamous Act of Treachery, exterminated the miserable Remains of the *Sybarites*. And in the same Neighbourhood, the new Colony built another City, called *Thurium*, from the Name of a Fountain, which ran near the Place. In process of Time the *Thurians* were subdued by the People of *Luconia*, and

were much oppressed by those of *Tarentum*. Then they chose to have recourse to the *Romans*, who sent a Colony to repeople their City, which had lost a great Number of its Inhabitants. Ever since that time it was called *Copia*. The Place where *Thurium* formerly stood, is now called *Sybari Rovinata*. The City of *Sybaris*, which was ruined by the *Crotoniates*, stood, says Father *Briet*, on the right Bank of the River of the same Name, in the Place where *Torre Brodogneto* is at present. As to the last Name of *Copia*, which was given this City, *Cluverius* says, that some Footsteps of it were found in his Time, about the Mouth of the *Crati*. There, says he, is a sort of Tower, which the People of the Country commonly called *Torre del Cupo*. *Aristotle*, in *Mirandis*, *Ptolomy*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, B. 11. and 12. all mention *Sybaris*. The Luxury and Effeminacy of the *Sybarites*, were formerly proverbial. According to *Pliny*, B. 12. c. 4. it was in the City of *Thurium*, that *Herodotus* began his History, in the Year of *Rome*, 310: i. e. according to Father *Petau*, B. 15. *De Doctrina Temporum*, in the first Year of the 84th Olympiad. But *Lucian* does not agree with *Pliny* in this Particular. And *Suidas*, and *Eusebius* in his *Chronicon*, differ from them both.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXI.

M. FABIVS,
and POSTHUMVS EBVTIVS,
Consuls.
Livy B. 4.
c. 11.

near *Tarentum*, and it is probable, that he there composed a part at least of his History.

§. XIII. THE Republick was then enjoying the Peace, which *Quinctius* had established at Home by his Prudence, and *Geganius* secured Abroad by his Victory, when M. 23 *Fabius*, and *Posthumus Ebutius* were made *Consuls*. And it lay incumbent upon them to maintain the Glory of the preceding Year, which the Affair of the *Ardeates* had exceedingly raised among all the neighbouring Nations. They talked of nothing, but the Assistance the *Romans* had so seasonably sent to their Allies. The *Consuls* therefore made it their Business to bury the Remains of that Infamy in Oblivion, which the *Roman* People had brought upon themselves, by the unjust Judgment they had formerly passed against the *Ardeates*. They prevailed on the Senate to pass such a Decree, as was very proper to preserve the *Romans* an unspotted Reputation for Justice. The Decree was, that a Colony of *Roman* Citizens should be sent to *Ardea*, to defend and repopulate the City, which was a little depopulated by the late civil War. The Design of the *Consuls* in this, was to restore the *Ardeates* the Lands which had been taken from them. But for fear of disobliging the *Tribunes*, nothing more was expressed in the Decree, but the Design of repopling the City. Nevertheless there were two secret Articles agreed on. The first, That nothing but the Lands, formerly in Dispute with the *Ardeates*, should be distributed among the new Colony; and the second, That none of these should be distributed among the *Romans*, till the best part of them had first been distributed among the *Ardeates*, who were more numerous than they. Three Senators were deputed to carry the Colony, and make the Distribution of the Lands. These were *Agrippa Menenius*, *T. Clælius*, and *M. Ebutius*. It seemed to be a dangerous Commission that they were entrusted with, and scarce possible to be put in Execution, according to the Orders of the Senate, without drawing upon themselves the Resentment of the People. It was indeed disannulling their Judgment, by an Act of Power; and the three Commissioners brought Enemies upon themselves by their equitable Discharge of their Trust. They had no Regard in the Distribution of the Lands, to the Recommendations of the greatest *Patricians*: So that the *Tribunes* did not fail of citing them to appear before the People. And the Expedient they made use of, to avoid the Prosecution, was natural enough. They declared themselves Citizens of *Ardea*, and continued there. So that the Colony was enriched with three illustrious *Roman* *Patricians*, and the Territory, which had been invaded by the *Roman* People, was restored to its proper Owners.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXII.
C. FURIUS,
and M. PAPIRIUS,
Consuls.

Livy B. 4.
c. 12.

§. XIV. THIS Year, which was distinguished only by Works of Peace, was followed by another as pacifick. C. 24 *Furius*, and *M. Papirius* were chosen *Consuls*. They amused the People with publick Shews, which Religion required of them, and which had hitherto been deferred. In the Time of the *Decemviri*, when the People were thinking of making a new Separation, the Senate made a Vow to celebrate Games, in Honour of the immortal Gods. But this Vow was never performed, till the present Times of settled Peace, which one of the *Tribunes of the People*, called *Petelius*, endeavoured to disturb. He was a Man of a turbulent and factious Spirit. He was the Author of the Persecution begun last Year against the three Commissioners, nominated to conduct the Colony to *Ardea*. And the only Means by which he continued himself in the *Tribuneship* the second Year, was the Hopes he had given the People of getting some Lands to be distributed among them. He laid his Design before the *Consuls*, and would have engaged them to present his Petition to the Senate. But his Attempts were fruitless. It was in vain for him to threaten that he would oppose the raising any Levies among the People. There was no Reason to be apprehensive of any foreign War at present. So that his Threatnings were frivolous, and his Schemes vanished. He likewise attempted to get it proposed to the Senate, whether it would not be better to choose *Military Tribunes*, than *Consuls*; but with the like Success. The *Romans* adhered to their old Government.

23 *Marcus Fabius*, surnamed *Vibulanus*, was the Son of that *Quintus Fabius*, who had escaped in the bloody Battel of the *Cremera*. *Livy* gives the other *Consul* the *Prænomen* of *Posthumus*, instead of *Posthumus*, and the Surname of *Cornicen*, as well as that of *Elva*.

24 *Livy* and the *Greek Tables* give *C. Furius* the Surnames of *Pacilus*, and *Fesius*. *Diodorus* has changed the *Prænomen* *Marcus* (which *Livy* and the *Fasti Capitolini* give *Papirius*) into that of *Manius*. This *Consul* has the Surname of *Grassus* in the *Fasti Consulares*.

§. XV. THE next Year *Proculus*²⁵ *Geganius*, and *L. Menenius Agrippa*, were promoted to the *Consulship*: And under their Administration, the Republick wanted nothing to complete its Ruin, but to be attacked by a foreign Enemy. The Famine, the Plague, and Seditions, were the several Scourges, with which it was successively chastised. The Citizens of *Rome*, of whom we often form false Ideas, were then almost all Husbandmen, who manured with their own Hands, the Lands which lay near the City. Husbandry was esteemed an honourable Employment. But the Harangues of the *Tribunes*, and the Storms of the *Comitia*, so distracted the Minds of the Citizens at this Time, that their Lands were but indifferently cultivated. Besides it was a bad Year. So that the Famine began to be very sensibly felt; and to prevent the ill Consequences of it, the People, with the Consent of the Senators, created an extraordinary Magistrate, who was called *The Superintendent*²⁶ of *Provisions*. His Name was *Minucius*. But this new Office was of more use in appeasing Seditions, than in abating the Scarcity. The Senate had murmured loudly against the People, and the People, in their Turn, against the *Consuls*. The Senators said, the People lost the Time they should have spent at Work, in the Assemblies called by the *Tribunes*; and the People accused the *Consuls*, either of neglecting to provide for the Wants of the People, or of lessening the Plenty of Provisions maliciously, and with Design. Whilst *Minucius* was neither wanting in Zeal, or Activity, in endeavouring to remove this publick Calamity. He sent into several Provinces, both by Sea and Land, in quest of Corn: But all in vain. No Supplies could be got from any foreign Country, except *Hetruria*, which furnished the Republick with a small Quantity. The *Romans* were therefore obliged to manage the few Provisions they had left in their City, with the best OEconomy they could. They obliged all private Persons to declare what Corn they had, and to sell all but one Month's Provision for their Families. They gave the Slaves but half their usual Allowance of Bread, and delivered up the Corn-Merchants, to the Accusations and Fury of the People. But these Enquiries served only to make the Famine the more apparent, and not to abate it. So that the *Romans* sunk into Despair; And several of them chose rather to throw themselves into the *Tyber*, than drag on a languishing and hopeless Life.

AND who would imagine that *Sp. Maelius's* Ambition should contribute more to the Relief of the famished *Romans*, than the most earnest Care of the Magistrates? If his Compassion had been disinterested, and his Intentions pure, his Liberalities to the indigent People would have immortalized his Name. *Maelius* had so much Wealth, that his Riches had raised him to the Rank of a *Roman Knight*. He traded in Corn, and had Correspondents in *Hetruria*. When therefore the Famine was very great in *Rome*, he employed his Clients and Correspondents, and caused so much Corn to be brought from *Hetruria* on his own Account, that this was the Reason, why *The Superintendent of Provisions* could get very little from thence on account of the Publick. He had been partly the Cause of the Scarcity; and he in part removed it; but with ill Views, in order to gain an Interest in the Citizens by that Means, and make himself a Party among them. To some he gave Corn *gratis*; to others he sold it, at a low Price. The People crowded to his House in great Multitudes. Whenever this publick Benefactor went through the Streets, he was attended with a numerous Train of People, and gave himself the Airs of a Man, above a private Condition: And indeed, he immediately aspired at being made *Consul*. He had Reason to hope for it, from the great Interest he had gained, and after all, it was but a small Fault in him to stand Candidate for it. But can the Heart of Man set any Bounds to its Desires? When *Maelius* had considered that the Time of the *Comitia* for electing *Consuls* drew near, and that his Party was not sufficiently formed, he carried his Views beyond the *Consulship*. He would indeed have found it very difficult to have obtained it from the *Patricians*, without extorting it from them by Violence. And he therefore thought it would be as easy to invade the *Regal*, as the *Consular* Authority, and

Year of
R O M E
CCCXIII.

PROCLUS
GEGANIUS,
and L. MENE-
NIUS AGRI-
PA, Consuls.

Zonar. Annal.
B. 7. August.
de Civit. B. 3.
and Livy B. 4.
Ibid.

²⁵ *Geganius*, surnamed *Macerinus*, had the *Praenomen* of *Proculus*, as *Plutarch* conjectures in his *Life of Coriolanus*, either because his Father was very old, *Procul ab aetate florente*, when he came into the World; or because he was born when his Father was Abroad, *Patre procul a patria degente*. This *Praenomen Proculus* was the Surname of the *Plautian* Family, according to the *Fasti Ca-*

pitolini. *Diodorus* changes *Lucius*, the *Praenomen* of *Menenius Agrippa*, into that of *Titus*. But it is a Mistake. This *Consul* was the Son of *Titus Menenius*, who was *Consul* in the Year of *Rome* 301.

²⁶ *Suetonius* informs us, that the Office of *Superintendent of Provisions* was common in *Rome*, in *Augustus's* Time.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXIV.

T. QUINCTI-
US CAPITOLI-
NUS, and A-
GRIPPA ME-
NENIUS, Con-
suls.
Livy B. 4.
c. 13.

looked on the former as more worthy of his Pursuit. So that he did not appear among the Candidates for the *Consulship*; and *Comitia* were held as usual, without any Thoughts of choosing *Mælius*.

§. XVI. It was happy for the Republick, that the famous *T. Quinctius* was now elected the sixth Time. His Collegue was ²⁷ *Agrippa Menenius*. The Government could not have fallen into better Hands in so critical a Conjunction. Who more sagacious to discover a Conspiracy, of more Ability to stop the Progress of it, and more resolute to punish the Authors of it, than *Quinctius Capitolinus*? Yet he was not the first who discovered *Mælius's* Plot. This Glory was reserved for *Minucius*. This *Superintendant of Provisions* continued in his Office, because it was not a settled Employment in the State, but only an occasional one, which was to last as long as it was wanted. *Minucius* therefore executed that Commission as long as Provisions continued dear at *Rome*; and by that Means had an Opportunity of getting Light into the ill Designs of *Mælius*. Indeed, the same Persons who frequented the Corn-Merchant's House, came likewise sometimes to the *Superintendant of Provisions*. They sometimes supplied themselves with Necessaries at the House of the one, sometimes at that of the other. *Minucius* therefore was informed by several Witnesses, That a great Number of Arms were brought to *Mælius's* House; That private Meetings were held there; That Measures were concerting there to make him King; That the Time for putting this in Execution was not yet fixed; but that all other Matters were agreed on; That some of the *Tribunes of the People* were in the Plot; and That certain Leaders of the Faction had their Orders, and Stations, already assigned them. To which the Witnesses added, That if they were a little late in their Informations, it was because they chose rather to give their Evidence upon sure Grounds, than to run the Hazard of accusing Men upon mere Suspicions. *Minucius* made a Report to the Senate of the Conspiracy he had discovered: And it is not easy to be imagined, how far the old Senators carried their Resentments. They inveighed against the *Consuls* of the last Year. It was their Business, said they, to have put a Stop to *Mælius's* Liberalities, and to have forbidden any Meetings at his House. And they accused the present *Consuls* of want of Vigilance, and being dilatory in punishing. *Should they, said the Senators, have suffered themselves to have been prevented by Minucius's Discoveries? Should not the Axes of the Lictors have put an end to the Conspiracy, by the Death of the Conspirators, before this Time?* But *T. Quinctius* made a wise Answer to the Complaints of the Senate in relation to what was past; and took very proper Measures, to prevent the future Misfortunes which threatened them. *If we have not yet revenged the Injuries done the Republick, said he, it ought not to be imputed so much to the weak Conduct of the Consuls, as to the narrow Compass within which the Power of the Consuls is now confined. The People have a right of appealing from our Sentences to the Tribunes: And this Usurpation cuts all the Sinews of the Government. What then can we do? Our Laws themselves are so ordered, that they are a Clog to us. I therefore declare my self for creating a Dictator, who has a sovereign Authority, without Appeal. And to this Purpose, I now lay down the Consulship, and as it is my right to appoint a Dictator, I nominate my Brother Quinctius Cincinnatus.*

This Step was applauded, but *Cincinnatus* at first declined the Office. He excused himself on account of his great Age: For he was now fourscore. *Shall I have Vigour enough, said he, to sustain the furious Attacks which will be made upon me?* But all the *Conscript Fathers* encouraged him, heaped Praises on him, and assured him, that his present Virtue and past Glory would be a better Support to him, than any other Man could find. So that he at last consented to take upon him the Office of *Dictator* a second Time, after he had offered up his Prayers to the Gods, that his old Age might not prove prejudicial to the Republick. And as it was of the utmost Consequence, not to suffer the Alteration which had been made to the Senate, to be known in *Rome*: To prevent therefore the divulging the Secret, no body was suffered to leave the House, which continued sitting all the Day. In the Night *Cincinnatus* chose himself a General of Horse, and gave this important Employment

27 This was the sixth time *Titus Quinctius*, surnamed *Capitolinus*, was made *Consul*. Some Copies of *Diodorus Siculus* call *Menenius* sometimes

Memnius, and sometimes *Menutius*. He was Brother to *Lucius Menenius*, who had been *Consul* the Year before.

to a brave Officer, named ²⁸ *Servilius Ahala*. Then the *Dictator* seized the *Capitol*, and posted his Horse to guard it. And as soon as it was Day, he came down from the Citadel, and shewed himself to the *Romans*, in the *Habir*, and with all the *Insignia* of a *Dictator*. The whole City was surprized at this unexpected Change. *Mælius*'s Confidants suspected that these Preparations were made against them; but those who were Strangers to the Conspiracy, asked one another, what urgent Necessity at Home, or what News from Abroad it was, that had forced the Republick to put a Man of fourscore at the Head of it? In the mean time *Mælius* was gone from his House with a Company of his Friends. *Servilius Ahala* immediately accosts him, and commands him to come and appear before the *Dictator*. What has he to say to me, replied *Mælius*, in great Confusion. *He requires you*, said *Servilius*, *to answer to the Crimes laid to your Charge, and of which Complaint has been made to the Senate*. At these Words *Mælius* retires, and runs into the middle of his Friends. *Servilius* follows him, and orders an Officer to seize, and carry him before the *Dictator*. *Mælius* resists, his Friends rescue him out of the Hands of the Officer, he flies, and as he passes, begs the Assistance of the Multitude. *The Senate would oppress me*, said he, *for having been liberal to the People*. But as he is flying and crying out, *Servilius* comes up to him ²⁹, and with his Sabre cuts ³⁰ off his Head. Whether *Servilius* did this of his own Motion, or by *Cincinnatus*'s Order, is uncertain. However, he returns to the *Dictator*, surrounded by a Company of young *Patricians*, and covered with the Blood he had just spilt, and tells him, that being forced to it by *Mælius*'s Rebellion, and the Violence he offered to the Officers of Justice, he had freed the City of so pernicious a Citizen. This News filled the generous old Man with Joy. He thanked *Servilius*, and congratulated him upon his Courage, and the Liberty he had restored to his Country. In the mean time, as *Mælius*'s ill Designs were not generally known in *Rome*, and as he was beloved by the Commonalty, People ³¹ judged differently of what *Servilius* had done. It was therefore necessary that the *Dictator* himself should become an Apologist for his General of Horse. Accordingly he assem-

Year of
R O M E
CCCXIV.
QUINCTIUS
CINCINNATUS, Dictator.

Zonar. B. 4.

Livy B. 4.
c. 14.



²⁸ The *Fasti Capitolini* and *Livy* give *Servilius* the *Prænomē* of *Caius*. *Tully* must therefore be mistaken, when he calls him *Quintus Servilius* in his first *Oration* against *Cataline*. This General was distinguished by the two Surnames of *Structus*, and *Ahala*. Some have substituted that of *Axilla*, in the room of the latter, and given it to another *Caius Servilius*, who was General of Horse, when *Quintus Servilius* was *Dictator*, in the Year of *Rome* 335, according to the *Fasti Capitolini*. Besides, the *Servilian* Family was originally of *Alba*, and came from thence to *Rome*, in the Reign of *Tullus Hostilius*. *Dion. Hal.* and *Livy* declare, it was there a *Patrician* Family of Distinction. But upon the Credit of some antient Medals, it must be granted, that there was a collateral Branch of the *Servilian* Family, which was *Plebeian*.

²⁹ A Medal representing the Head of *Servilius Ahala* has perpetuated the Memory of this *Roman*. It is the Opinion of the most celebrated Writers, that that *Brutus*, who was one of *Julius Caesar*'s Murderers, caused it to be struck together with another, in Honour of the old *Brutus* who restored the *Romans* their Liberty, by expelling the *Tarquins*. We have given the Impression of the former, p. 203. The last *Brutus* boasted of having abolished Tyranny after the Examples of *Servilius Ahala*, from whom he pretended to be descended by the Mother's side,

and of the first *Brutus*, whom he gloried in, as one of his Ancestors. But others Conjecture, and not without some Probability, that the Medal above, of *Servilius Ahala*, was struck by two Brothers, *Publius*, and *Caius Servilius*, who were concerned in the Conspiracy against *Julius Caesar*.

³⁰ *Plutarch* in his *Life of Brutus* relates the Circumstances of this Action a little differently from what *Livy* does. He says, that *Servilius Ahala* being informed of *Spurius Mælius*'s Designs, armed himself with a Dagger, and coming into the *Forum*, drew near to him, under Pretence of having some private Business with him. *Spurius*, continues the Historian, at the same Time leaned his Head towards him, to hearken to what *Servilius* had to say, and the latter seized this Opportunity, of striking the Dagger into his Breast. But *Livy*'s Account seems more probable, and more agreeable to the Genius of the *Romans*.

³¹ According to *Valerius Maximus*, B. 4. c. 2. the People condemned this Action of *Servilius Ahala*, by which he had delivered *Rome* from the Tyranny of *Spurius Mælius*, as a Crime; *Mælius*'s Memory being dear to the *Plebeians*, whose Affections he had gained by his Benefactions to them. According to this Author, Banishment was the Reward, assigned the Defender of the Liberty of the *Romans*.

bled

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QUINCTIUS
CINCINNAT-
US, Dictator.

bled the People, and addressed himself to them, in this manner. *Let not the Death of the Rebel Mælius surprize you! Had he not been guilty of designing to usurp the Authority of a King, his Disobedience to the Commands of a Dictator, would have been sufficiently criminal of it self. I had seated my self upon the Tribunal to judge him, and I was to have condemned or acquitted him, according as he appeared guilty, or innocent: But he made use of Violence, in order to escape being tried. What did he think himself a King already? Had the Traytor forgot the Severity of the Romans in punishing Tyrants, and those who protect them? Did he not remember, that ³² Brutus sacrificed to our new-born Liberty, two of his own Children, who were Great-Grandsons to one of our Kings? Had he entirely forgot, that Collatinus Tarquinius the Consul was banished Rome, merely for bearing an odious Name? Had he no Remembrance of the Punishment of Sp. Cassius, who was accused of having had a Design to make himself a King? Was not he at all affrighted at the Death of the Decemviri, whose Tyranny he was ambitious of usurping? But who was this Mælius? A Man without Birth, Honour, or Merit, and yet he pretended to give himself a Sceptre. If the Claudii and Cassii attempted to rule over us, the Consulship was to them one Step towards mounting the Throne. But for a vile Corn-Merchant, who was fitter to canvass for the Tribuneship, than obtain it, for him to attempt to buy himself a Crown, by a few Measures of Wheat! What Impudence! Was it possible that a People who have conquered so many Nations, should be willing to sell their Liberty for Bread? What? For a Wretch, whom we could not have admitted into the Senate, without blushing; for him to dare to take the Place of Romulus, that Son of a God, that God himself! How monstrous! How horrible! No, his Death is not a sufficient Expiation of his Crime. Let the House, where so factious a Scheme was formed, be laid level with the Ground! Let the Effects, which served to cherish his monstrous Ambition, be confiscated, and let the Questors sell them for the Use of the Publick!*

THE Dictator's Decree was put in Execution. Mælius's House was razed; the Ground on which it stood, continued void, and from that Time afterwards was called ³³ *Æquimelum*; and lastly, his Corn which remained, was sold to the Citizens at a very low Price. By this Means a Stop was put to the Commotions of the People. Being comforted with the Distribution that was made among them of their Benefactor's Corn, they soon forgot him. And they likewise easily suffered Honours to be paid to Minucius, Mælius's Accuser. A Statue ³⁴ was erected to him without the



³² Brutus his Mother was Tarquinia, the Daughter of Tarquin the First, and Sister, according to some, or Aunt, according to others, to Tarquin the Proud. The Children of Brutus were therefore Grand-Children to Tarquinia, and Great-Grand-Children to Tarquin the First; if it be true, that Tarquinia was indeed Sister to Tarquin the Proud.

³³ This Ground retained the Name of *Æquimelum* long after. It lay between the Capitol, and the Place called *Velabrum*.

³⁴ Pliny says, B. 18. c. 3. and B. 34. c. 5. that the Price of Corn was considerably abated by the Care and Vigilance of Minucius. The People therefore in Gratitude to him, raised a Tax among themselves, in order to erect a Statue to him. Whether this Honour, continues he, was decreed him by the Senate, as had hitherto been usual, is uncertain. However, most Antiquaries are of Opinion, that Gaius Minucius AUGURINUS, a Descendant of

the Minucian Family, struck the Medal above, as a Monument of the Regard, which had been shewn to L. Minucius, one of his Ancestors. The two Ears of Corn on the Medal represent the Office he exercised, with the Title of *Superintendant of Provisions*. His Inspection and Oversight of Provisions, Weights, and Measures, are represented by the Bushel in the Man's Hand. The *Augural Staff* may have been designed to signify the *Augurship* of Minucius Festus, the first Plebeian, who was raised to the Dignity of an *Augur*, in the Year of Rome 453, according to Livy. The Statue on the Pillar is the Figure of that which was erected to Lucius Minucius. What Pliny, and others before him, have added concerning the Tribuneship of L. Minucius, is questioned by Livy. This Historian expresses himself thus. *I have read, that Minucius of a Patrician became a Plebeian, and incorporated himself among the Plebeians; that soon after he was made an eleventh Tribune of the People; and that while*

the Gate ³⁵ *Trigemina*, and a Field, and an Ox ³⁶, were given him for his Reward. But three of the *Tribunes of the People*, who were doubtless the Confidents and Accomplices of *Mælius*, did not forgive *Minucius*, and *Servilius Ahala*, the Death of the Head of their Conspiracy. They would never suffer the People to confirm by a Law the Honours paid to *Minucius*. As to *Servilius*, they waited for another Opportunity of making him feel the Effects of their Hatred. Nay, the *Tribunes of the People*, to revenge themselves on the *Patricians* in general, endeavoured to revive the *Military Tribuneship*, at the next Election, and to abolish the *Consulship*. They hoped that the People would now be better inclined than formerly, to divide the Government of the Republick, between three *Patricians*, and three *Plebeians*. But their Hopes were vain. *Military Tribunes* were indeed preferred to *Consuls*, but the People named only three *Patricians* to be their supreme Magistrates.

§. XVII. *MAMERCUS ÆMILIUS* was the first *Military Tribune* the People chose at this Time, and he was a Man of extraordinary Merit. After him the Republick chose *L. Quinctius*. He was the Son of the famous Dictator *Cincinnatus*, and by his Election, the People shewed, that they did not retain their Resentments for the Murder of *Mælius*. The third was one ³⁷ *Julius*, surnamed *Iulus*. The Tranquillity of their Government was disturbed by the Defection of the *Fidenates*. The City of *Fidenæ*, was the nearest City to *Rome*, on the side of *Sabinia*, and was scarce five Miles distant from it. It had been originally founded, either by the *Hetrurians*, or *Albans*, and had been a *Roman Colony* ever since *Romulus's* Time. But it at last grew weary of the Republick, and revolted to King ³⁸ *Tolumnius*, the Head of the *Hetrurian Nation*, and to the *Veientes* his Subjects. The *Romans* therefore sent four Ambassadors to the *Fidenates*, to know the Reasons for which they revolted. And they took a Resolution upon it, which was barbarous in it self, and contrary to the Law of Nations. They had Thoughts of putting the *Roman Ambassadors* to Death; but did not execute this Design, till *Tolumnius* had agreed to it. They sent Deputies to the King, who found him playing at a Game like our Dice; for the *Tesseræ* had six Sides. The Envoys proposed their Scheme to *Tolumnius*, and he being more intent upon his Play, than their Question, said to him who was playing with him, Kill. This was a Term commonly used by Players, in their Casts; but the *Fidenates* took

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CINCINNATUS, Dictator.
Val. Max.
B. 5. c. 3.

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CCCXV.

MAMERCUS
ÆMILIUS,
LUCIUS
QUINCTIUS,
and JULIUS
IULUS, Military
Tribunes.
Livy B. 4.
c. 17

Livy B. 4;
c. 17.

while he was Tribune, he appeased the Fury of the People, who had mutinied on Account of the Death of *Spurius Mælius*. But, adds he, it is not probable that the *Patricians* would suffer such an Innovation. Nor is it more credible, that a *Roman*, who was descended of a *Patrician Family*, would degrade himself in such a manner, in order to increase the Number of the *Tribunes*, and to make himself the eleventh in their College. Besides, if this was true, how comes it to pass, that there were no more than ten *Tribunes* afterwards? If the People had once actually had eleven *Tribunes*, instead of ten, would not they always have had the same Number, or at least have endeavoured it? But other Historians say nothing at all of it. As to the Inscription under the Statue, *Livy* speaks of it, as if it had been forged. *Sed ante omnia refellit falsum imaginis titulum paucis ante annis lege cautum.* NE TRIBUNIS COLLEGAM COOPTARE LICERET. That is, That the Law made against the *Tribunes*, some Years before, was a sufficient Proof of the Falshood of the Inscription. By this Law they were forbidden to CHOOSE THEIR OWN COLLEAGUES, AS THEY PLEASED. But it is asked, on what Occasion this new Regulation, which *Livy* himself says not one Word of before, was made; and what relation it could have to the Inscription of the Statue?

³⁵ *Ammianus*, *Procopius*, and their cotemporary Authors, make no Difference between the Gate *Trigemina*, and that of *Ostia*. It is the same which is now called *St. Paul's Gate*. Some Authors pretend that the three *Horatii* went out thro' this Gate to fight the *Curiatii*; but they don't consider, that *Rome* stood upon so little Ground in the Reign of *Tullus Hostilius*, that it reached but very little be-

yond the Capitol. Now the Gate *Trigemina* was between the Hills *Cælius* and *Aventinus*.

³⁶ *Livy's* Words are, *Lucius Minucius bove aurato extra portam Trigeminam est donatus.* What does the Historian mean by this gilded Ox, erected without the Gate *Trigemina*, in Honour of *Minucius*, and to perpetuate the Memory of a Magistrate, who restored Plenty to *Rome*? We rather think with *Gronovius*, that the Passage has been altered by the Copyists, and that instead of *Bove Aurato*, it should be *Bove & Arvo*. That is, that in order to reward the Vigilance of the Magistrate, an Ox, and a Piece of arable Ground were given him. This Present was agreeable to the Inclinations of the first *Romans*, who employed themselves in manuring their own Lands. Besides, this Correction agrees with *Val. Maximus*, B. 2. and *Ammianus* 14. who declare, that no gilded Statue was ever seen in *Italy*, before *Marcus Acilius Glabrio's* Time, who erected one to his Father, in the Temple of *Piety*, in the Year of *Rome* 562.

³⁷ We ought not to confound this *Julius Iulus*, with *Gaius Julius Iulus*, one of the four Ambassadors whom the *Romans* sent to the *Fidenates*, to demand Satisfaction for their Revolt. This Ambassador is called *Chelius Tullus* in several Editions of *Livy*. And *Tully*, in his ninth *Philippick*, gives him the Name of *Tullus Clivius*.

³⁸ *Tolumnius* commanded the whole Nation of the *Hetrurians*, with the Title of *Lar*. This was the Name given to that *Hetrurian Lucumo*, whom the People of the Country had made the Head of all the *Lucumones*, in a Diet held in the Temple of *Volumna*. He enjoyed this Superiority for Life, whereas the other *Lucumones* were removable every Year.

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CCCXV.

MAMERCUS
ÆMILIUS,
LUCIUS
QUINCTIUS,
and JULIUS
IULUS, Military
Tribunes.
Val. Max.

B. 9. c. 9.

Livy B. 4.

Ibid.

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R O M E
CCCXVI.

M. GEGANI-
US, and L.
SERGIUS,
Consuls.

Livy B. 4.

Ibid.

MAMERCUS
ÆMILIUS,
Dictator.

it for an Answer to their Question. Or perhaps, the cunning *Veian*, designedly made use of this equivocal Word, to attach the *Fidenates* the more firmly to himself, after he had made them commit an unpardonable Crime against the *Romans*. But be that as it will, the *Fidenates* ³⁹ massacred the Ambassadors, without Pity. And the *Romans* erected ⁴⁰ four Statues to their Memory, which were standing in the *Forum*, near *The Tribune for Harangues*, in *Tully's* Time. It was therefore readily foreseen, that so enormous a Villany would be followed by a cruel War. And it was, for that Reason, thought more proper to choose two *Consuls*, than three *Military Tribunes* for the ensuing Year. They were elected very peaceably, the *Tribunes of the People* giving no Opposition to it.

§. XVIII. *MARCUS GEGANIUS* was chosen *Consul* the third Time, and *L. Sergius* was his Colleague. It fell by Lot to the latter, to make War with the *Hetrurian* King, who was already encamped on this side the *Anio*. The *Romans* gave him Battel, and had some Advantage over him; but their Victory cost them dear. They lost a great many Men. Nevertheless it is said that *Sergius* took the Surname ⁴¹ of *Fidenas* from this Victory. However, the *Romans* did not think proper to continue a General at the Head of their Army, who was so prodigal of *Roman* Blood. The Senate commanded a *Dictator* to be created, as was usual, in Times of Danger. Accordingly *Mamercus Æmilius* was nominated to the *Dictatorship* by the *Consuls*; and he, according to Custom, appointed young *Quinctius* to be General of Horse, who seemed then to give the Republick Reason to expect from him all the Virtues of *Cincinnatus* his Father. The *Dictator* chose two great Commanders for his Lieutenant-Generals, who had formerly been *Consuls*. These were *Quinctius Capitolinus*, and *M. Fabius Vibulanus*. And the bare News of the Election of a General, whose Merit was superior to his Employment, abated the Confidence of the Enemy. *Tolumnius* had at first advanced towards *Rome*, and passed the River *Anio*. But he re-passed it with his Troops, and came and encamped on the Hills, between the *Anio* and *Fidenæ*. And then the *Veientes* dared not appear any more in the Field, till their Army had received a Reinforcement of *Falisci* from *Hetruria*. Some time after this, they changed their Camp again, and retired quite under *Fidenæ*. As for the *Dictator*, he entrenched himself in the Angle, made by the Conflux of the *Tyber*, and the *Anio*. *Æmilius* was not far from the Enemy, being separated from them only by a large Plain, which he could enter at any Time, by keeping along the Banks of the two Rivers, and still continue covered on one side with his own Entrenchments. As soon therefore as the *Dictator* had finished his Camp, he marched into the Plain, and drew up his Army in order of Battel. This he did, to give the Enemy a Challenge; but the three Nations, of which their Army consisted, were not all equally inclined to accept it. The *Falisci*, who were farthest from Home, were very pressing to make a speedy end of the Campaign, that they might return into their own Country. Whilst *Tolumnius* and the *Fidenates* were afraid of standing the first furious Shock of the *Romans*. But at length the Council of War agreed, that the Ardor of the *Falisci* should be satisfied, and the General gave Notice to his own Troops, that he would give Battel the next Day. However, the Enemy's first Refusal to come to a Battel was interpreted by the *Romans* in their own Favour, and their Courage, was raised by it. The next Day *Tolumnius* kept his Word. He drew up his Troops in the Plain: And as they were superior in Number to those of the *Romans*, he sent away a Detachment of them, with Orders to march round behind the Hills, and come and fall upon the *Roman* Camp, in the Heat of the Battel, and surprize it. The Order in which *Tolumnius* drew up his Army,

³⁹ *Caius Fulcinius*, *Caius Julius*, (not *Clælius Tullus*) *Spurius Ancius*, and *Lucius Posticus*, were the four Deputies the *Romans* sent to the *Fidenates*.

⁴⁰ Statues were never erected in Honour to any, but such as had done the Republick important Services, or distinguished themselves by some very remarkable Action. Those who died in promoting the Interests of their Country, were, above all others, honoured with this Distinction. In this manner the *Athenians*, and *Alexander the Great*, honoured the Memory of the brave Soldiers who pe-

rished at the Battel of *Marathon*, and upon the Banks of the *Granicus*.

⁴¹ *Livy* thinks the Surname of *Fidenas* was not given to *Sergius*, till after the War of the *Romans* with the *Fidenates*. *Sergius* begun it, and at first gained a Victory over the King of the *Veientes*, which cost the *Roman* Army a great deal of Blood. And this Surname of *Fidenas* seems to have been continued in that Branch of the *Sergian* Family, which was derived from the *Consul*. At least we see one *Marcus Sergius Fidenas*, the Son of him here mentioned, made *Military Tribune* in the Year of *Rome*, 361.

was

was this. He posted himself and his *Veientes* in the right Wing. He placed the *Falisci* in the left Wing, and the *Fidenates* in the Center. The *Dictator* posted *Quinctius Capitolinus* in his left Wing, to engage the *Veientes*. He himself chose to be in his right Wing, to face the *Falisci*. And lastly, He placed his General of Horse in the Center, to engage with the *Fidenates*. The two Armies quietly faced each other for some Time, before they began the Attack. *Tolumnius* did not care for coming to an Action, unless forced to it; and the *Dictator* waited for a Signal, which the *Augurs* were to give him from the *Capitol*, by hoisting a Flag on the Top of it, as soon as they observed an auspicious Flight of Birds. This was, without doubt, a private Agreement between the *Dictator*, and the *Augurs*, in which there was more Policy than Religion. As soon as the *Roman* Soldiers saw the Standard, they thought themselves already victorious. The Horse began the Attack in the Center, with a great Shout. And they were followed by a Body of Foot, who all fell on together with Fury. So that the *Hetrurians* and *Fidenates* could no where withstand the Efforts of the brave *Romans*. The Enemy's Horse indeed made more Resistance. King *Tolumnius* commanded them, and was continually flying round the *Romans* with them, being in a manner every where at once, and retarding their Victory. And then the famous ⁴² *Cornelius Cossus* gained immortal Glory. He was a *Roman Knight*, and *Legionary* ⁴³ *Tribune*, well made, tall, and a Man of known Valour. His Family ⁴⁴ was one of the most illustrious in *Rome*; yet he increased the Glory of it, by an Action, for which no Precedent had yet been seen but in *Romulus* himself. He saw the *Roman* Squadrons give Way, when they met *Tolumnius*; he observed that the King, who was very richly dressed, made a great Figure in the middle of his Troop, and struck Terror wherever he appeared. *Cossus* cried out, *There he is, that Murderer of our Ambassadors! Enable me, O ye Gods, the Avengers of the Laws of Nations, to sacrifice him, as a Victim to the Manes of our Romans.* This said, he levelled his Lance, and flies towards *Tolumnius*, wholly disregarding every Body else. He comes up to him, runs him through, and dismounts him. Then leaning upon his Spear, he leaped off his Horse himself, and returns upon his Enemy. The wounded *Tolumnius* did what he could to raise himself, and fight. But *Cossus*, with one Stroke with his Buckler, laid him flat upon the Sand a second Time, and redoubling his Blows with Vigour, dispatched him. When he was dead, *Cossus* stripped him of his Royal Robes, cut off his Head, and stuck it on the Top of his Lance. When the Cavalry of the *Veientes*, who alone made any Resistance saw this, they were so terrified, that they held out no longer. Then the *Hetrurian* Battalions dispersed themselves, and fled towards their Camp. There the *Dictator* renewed the Fight, and made a prodigious Slaughter of them. As for the *Fidenates*, as they were acquainted with the Country, they fled for Refuge to their Mountains. In the mean time *Cossus* had passed the *Tyber*, and overrunning the Lands of the *Veientes* with his Horse, carried off a great deal of Spoil. Nor was this all. Whilst the *Roman* Army was routing that of the *Veientes*, some of their Troops, after they had marched round the Hills, came to besiege the *Dictator's* Camp. *Fabius*, one of the Lieutenant-Generals, was left to defend it. And he at first contented himself with fighting the Enemy from the Top of his Ramparts. But afterwards he made a Sally, at the right Hand ⁴⁵ Gate of the Camp,

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ÆMILIUS,
Dictator.

Val. Max.
B. 3. c. 2.

Livy B. 4.
c. 19.

⁴² The Surname of *Cossus* was given to those who had rough Skins, and Wrinkles in their Faces. *Cossi*, says *Fastus*, *ab antiquis dicebantur natum rugosi corporis homines, atque aspera facie: a similitudine vermium ligno editorum, qui Cossi appellantur.* Such probably was one of the Ancestors of this *Cornelius Cossus*, of whom we are speaking.

⁴³ In this manner, we think *Livy's* Words, *inter Equites Tribunus Militum*, ought to be explained. It cannot be said that *Cornelius Cossus* was then a *Military Tribune*, since the Republick was this Year governed by two *Consuls*, and a *Dictator* successively. *Cornelius* had therefore been taken out of the Horse to be made a *Legionary Tribune*. Nevertheless *Valerius Maximus*, and the Author of *The Lives of Illustrious Men*, say, that *Cossus* was then Captain-General of the Horse. Which neither agrees with the *Consular Annals*, nor

Livy, who give this Post to *Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus*.

⁴⁴ The *Cornelian* Family, which abounded so much with great Men, as will appear in the Sequel of this History, was then divided into two Branches, one of which was *Patrician*, and the other *Plebeian*. The first comprehended the *Blasio's*, the *Lentuli*, the *Scipio's*, the *Cinna's*, the *Sisenna's*, the *Sylla's*, the *Merula's*, and the *Cossi*, whose Memory has been preserved to our Time by Medals. *Goltzius* produces several Stamps of Medals, in which are also the Names of *Dolabella*, and *Cethegus*. But there is Reason to believe them forged, till the Originals appear.

⁴⁵ The ancient *Romans* made, at least, four Gates to their Camps; the *Prætorian Gate*, which was over against the General's Tent, which was called *Prætorium*; two Gates, one on the right, and

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Camp, whilst the Enemy were busy in attacking his Entrenchments; and he vigorously fell upon the Besiegers with his *Triarii*. Then Fear seized the Enemy; they were defeated, and fled. If *Fabius* did not kill as many Men, as fell in the general Battel, it was only because he had not so many Enemies to engage with.

THE *Dictator* therefore having merited the Honours of a Triumph by so complete a Victory, they were unanimously granted him both by Senate and People. So that *Æmilius* entered *Rome* in great Pomp, and was the first of the many triumphing Victors, his ⁴⁶ Family produced. The Sight, which most attracted the Eyes of the People in the Procession, was that of *Cornelius Cossus*, loaded with the Spoils of King *Tolumnius*, whom he had killed with his own Hands. The Soldiers sung some very sorry Verses, made after their Fashion, in Honour to him, and equalled this brave Subaltern to *Romulus* himself. He went and deposited his ⁴⁷ Trophy in the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, in the Place where the Founder of *Rome* had laid up the Spoils of King *Acron*, whom he had killed in Battel. These Spoils were the second of the sort, which had been seen in *Rome*, and the Name which had been given them was that of *illustrious*, or *rich Spoils*. It may even be said, that *Æmilius* was almost forgotten in the triumphal Procession, and that the Eyes of the *Romans* were fixed only on *Cossus*. And this remarkable Victory was the beginning of the War, which lasted so long between the *Romans* and the *Veientes*. But before the *Dictator* would lay down his Office, he ordered a Crown of Gold, of a Pound Weight, to be made at the Expence of the Publick, and offered it up to *Jupiter* in the *Capitol*, with the Consent of the People. This was a lasting Monument of his *Dictatorship*, and his Victory.

Opima Spolia.

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R O M E
CCCXVII.
M. CORNELI-
US, and L.
PAPIRIUS,
Consuls.

§. XIX. M. ⁴⁸ *Cornelius* and L. *Papirius*, who were *Consuls* the next Year, continued to treat the *Veientes* as Enemies. They marched Troops into their Country; but all their Exploits amounted to no more, than the making some Prisoners, and carrying away Cattle. It was not possible for them to lay Siege to any of the Cities, in which the Enemy had shut themselves up. There was a Plague among the Troops, which spread itself in the *Roman* Territories. The Inactivity of the Army Abroad, produced some Troubles at Home. There was among the *Tribunes of the People*, one *Sp. Maelius*; He (being related to the famous *Sp. Maelius*, who had been punished as one guilty of Tyranny) pretended to revenge himself upon his Relation's Accuser, and Assassin, and to justify his Memory. In order to this, he cited *Minucius* to appear, for having brought a false Accusation against the unfortunate *Sp. Maelius*. *Servilius Ahala* was also summoned to appear before the People, for having cut off the Head of a *Roman* Citizen, before he had been condemned. But if we may believe some Historians, the Attempts of this weak *Tribune* were so fruitless, that he brought himself into Contempt by them. Whilst others, in greater Numbers declare, that *Servilius Ahala* was condemned to Banishment; but was afterwards recalled. As for *Minucius*, we don't find that the Resentments of the *Tribunes* were fatal to him. The *Romans* in general were now chiefly concerned about preserving themselves from the Plague. But the Plague was not the only Scourge with which they were afflicted. A violent Earthquake had overturned many Houses in the Country. So that

*Livy B. 4.
c. 21.*

*Livy B. 4.
Ibid.*

and the other on the left, of the *Prætorian*, called *Portæ Principales*, or *Principal Gates*, either because they were at the Head of the Camp, *In Principiis*, or because the *Principal* Officers had their Tents near them; and a fourth Gate, which was called *Porta Decumana*, or the *Decuman Gate*, which some pretend was the same with the *Quæstorian Gate*, which was opposite to the *Prætorian*. We shall hereafter enquire into the Number and Situation of these Gates, when we come to the Times, in which the *Romans* had brought the Art of War to Perfection.

⁴⁶ The *Æmilian* Family was of considerable Rank among the *Patricians* of *Rome*. The *Scauri*, the *Lepidi*, and the *Buca's*, were three considerable Branches which came from the same Stock; not to mention those which are taken Notice of in the Historians, and antient Marbles.

⁴⁷ *Livy* seems to doubt of the Truth of this glorious Action of *Cornelius Cossus*, though supported by the Testimony of antient Authors. I

have, says he, followed the Opinion of all the Historians who have written before me, as to the Trophy which *Cornelius* consecrated in the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*. But it is nevertheless certain, that this Honour ought not to have been granted to any but a General, who had killed the Enemy's General, and stripped him of his Arms. Whereas *Cornelius* was but a Subaltern: And the Inscription at the Bottom of the Trophy shews, that *Cossus* was *Consul*, when he thus signalized himself against *Tolumnius*. And yet *Livy* himself confesses it to be best to adhere to the common Opinion, to avoid the Trouble of a very difficult Discussion. To which we may add, that there is no carrying back this Fact so far as to *Cossus's* first *Consulship*, that is, to the Year 325, without confounding the Order of Events.

⁴⁸ *Diodorus* changes the Surname of *Malerianensis*, which the Historians, and the *Fastæ Comares* give this *Consul*, into that of *Macerinus*. *Papirius's* Surname was *Craffus*.

not back

publick Prayers were offered up to the Gods, by order of the *Decemviri*, whom the last *Tarquin* had made Guardians of the *Sybilline* Books. But these Superstitions did not at all abate the publick Calamities.

§. XX. THE next Year, ⁴⁹ *Julius Iulus* was *Consul* the second Time, with *L. Virginius*; and in their Time the Plague raged with greater Fury than before. It swept away very great Multitudes of People, both in City and Country. The *Romans* therefore laid aside all Thoughts of making Inroads upon their Neighbours, and kept themselves within their own Territory. The passionate Desire of War seemed to be extinguished in all their Breasts. As for the *Fidenates*, they would fain have made their Advantage of these calamitous Times; but by endeavouring it, hastened their own Ruin. Ever since their last Defeat, they had shut themselves up in their Cities, Towns, and Mountains. But now they came out of these Places, and spread themselves all over the Lands of the *Romans*. The *Veientes* likewise assembling, upon their Invitation, joined them, and the two Armies passed the *Anio* together. As for the *Falisci*, they would not hearken to the pressing Instances of their Allies; the Misery of *Rome* was not attractive enough with them, to induce them to appear against her. The *Rendezvous* of the *Veientes* and *Fidenates*, was very near *Rome*, on the side of the Gate *Collina*. So that the Terror they spread both in the Country and City, obliged the *Consul Julius* to line the Ramparts with Troops; whilst *Virginius* his Colleague assembled the Senate in the Temple of *Quirinus*. There the *Conscript Fathers* were of Opinion, that it was necessary to nominate a *Dictator*: And the *Consuls* pitched upon *Quintus Servilius Priscus*, who chose *Posthumius Æbutius* to be his General of Horse. The *Dictator* had not been nominated till towards Night; and to prevent Loss of Time, as soon as it was Light the next Morning, he commanded all those, whose Health would admit of it, to march out of the City, through the Gate *Collina*. And accordingly *Servilius* was obeyed. The *Roman Eagles* were taken out of the Temple of *Saturn*, where the publick Treasury was kept: And these Preparations obliged the Enemy to retire, and encamp upon Eminencies at a greater Distance. Thither *Servilius* followed them with all his Forces; and came up with them about *Nomentum*, where he gave them Battel. Here the *Veientes* and *Fidenates* were all routed; but they found a Refuge within the Walls of *Fidenæ*, which was not far off. This rebellious City seemed too well fortified, for the *Romans* to take it soon. The Walls were high, and in no Danger of being scaled, and it was very plentifully stocked with Provisions. Care had been taken to stock it against all Events. The *Dictator* therefore had no Thoughts either of besieging it in Form, or taking it by Assault. He chose to blockade it, and that only on that part of the Town, where it seemed to be least in Danger of an Attack, and where it was sufficiently fortified by Nature. This was that part of the Upper-City, which the Inhabitants guarded with least Care. So that *Servilius* dug a subterraneous Passage through the Mountain it self, which was to be continued till it came and opened into the Upper-Town, and by this Means the *Romans* were to start out all on a sudden, in the midst of *Fidenæ*. When the Work was sufficiently advanced, the *Dictator* divided his Army into four Parts, and marching his Troops different Ways, brought them all before the lower City, in order to attack it at four Places at once. So that the Besieged were all wholly taken up with resisting the Besiegers, on that side where they threatened them; and deserted the Upper-City, which they thought in no Danger. But the *Romans* coming out of the Earth all on a sudden, through their Mines, discovered by their Shouts that they were Masters of the Place. The *Fidenates* were yet engaged in a vain Defence, when they saw the Enemy coming from the Upper-City, to fall upon them. Thus perished the Inhabitants of this Place, who were doubly guilty, both by their Revolt, and the shameful Massacre of four *Roman* Ambassadors. It is surprizing, that the *Dictator Servilius* should not have been rewarded with a Triumph, for so glorious a Victory, which was likewise followed with the taking of so important a Place. But, I believe, this was looked upon as a civil War. *Fidenæ* was, after all, both a *Roman* City and Colony. And it is well known, that no Triumph was ever granted to any Man, for having gained Advantages over the rebellious Citizens of

Year of
R O M E
CCCXVIII.

JULIUS IULUS, and L. VIRGINIUS, Consuls.

Livy B. 4.
Ibid.

Year of
R O M E
CCCVIII.
Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS, Dictator.

⁴⁹ *Cains Julius* had been *Consul* in the Year of *Rome* 306. He was now *Consul* the second Time. We must take care not to confound him with another *Cains Julius*, who was one of the *Decemviri*, in the Year 302. The *Fasti Capitolini* give *Virginius* the Surname of *Tricoftus*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXVIII.
Q. SERVILI-
US PRISCUS,
Dictator.
Fast. Cap.
Livy B. 4.
c. 22.
Var. B. 3. de
re rust.

Rome. To have overcome them, was rather Matter of Grief than Joy to the Republick. Nevertheless, it is most probable, that from hence *Servilius* had the Surname of *Fidenas*, which was ever after a Mark of Distinction for himself and his Posterity.

AND now the Time was come for making another *Census* of the *Roman* People. After the *Censors* were established, the *Census* never failed to be renewed every five Years. The present *Censors* were *Fur. Pacilus*, and *M. Geganius*. There was a House just built in the *Campus Martius*, for the more convenient taking the Number of the People on these Occasions; but it was afterwards applied to another Purpose, as well as this. The *Consuls* likewise made use of it, for the Review of the Troops. The *Censors* went to view this Building, approved of it, and made use of it, for the first time, in taking this *Census* ⁵⁰, which was followed by the twelfth *Lustrum*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXIX.
MARCUS
MANLIUS,
QUINTUS
SULPITIUS
PRÆTEXTA-
TUS, and SER-
VIUS CORNE-
LIUS CASSUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.
* *Licinius*
Macer.
Valer. Antias.
and *Q. Tubero*.
apud Liv.

§. XXI. IT is exceeding difficult, either to ascertain the Names of the *Consuls* for the next Year, or to determine, whether *Rome* was then governed by *Consuls*, or *Military Tribunes*. Some old Historians, who were before *Livy's* Time, pretend, that the *Consuls* for the last Year were continued in their Offices; and that therefore *Julius Iulius* was now *Consul* a third Time, and *L. Virginius* a second. Whilst others declare, that new ones were chosen, whose Names were *M. Manlius*, and *Q. Sulpicius*. But what is most surprizing is, that these contradictory Authors do each, in his own Defence, quote those very old Linnen Books, which the *Romans* thought the surest Foundations of their History. And the third Opinion, which is, that *Rome* was this Year governed by three *Military Tribunes*, is indeed as probable in it self, and as well supported in point of Authority, as either of the former. The old * Historians all agree, that this was the antient Tradition, and *Diodorus of Sicily* mentions these three ⁵¹ *Military Tribunes*, only altering their Names a little, as he generally does all Names. And if one might be permitted to embrace a fourth Opinion, notwithstanding that *Livy* has not ventured to advance it, why might not it be said, in order to reconcile the Historians with one another, that *Military Tribunes* were first chosen, who did not continue in Office the whole Year; and that the People returned to their *Consuls* before the Year ended, as they had done nine Years before? But be that as it will, it is plain these *Tribunes*, or *Consuls*, were so little concerned in the Events of the Year, that they were soon forgotten. And indeed the Senate did at this Time cause a *Dictator* to be appointed, whose sovereign Authority swallowed up all other Offices. The Destruction of *Fidenæ*, had filled all the *Hetrurians* with Terror. The *Veientes* and *Falisci* especially, were afraid the same Fate would attend *Veii*, and *Falerii*, their respective Capitals. They therefore joined together, and sent Deputies to all the *Hetrurian Lucumones*, to demand a general Diet of the whole Nation: And Orders were given that it should assemble in the Temple of ⁵² *Voltumna*, or *Vulturna*, a Goddess

Livy B. 4.
c. 23.

⁵⁰ The *Censors* held their Sitzings in this great Building. Near it the *Roman* People assembled, sometimes by *Centuries*, and sometimes by *Tribes*, to declare what they were worth, according to the antient Custom established by *Servius Tullius*. The publick Crier waited for the Order of the *Censor* to convene the *Classes*, or *Tribes*. *Varro* has given us the Form of Words the *Censors* then pronounced, as he collected it from the *Censors Tables*. The *Censors*, says he, after they had consulted the *Auguries*, commanded an Herald to assemble all the Citizens in the *Campus Martius*. His Words are these. QUOD BONUM, FORTUNATUM, FÆLIXQUE, SALUTAREQUE SIET POPULO ROMANO QUIRITIUM, REIQUE PUBLICÆ POPULI ROMANI QUIRITIUM, MIHIQUE, COLLEGÆQUE MEO, FIDEI, MAGISTRATUIQUE NOSTRO, OMNES QUIRITES PEDITES ARMATOS, PRIVATOSQUE CURATORES OMNIUM TRIBUUM, SI QUIS PRO SE, SIVE ALTERO DARE RATIONEM VOLET.—These last Words shew, that the Citizens, who were absent, had a right of making their Declaration by Proxy, provided they gave this Commission to Men of Probity, and give a Reason for their Absence. We have already observed, that the *Census* was usually followed by a *Lustrum*. In this case, the Troops which were appointed to guard the City, marched

into the *Campus Martius*, and there divided themselves into *Centuries*. The *Censors* reviewed them, and the Ceremony ended with the Sacrifice, called *Suovetaurilia*: With Respect to which Sacrifice, two Things are to be observed. First, That the *Romans* were exceeding nice and scrupulous, in the Choice of those who were to lead the Victims. Especial Care was taken, that they should, above all Things, have lucky Names, from whence good Presages might be drawn, of what was to come. And Secondly, new Vows were made, for the Prosperity of the *Roman* People, and the old ones made in the former *Lustrum*, were always performed. After which, the *Censor*, to whose Lot it fell to officiate that Day, came crowned with Flowers, and dressed in his *Prætexta*, to sacrifice the Victim. And as soon as the Sacrifice was over, the Troops returned to *Rome*, with Colours flying, and the *Censor* marching at the Head of them.

⁵¹ These three *Military Tribunes*, according to *Diodorus of Sicily*, were *Marcus Manlius*, *Quintus Sulpitius Prætextus*, and *Servius Cornelius Cassus*.

⁵² The Temple of *Voltumna* was the general Rendezvous of all the Cantons of *Hetruria*. They assembled there in a national Body, as the *Latin* did at *Ferentinum*, to deliberate upon any Matters relating

Goddess the *Hetrurians* worshiped. As then the *Romans* suspected what Resolutions might be taken in the Diet, they had the Precaution to create a *Dictator*. *Mamercus Æmilius* was nominated by the *Consuls* to this Dignity, which he now enjoyed a second Time. The General of Horse he chose was *Postumius Tubertus*: And the Preparations the *Dictator* made for War, were proportioned to the Greatness of the Nation, with whom he was to contend. But this Care of the *Romans*, though prudent, was useless. *Hetruria* refused to declare War with the Republick, in a national Body. The *Hetrurian* Diet answered the *Vientes*, That as they had begun the War with *Rome*, without imparting to the Nation their Views and Hopes, the Nation was not concerned to take part in their Dangers; and That if they would continue to be Enemies to the *Romans*, it would be at their own Perils only. This News was published at *Rome* by the Merchants. So that the *Dictator* laid aside all Hopes of gaining himself any Glory in Battel: But thought nevertheless to signalize himself by a Work of Peace. The *Censorship* was originally thought a contemptible Office. But the *Romans* had now had Time to undeceive themselves. The vast Power it carried with it, and especially its Continuance in the same Hands for five Years together, made the *Censors* formidable to all Orders of Men in the State. The *Dictator* therefore being prejudiced against an Institution which he thought prejudicial to the Republick, assembled the People, and addressed himself to them thus. Romans, you have chosen me to secure the publick Tranquillity, against Enemies Abroad; but the Gods have prevented your Wants, and removed your Fears. What then remains for me to do, but to establish your Liberty at Home? Now the most proper Means to preserve it entire, is not to suffer those whom we raise to the highest Dignities, to enjoy them too long. If we cannot set Bounds to the Jurisdiction⁵³ of the *Censors*, we may at least shorten the Time of their Continuance in Office. The *Consuls* enjoy their Dignities but one Year, the *Censors* five. Is not it hard to be subject to the Correction of the same Men, for a great part of our Lives? As for my self, I am resolved to make a Law, which shall confine the Duration of the *Censorship* to eighteen Months. This Discourse of the *Dictator* was received with Applause, and the next Day he made the Law, without farther Delay. And as the People were then assembled on that Occasion, he took that Opportunity of laying down the *Dictatorship*. To shew you, says he, by my own Example, what an Enemy I am to a long Continuance in Offices, I voluntarily lay down my own, before the usual Time. Thus *Æmilius*, after he had set Bounds to his own, and other Mens Ambition, was reconducted to his House, with the Acclamations of the People. Nevertheless, this wise Law cost him dear, who made it. The *Censors*, who were the Inspectors of the Manners of all the People, persecuted *Æmilius*, and made him feel the Effects of their Resentment. They struck him out of the Roll⁵⁴ of his *Tribe*; took away from him the Privileges of Citizenship, reduced him to the Condition of those, who were subject to all publick Taxes, without enjoying the Rights of Citizens; and lastly, increased his Taxes an eighth Part. The Reason of their Sentence was, that he had lessened the Dignity of an honourable Office. However, this Great Man bore these Indignities with singular Moderation. He comforted himself, under the Affronts he had received, with considering the Cause of them. Indeed the greatest part of the Senators did not approve of *Æmilius's* Law; but then they still less approved of the Severities of the *Censors* to him.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXIX.
MAMERCUS
ÆMILIUS,
Dictator.

Livy B. 4.
c. 24.

relating to the common Interest of the twelve *Lucumonies*. The most skillful Geographers conjecture, not without Reason, that this Place lay in the Center of *Hetruria*, at a little Distance from the Territory, in which the City of *Viterbo* now stands. *Voltumna*, or *Vulturna*, or as *Lilius Gyraldus* has it, *Vertuna*, was an *Hetrurian* Divinity which presided over these Assemblies. The Temple of this Goddess, was nothing but the Place itself, or the Ground consecrated by the *Augurs*. *Varro* and *Festus* tell us, this is the proper Signification of the Latin Word *Fanum*. But nevertheless it is probable, that *Voltumna* had there a particular Sanctuary, which was appointed for the offering up of Sacrifices both to her Honour, and by way of Ratification of the Determinations of the Diet.

⁵³ Though the Power and Jurisdiction of the

Censors extended over all Citizens, without Distinction, yet an Appeal lay from their Decrees to the Tribunals, either of the *Prætor*, or People. History gives us more Instances than one, of those who were reinstated in their Characters and Fortunes, after they had been stigmatized by the *Censors*. *Cicero* in his Oration for *Cluentius*, and *Val. Maximus*, B. 2. c. 9. tell us, that *Quintus Geta*, and *Marcus Valerius Messala*, were raised to the *Censorship*, though they had been expelled the Senate by the preceding *Censors*.

⁵⁴ This is what was called, *Inter ærarios re-ferri*. A Man who was thus degraded, lost all the Privileges belonging to him, as a *Roman* Citizen. He could not make a Will, or inherit: He had no right of Suffrage in the *Comitia*, nor was he suffered to incorporate himself in the *Legions* for the Service of the Republick.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXIX.

MAMERCUS
ÆMILIUS,
Dictator.

Every one made it his own Case. For the *Patricians*, to whom alone the *Censorship* was confined, and but few of whom could hope to enjoy it, must naturally live longer out of this Office, than in it. And as for the People, they were full of Resentments against the Authors of the Misfortunes *Æmilius* suffered. Insomuch, that he was forced to make use of all his Interest with the Commons, to prevent their declaring openly against the *Censors*. And we shall in a little while, see *Æmilius* raised from under the Oppression of this unjust Sentence, and honoured with the *Dictatorship* a third Time.

§. XXII. THE *Tribunes of the People* were on their Parts very busy. They, by their Harangues, prevailed to have the *Comitia* for the Election of the chief Magistrates postponed beyond the usual Time. Their Opposition was so warm and obstinate, that the Government had very like to have fallen into an *Interregnum*. They demanded that the Republick should again be governed by *Military Tribunes*, hoping that some of them would be chosen out of the *Plebeians*: And, at their Importunity, the People chose *Military Tribunes*, but were wise enough to elect only *Patricians*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXX.

M. FABIVS,
M. FOSLIUS,
and L. SER-
GIUS, Military
Tribunes.
Livy B. 4.
c. 25.

THE Names of those who were chosen, were *M. Fabius*, *M. Foslius* ⁵⁵, and *L. Sergius*. The most remarkable Event which happened in their Year, was a cruel Plague in the City, and as great a Mortality among the Cattle in the Country. The *Romans* therefore fearing that, for want of Husbandmen, a Famine would follow the Pestilence, they sent for Corn to *Hetruria*, to the *Pontin-Lake*, to *Cumæ*, and even as far as *Sicily*. And lastly, to put an end to the Contagion, a Vow was made to build a Temple to *Apollo* the God of Physick. The *Duumviri* learned many Practices to appease the Gods, and stay the Plague, from the *Sybylline Books*, which were committed to their Custody. And in these calamitous Times, no Alteration was made in the Form of the Government for the next Year: Which proved a happy one, under three new *Military Tribunes*, which were ⁵⁶ *L. Penarius*, *L. Furius*, and *Sp. Posthumus*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXI.

L. PINARIUS,
L. FURIUS,
and SP. POST-
HUMIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.

Livy B. 4.
Ibid.

The Plague ceased in *Rome*, and the Provisions which had been brought thither, preserved it from a Famine. Indeed the *Æqui*, together with the *Volsi*, and the *Hetrurian* Diet, in an Assembly held near the Temple of *Voltumna*, made some Proposals about entering into a War with the Republick. But the Determination was postponed till the next Year. The *Veientes* in vain complained, that their City was threatened with the same Fate, as *Fidenæ* had undergone. The *Hetrurian* Diets could be assembled but once a Year. So that Peace, Health, and Plenty, made *Rome* a delightful Habitation at present; but Ambition raised some fresh Disturbances in it. The most wealthy, and most esteemed of the *Plebeians*, complained of the inferior People. They did not think them well enough affected to their Interests. They therefore held Assemblies at the Houses of the *Tribunes of the People*, and declared themselves in this manner. *As much as the inferior Citizens of Rome are obliged to unite themselves to us, since we are of the same Body with them, we have not yet experienced any of their Zeal for us. We have a Law indeed, which gives them leave to choose one half of the Military Tribunes out of the Patricians, and the other out of the Plebeians. But have they ever shewn any Regard for us by their voting? Not one Plebeian has yet been advanced to this first Dignity in the Republick. This plainly shews us, why our Forefathers would never suffer the Patricians to be made Tribunes of the People. Had this been done, they would, by the Assistance of the inferior Citizens, have kept this important Office likewise, in their own Possession. But after all, it is not so much the Fault of the People, as the Ambition of the Nobility, which excludes us from Posts of the greatest Honour. The Patricians are continually making Interest among the poorer Citizens. They intreat, they threaten them. If the inferior People could once get free from these Importunities, they would perhaps have more Regard for the Honour of a Body, of which they themselves are a part.* And these Words were followed with a Scheme, which was proposed to the *Tribunes*. This was to prevail on the *Comitia* when assembled, to pass a Law against the Nobilities making Interest in Elections. It had been a Custom for some Time in *Rome*, for those who stood for the superior Of-

Cic. de Petit.
Conf. and
Maer. B. 1.
c. 16.

⁵⁵ The first of these three *Military Tribunes*, was surnamed *Vibulanus*; the second *Flaccinator*; the third *Fidenas*. The first had been *Consul* nine Years before. He was the Son of *Quintus Fabius*, who was three Times *Consul*, and one of the *Decemviri*. From him the *Fabii Ambusti* descended.

⁵⁶ The Names of these three *Military Tribunes* are so disfigured by *Diodorus of Sicily*, that it is impossible to know them. In the *Fasti Capitolini*, the first is surnamed *Rufus*, and *Mamercinus*; the second *Medullinus*; and the third *Albus*, *Regilensis*.

fices in the State, to wear Cloaths of a shining white. For this Reason they were called *Candidati*, or *Candidates*, from the Word *Candidus*, which signifies *White*. Not that all the rest of the People were not cloathed in white, when they were out of Mourning. But those who stood for Offices, made their Habits whiter than ordinary by Art, and thereby distinguished themselves from the rest of the Citizens. In this Dress, which they always kept clean, they shewed themselves to the People, on Market-days, caressed the meanest of the Citizens, called them by their Names, squeezed them by the Hand, and went up upon an Eminence which overlooked the *Forum*, that they might be seen at a greater Distance. But this Way of canvassing was used only by the Nobility. The Design therefore of the principal *Plebeians* was to abolish this Custom by a Law, which they desired the *Tribunes* to get passed. It was indeed an Affair of very little Consequence, and yet it raised great Contests between the Senate and People. However, the Law was at length passed, to the Satisfaction of the *Plebeians*, and it was the first Law which was made at *Rome* against canvassing at Elections. But it did not continue long in force. The Custom of wearing Habits of a shining White was revived, with more Affectation than ever, and the Candidates for Offices appeared in them, as formerly. Nevertheless the Quarrels which happened about the Habits of *Candidates*, made the chief of the People hope, they should some of them be chosen *Military Tribunes*, and the Senate fear, there would be a Mixture of *Plebeians* with the Nobility, in the chief Offices of the State. But the *Conscript Fathers* artfully averted a Blow, which would have affected them so sensibly. They came to a Determination, that only *Consuls* should be chosen in the next *Comitia*. Their Pretence for reviving the old Form of Government was this, that the Republick was threatened with a War by the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, and that the Allies of *Rome* had given them Information of it.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXI.

L. PINARIUS,
L. FURIUS,
and SP. POST-
HUMIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.

Livy B. 4.
Ibid.

§. XXIII. ACCORDINGLY, the *Centuries* chose *T. Quinctius Pennus Cincinnatus*, and *Caius Julius Mento*, for *Consuls*, in the *Campus Martius*. The former of these was the Son of the famous *Cincinnatus*, who had been taken from the Plough, and raised to the *Dictatorship*, whether he would or not. As to the Reports which had been spread Abroad the last Year, of the Motions of the *Æqui*, and *Volsci*, they proved but too true. These two confederate Nations had assembled together all their Forces, and had now more numerous Armies than ever. It was even said, that they had made a Law, condemning all their Countrymen to Death, who refused to take up Arms. So that the two Nations were entirely exhausted of Men, in order to make their last Effort against the *Romans*. And these Enemies had already posted themselves near the *Algidus*, where they had entrenched themselves in two different Camps. The Commanders of these Confederates had likewise taken more Care in fortifying themselves, and exercising their Men, than ever. The *Romans* were not ignorant of these formidable Preparations; and the Republick was alarmed at them. These People had indeed been several Times overcome, and had passed under the Yoke; but *Rome* was now a little weakened by the Loss of the many young Men the Plague had carried off. And therefore though the *Consuls*, especially *Cincinnatus*, had great Reputation for Valour, yet the Senate thought it necessary to create a *Dictator*. This had been very frequently done, for some Time last past, and the Republick had found its Account in it. The Choice of this supreme Magistrate, belonged neither to the People, nor the Senate. The *Consuls* had the sole Right of nominating him, when they laid down their own Offices, or made themselves his Subalterns. Some Historians indeed say, that the present *Consuls* first attempted to fight the Enemy; and that having been worsted, they were then forced to put the Command of the Army into other Hands. But however that be, it is certain the *Consuls* did not think fit to comply with the Senate in nominating a *Dictator*. They were, without doubt, angry at the little Confidence the Republick seemed to have in their Experience and Valour. Insomuch, that they persisted in keeping their Offices, and though they had some Differences with one another, yet they agreed, with Regard to a Point of Honour, in which they were equally concerned. In the mean time, bad News was daily brought to *Rome*, of the Progress of the Enemy. And therefore, in order to bring the *Consuls* to Reason, the Senators had Recourse to the College of *Tribunes*, and *Servilius* addressed himself to them in the following manner. He was a Man of very great Weight, who had dismanted *Fidenæ* in his *Dictatorship*, and had thereby obtained the Surname of *Fidenas*. I don't dispute, says he, the *Consuls* sole right of nominating a Dictator. I know the

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXII.

T. QUINCTI-
US PENNUS
CINCINNA-
TUS, and C.
JULIUS MEN-
TO, Consuls.

Livy B. 4.
c. 26.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXII.
T. QUINCTI-
US PENNUS
CINCINNA-
TUS, and C.
JULIUS MEN-
TO, Consuls.

Senate can't force them to it ; but in the present Extremity, it is your Business, who are Tribunes of the People, to oblige them to lay down the Command of the Army, and put it into the Hands of a Dictator. The Tribunes were charmed with this Proposal. It was giving their College more Authority. So that they, after a short Deliberation, commanded the *Consuls* to obey the Senate, and threatened them with Imprisonment, if they continued obstinate in their Refusal. At length the *Consuls* complied, having, perhaps, more Deference for the *Tribunes*, than the Senate. But at the same Time, they reproached the Senators with having betrayed the Interests of their own Body, and brought the *Consular* Dignity upon a Level with any private Station in Life. And indeed it was a hard Case for them to authorize the *Tribunes of the People*, to send the *Consuls* to a Prison. However, there was still another Difficulty, when the *Consuls* came to nominate a *Dictator*. They could not agree upon a Man : And it was therefore determined by Lot. It fell to *T. Quinctius* to nominate, who declared *A. Posthumius Tubertus Dictator*. He was a severe General, with Respect to military Discipline, and was Father-in-law to *Quinctius*. He nominated *L. Julius Vopiscus* to be his General of Horse.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXII.
A. POSTHU-
MIUS TUBER-
TUS, Dictator.

IN order to hasten the Preparations for War, *Posthumius* shut up all the Tribunals : And the City was wholly employed about the Levies. All those, who owed the Republic any Service, were obliged to march, and the hearing of the Reasons of those who absented themselves was postponed, till after the Troops returned, and then all those, whose Excuses should be deemed frivolous, were to be punished as Deserters. For this Reason, even those who had only dubious Excuses to make for Absence, enrolled themselves, as well as the rest. *Posthumius* also ordered the *Hernici*, and the *Latins*, to furnish their Contingents of Auxiliaries : And the *Dictator* found a ready Obedience every where. So that the Army was complete in a few Days. But *Posthumius* seems not to have forced the *Consuls* to abdicate entirely : Or at least he did not leave them without Employments. For *C. Julius* was left in *Rome* to govern it, and supply the Army with Provisions : And *Quinctius* had the Command of a part of the Republic's Forces. As for the General of Horse, it lay incumbent upon him to provide for the immediate Necessities of the Army, that nothing might retard their Expedition. And when they were ready to set out, *Posthumius* first signalized himself by his Piety, before he did so by his Arms. The *Dictator* made a Vow to the Gods, to celebrate *Great Games* to their Honour, in a Form of Words first pronounced by the *Pontifex Maximus* ; then he took the Field ; and at length came within reach of the Enemy. And as the *Æqui* were entrenched on one side, and the *Volsci* on the other, he also divided his Army into two Bodies, one of which he commanded himself, and committed the other to the Conduct of *Quinctius*, who encamped separately. The *Dictator* posted himself on this side *Tusculum* ; the *Consul*, on this side *Lanuvium*. Between the Enemy's Camps and the *Roman*, there lay a Plain, which was large enough, not only for Skirmishes, but also for a general Battel. However, *Posthumius* did not judge it proper to run the Hazard of one too hastily. He only suffered his Men to make Trial of the Enemy in Skirmishes, and to learn by their Success in small Fights, to overcome them in a general Action. But the Confederates were more impatient than the *Romans*. They, finding it impossible to bring them so soon to a Battel, formed a Design of coming in the Night, and attacking *Quinctius* in his Camp. And this they undertook to do, at all Events, not knowing what might be the Consequence. As soon therefore as the Enemy was perceived, the Centinels, who were watching on the Ramparts, made an Outcry, which awakened the *Consul*, and his Soldiers, and was heard by the *Dictator* in his Camp. Then *Quinctius Cincinnatus* did all that could be expected from a brave Man, and a great General. He strengthened his Guards at the Gates of his Camp, and lined his Ramparts with Soldiers : Whilst the *Dictator*, who was not besieged, had Time to take more deliberate Resolutions. He first sent a Reinforcement to *Quinctius*, under the Command of *Posthumius Albus*, one of his Lieutenant-Generals. And then he marched out of his Camp himself, with a part of his Army, and went a great Way about, through by-Roads, in order to come and fall suddenly on the Enemy, and surprize them. He left his Lieutenant-General *Quinctius Sulpitius* to guard his Camp, and *M. Fabius* to command the Cavalry. The latter had Orders not to begin his March with his Squadrons till it was Day, because it would have been difficult to have led them on without Danger in the dark. But though these wise Dispositions shewed the Prudence of the *Roman* General, yet nothing

thing did him more Honour, than the Resolution he took, to send and surprize the Camp of the *Æqui*. He knew they had sent out almost all their Forces from it, and imagined, that the few Men, who remained in it, would spend the Night in an absolute Security. The *Dictator* therefore sent *M. Geganius* thither, with some chosen *Cohorts*: And he found that the sleepy *Volsci*, in Dependence on the Danger to which the *Romans* were going to be exposed, had neglected to set Centinels on their Ramparts. So that *Geganius* entered their Camp without Difficulty, and almost before they perceived him. As soon as he was Master of their Entrenchments, he lighted Fires; which was the Signal agreed on between him and the *Dictator*. Immediately therefore *Posthumius* told his Men, that the Enemy's Camp was taken, and the News of it was spread through the whole Army: And when Day began to break, *Fabius* came and fell on the Enemy with his Horse. At the same instant, the besieged *Consul* made a Sally upon the Besiegers; and the *Dictator*, on his part, fell on the Rear of the Enemy's hindermost Line, which was their *Corps-de-reserve*. They being surrounded on all sides, and obliged to face about every Way, were every where broken through, by both a victorious Infantry, and Cavalry. So that the Confederates, who were encompassed by the *Romans*, found themselves in inevitable Danger on all sides. And they had all perished on the Spot, if one of the *Volsci*, named *Vectius Messius*, who was more remarkable for his Exploits than his Birth, had not encouraged his Countrymen, who had already formed a Circle, with a Resolution to die, defending themselves. *Have we then*, said he to them, *Swords in our Hands for nothing? We must make our selves a Passage, to return to our Wives and Children, through the midst of the Enemy.* This said, *Messius* broke through the Body of *Romans*, which *Albus Posthumius* commanded. The *Æqui* and *Volsci* followed him with great Shouts, and with the Fury of Men in Despair. They gave the *Romans* a terrible Shock, which cost them dear. Almost all the General Officers were wounded in it. The *Dictator* received a Blow on his Shoulder. *Fabius* was run through the Thigh with a Dart, which almost penetrated into the Side of his Horse. The *Consul Cincinnatus* was wounded in the Arm. But notwithstanding this, neither of them left the Field. *Posthumius* only was carried out of the Battel, after receiving a Blow on the Head with a Stone, which hurt his Skull. Then *Messius*, become the Deliverer of his Countrymen, performed wonderful Acts of Valour. After he had beaten down every thing that opposed him, and forced his Way, with his Followers, through the *Roman* Battalions, he gained the Enemy's other Camp, which had not been taken. This was the only *Asylum*, which was left for the Conquered, who fled thither after their Rout; and they were not easily dispossessed of this Post. The Conquerors hastened thither to besiege it. The *Consul* attacked it on one side, and the *Dictator* on the other: And if the Ardour of the *Romans* was not abated in this new Engagement, neither did the *Volsci* behave themselves less bravely in their Defence, than they had done in their Retreat. It is said the *Consul* threw one of his Standards upon the Enemy's Ramparts, in order to make his Men go thither to recover it, whilst the *Dictator* was levelling the Entrenchments on his side, in order to pass them. At length he made a Breach in them, entered them, and after a slight Engagement, forced the Enemy to lay down their Arms, and submit to the Mercy of the Conqueror. So that the second Camp of the Enemy being now taken, all the *Volsci* in it were made Prisoners of War, and were all, except their Senators, sold to the best Bidder. The *Hernici* and the *Latins* had the Spoils, which had been taken from them, restored them; and the rest was sold.

WHILST the *Dictator Posthumius* was gaining this complete Victory, and the *Consul Quinctius* was sharing his Glory with him in the Army, his Collegue *Julius*, who was left at *Rome*, obtained a Mark of Distinction, of which the most illustrious *Romans* were ambitious. He was nominated to consecrate ⁵⁷ the Temple of *Apollo*. Regularly indeed the two *Consuls* ought to have drawn Lots for this Honour: But the Senate conferred it on *Julius*, in *Quinctius's* Absence. Which gives some room to conjecture, that the two *Consuls* did not lay down their Offices during the *Dictatorship*, but preserved both the Name and Functions of *Consuls*, only in Subjection to a superior Ma-

⁵⁷ A Vow had been made to build this Temple (when *Marcus Fabius Vibulanus*, *Alaricus Fostius*, and *L. Sergius*, were Military Tri-

bunes) in order to obtain a Deliverance from the Plague.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXII.

A. POSTHUMIUS TUBERTUS, Dictator.
Ovid. B. 6.
and Fast. Cap.
Diod. Sic. B.
12. Aul. Gel.
B. 17. and
Val. Max. B.
2. c. 7.

Livy B. 4.
c. 29.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXIII.

C. PAPIRIUS,
and L. JULIUS
VOPISCUS,
Consuls.

gistrate. *Quinctius* was uneasy at the Preference given to his Collegue, and complain-
ed of it to the Senate; but still continued in the Camp. As for the *Dictator*, he re-
turned to the City, entered it in Triumph, the 14th of the *Calends of July*, and laid
down his *Dictatorship*. But most Historians agree, that *Posthumius* made his Victory
odious, by an Act of Severity, which was afterwards imitated by *Manlius*. He had
one Son, whose Perfections are much celebrated: He was the Hopes of his Family,
and 58 the Head of the domestick Religion of his Ancestors. His Father had taken
upon himself the Care of his Education in his Infancy. He had taught him Letters
in his Youth, and when he grew towards Manhood, instructed him in the Business of
Arms. Being therefore thus brought up under the Father's Eye, his Manners were
well formed, his Heart filled with Virtue, and the Love of his Country was become his
only Passion. This dear, this accomplished Son, add they, marched out of the Camp
one Day, contrary to the Orders of the *Dictator* his Father, to fight a Party of the
Enemy, which he conquered: Nevertheless, *Posthumius* ordered him to be beheaded.
But the best Historian we have, thinks all this a fabulous Story. According to him,
Rome never produced but two such Instances of Inhumanity. What was only true of
Manlius Torquatus, seems to have been ascribed to the *Dictator Posthumius*, before
it happened. But after all, though this Historian's 59 Criticism has something of
Probability in it, yet it is not absolutely convincing: And indeed he leaves his Readers
at Liberty to judge of it as they think fit.

§. XXIV. THE next Year 60 was a Year of Peace at *Rome*, and produced few me-
morable Events. *C. Papirius* 61, and *L. Julius Vopiscus*, were chosen *Consuls*, in
spight of the *Tribunes of the People*, who were for choosing *Military Tribunes*. The
Æqui had received so terrible a Blow in the preceding Wars, that they had now
nothing to do, but to submit. They therefore sent Deputies to *Rome*, to desire the
Republick to enter into a Treaty of Alliance with them, upon the same Foot as those
made with the *Hernici*, and the *Latins*. But they perceived that the *Romans* were
not inclined to receive them upon any other Terms, than a Submission at Discretion.
So that the Envoys only proposed a Truce, which they obtained for eight Years. As
to the *Volsci*, their Defeat was followed with domestick Broils. Those who had op-
posed the War with *Rome*, reproached the Conquered with their shameful Defeat,

58 The antient *Romans* gave this Title to the
presumptive Heir of any Family. We have already
observed, that the chief Heir enjoyed all the Rights
of his Predecessor, and at the same time took upon
him all the Burdens annexed to the Inheritance.
Among which this was one, that he was obliged to
preside in all domestick Festivals, and to defray the
Expences of the Sacrifices, and other religious Ce-
remonies, which were used on these solemn Occa-
sions.

59 Posterity, says the *Roman* Historian, never re-
proached *Posthumius* with this extravagant Severity.
Of this, says he, we need no other Proof, than that
the antient Tradition, which made *Manlius's* exces-
sive Rigor to his own Son proverbial, made no
mention of *Posthumius*. *Et argumento est quod*
imperia Manliana, non Posthumiana appellata sint.
If this Story of *Posthumius* were true, continues
Livy, he would have been the first Object of the
Peoples Curses, and would have founded the Pro-
verb, since his was the first terrible Example of this
kind, several Years before *Manlius's* Time. But
if this reasoning were just, It would follow, that
Brutus did not put his own Children to Death (and
Livy must necessarily contradict his own Account
of that Execution in the first Book of his History)
since his Act was not become proverbial, like that
of *Manlius*.

60 *Livy* places the first Expedition of the *Car-*
thaginians into *Sicily*, in this Year of *Rome* 323.
They went over thither the first Time, says he, at
the Solicitation of one of the Parties, which con-
tended for the Government of that Island. But
Diodorus of Sicily places it much earlier. He as-
sures us, that the *Carthaginians* had attempted the
Conquest of *Sicily*, at the Instigation of *Xerxes*,
King of *Persia*, but that the Enterprize was unsuc-

cessful, and they were all cut in pieces. *Amil-*
car their General, and 150000 Men perished
in the Battel which was fought on the Banks of
the *Himera*, the same Day that the famous Battel
of *Thermopylae* was fought, in the Consulship of
Spurius Cassius, and *Proculus Virginus*, i. e. in the
Year of *Rome* 268, according to *Livy*, or 267, ac-
cording to the *Fasti Capitolini*; and consequently
above half a Century before the Year in which we
are. And if *Livy* only means some other Irruption
of the *Carthaginians*, in favour of the Inhabitants
of the Island, who desired their Assistance, we shall
find all his Calculations in his History wrong. In
short, *Thucydides* and *Diodorus* tell us, that the In-
habitants of *Egesta* called in the *Carthaginians* to
their Assistance, who went over into the Island,
when the *Athenians* had been entirely defeated, after
having in vain attempted to make themselves Ma-
sters of *Syracuse*. These Authors place this Event
in the 22^d Year of the *Peloponnesian* War. Which
Year agrees with the 343^d, and not the 323^d Year
of *Rome*.

61 *Livy* gives *Papirius Crassus* the *Prænomēn* of
Lucius, and not that of *Gaius*. This Mistake ought
therefore to be rectified, upon the Credit of the
Fasti Capitolini. This Magistrate seems to have
been the Grandfather of *Spurius Crassus*, who was
a *Military Tribune* in the Year of *Rome*, 384; and
to have been a different Man from that *Lucius*
Crassus, who was *Consul* in the Year 317. With-
out this Supposition, we can never make out the
thirteen *Papirii*, which *Cicero* reckons up, *Ep. ad*
Petum, between *Lucius Papirius Mugillanus*, the
Head of the *Papirian* Family, who first executed
the Office of *Censor*, and *Lucius Papirius Crassus*,
who was *Dictator*, and *Prætor*.

and

and the Misfortunes it had brought on the Publick. From Contests, and Reproaches, they came at last to Seditions, and Battels. By this Means, *Rome* again enjoyed a perfect Tranquillity. And nothing new was done there, but the making a Law, to settle the Value of Fines. *Poplicola* had formerly condemned those who disobeyed the *Consuls*, to pay five Oxen, and two Sheep. Afterwards all those who rebelled against any Magistrates whatsoever, were fined ⁶², and forced to pay two Oxen ⁶³, and thirty Sheep. And the *Consuls* for this ⁶⁴ Year ordered these Fines, which before were paid in kind, to be paid in Money for the future. They valued each Sheep ⁶⁵ at ten *Asses* of Brass, and each Ox at a hundred. The *Tribunes* were the Authors of this Valuation, and were ready to have settled it by a Law, but they were betrayed by one of their Collegues. And as soon as the *Consuls* understood the Design, they prevented them, made the Law themselves, and thereby gained the Favour of the People. This was the only remarkable Thing they did in their *Consulship*.

LUCIUS SERGIUS ⁶⁶ chosen *Consul* a second Time, and *Hostus Lucretius* his Collegue, passed their Year in yet greater Inactions than their Predecessors. The publick Tranquillity, which the *Romans* enjoyed, was not at all disturbed in it, even by the Ambition of the *Tribunes*.

§. XXV. THE next Year scarce abounded in any thing but Calamities. *Titus Quinctius* was raised to the *Consulate* a second Time, and his Collegue was that *Cornelius Cossus*, who was so famous for the Spoils he took from King *Tolumnius*. Some Historians indeed pretend, that he did not gain this Victory till the Year of his *Consulship*, when he himself was chief Magistrate: And their Opinion is pretty well founded. At least, it is not doubted, but the *Veientes* and *Fidenates* were in Motion again, when he was *Consul*. The *Romans* accused the latter of having stirred up the former to enter into the *Roman* Territories, and plunder them; and of having joined with them in their IncurSIONS. So that the Senate sent Commissioners to enquire into this new Breach of Faith in the *Fidenates*. And they found that some of the Inhabitants of *Fidenæ* were not at Home at the Time of the Pillaging; nor could they give any good Account of their Absence. Upon which Suspensions, they were banished to *Ostia*. As for the City, the *Roman* Colony, which was in it by way of Garrison, was reinforced; and for its better Subsistence, the Lands of the *Fidenates*, who had been killed in Battel, were distributed among them. There was at this Time an exceeding great Drought in *Italy*. The Rivers and Fountains were dried up, which produced a terrible Desolation in the Territory of the *Romans*. Their Cattle in the Country perished with Thirst, and the Driness of the Ground brought Distempers among the Beasts, which spread from them to the Peasants, and from them to the Citizens of *Rome*. It is very common for People to grow very pious in times of publick Calamity; but then it often happens, that their Piety turns into Superstition on such Occasions. In the present Instance, all those Men who usually take Advantage of the Credulity of the Vulgar, mixed unusual Ceremonies with their old religious Worship, and propagated Impostures. Nothing was seen in the Streets, or Temples, but new Ways of Expiation, brought for the most part, from foreign Countries. Till at length these superstitious Innovations brought a Reproach upon the Governors of the Republick. They therefore commanded the *Ædiles* to take Care, that none worshiped any Gods, but those of the Country, or with any other than the usual Rites. This was reviving the old Law of *Romulus*, which was also inserted among those of the *Twelve Tables*.

⁶² This Law was made in the Year of *Rome* 299, by the *Consul Aulus Æternius*, or according to others by his Collegue *Spurius Tarpeius*. And for this Reason, it is sometimes called the *Æternian*, and sometimes the *Tarpeian* Law.

⁶³ *Festus* and *Aulus Gellius*, say on the contrary, that this Fine was two Sheep, and thirty Oxen, because Sheep were more scarce in *Italy*, than Oxen.

⁶⁴ *Diodorus of Sicily*, *Livy*, and *Festus*, falsely ascribe this Law to *Titus Menenius Agrippa*, and *Publius Sextius* in their *Consulship*, which was in the Year of *Rome* 301.

⁶⁵ *Plutarch* is mistaken in making *Valerius Pop-*

licola the Author of this Law. And *Festus* and *Aulus Gellius* have confounded it with the Law made twenty four Years before, by the *Consuls Æternius* and *Tarpeius*.

⁶⁶ *Diodorus Siculus* has strangely disfigured the Names of these *Consuls*. He gives *Lucretius* the *Prænomen* of *Opiter*, which we don't find ever used in the *Lucretian* Family. Antient Authors give this *Consul* the *Prænomen* of *Hostus*, which *Valerius Maximus* has improperly changed, in his little Work of *Roman Names*, into that of *Hospes*. The Name of *Hostus* was given to those, who were born in foreign Countries.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXIII.

C. PAPIRIUS,
and L. JULIUS
VOPISCUS,
Consuls.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXIV.

L. SERGIUS,
and HOSTUS
LUCRETIVS,
Consuls.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXV.

TITUS QUINCTIVS,
and
CORNELIVS
COSSUS, Con-
suls.

Livy B. 4.
c. 30.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXVI.
L. PAPIRIUS,
and SERVILI-
US AHALA,
Consuls.

Livy B. 4.
Ibid.

§. XXVI. BUT the Resentments the *Romans* had conceived against the *Veientes*, signally appeared in the *Consulship* of *L. Papirius*, and *Servilius* ⁶⁷ *Abala*. The Senate was disposed not to defer inflicting on them the Punishment they had deserved; but some religious Scruples, and the Oppositions of the *Tribunes of the People* gave these unfaithful *Hetrurians* a Year's Respite. They had obtained a Truce of the *Romans* for eight Years, after their Defeat near *Nomentum*. And before this Time was expired, they had ravaged the Lands of the *Romans*, with the Assistance, and at the Persuasion of the *Fidenates*. But the *Romans*, though injured, continued still to observe the Truce more religiously, than the *Veientes* did, who had broken it. The Senate thought it necessary to proceed in a legal Way against them, before they took up Arms, and to send some *Feciales* to them. The Orders of these Heralds at Arms were, to go and demand Reparation of the Aggressors, for all the Injuries they had done the Republick; and to make a Report of their Negotiation to the Senate. However, the *Veientes* would not hearken to the just Complaints of the *Romans*, and sent back the *Feciales*, without giving them Satisfaction. And therefore the only Question then was, in what manner War should be declared against them. The Senate pretended, that their Decree would be sufficient to declare them Enemies to the Republick. On the other hand, the People pretended, that to determine Affairs of Peace and War was their Province, and that a Decree of the Senate was not sufficient for raising an Army. The People had indeed been in Possession of the Right of declaring War, ever since *Romulus's* Time; but the Senators pretended, That the Question at present was not about a new Enemy; That the *Veientes* had been already such; and That the Hostilities had only been suspended by a Truce. And on these Occasions, the *Tribunes of the People* always had it in their Power to carry it against the Senate. They threatened to hinder the Levies, if the *Consuls* did not apply themselves to the People, and desire them to declare War with the *Veientes*. But these Disputes produced ill Effects. They delayed the Vengeance of the *Romans*, and made the People insist, that the Government of the Republick should be placed in the Hands of *Military Tribunes*, and not of *Consuls*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXVII.
T. QUINCTI-
US CINCIN-
NATUS, C.
FURIUS, M.
POSTHUMIUS,
and A. COR-
NELIUS COS-
SUS, Military
Tribunes.

Livy B. 4.
c. 31.

§. XXVII. INSTEAD of two Governors for the Republick, with the Title of *Consuls*, the People chose four, with that of *Military Tribunes*. It is easy to see, upon the mention of them, that they were all *Patricians*, and had most of them been *Consuls*, and famous for military Exploits. They were *T. Quinctius* ⁶⁸ *Cincinnatus*, *C. Furius*, *M. Posthumius*, and *A. Cornelius Cossus*. The Intention of the People, in choosing so many brave Commanders to act against the *Veientes*, is not to be blamed. But the *Romans* found by Experience, That it is often inconvenient, to have a Number of great Men, all invested with equal Power, to govern an Army; and That one experienced General, is preferable to many skilful Commanders. Before the *Military Tribunes* set out for the Army, they took their Employments by Lot. And it was doubtless *Cossus's* Lot to continue in *Rome*, to guard the City: For his three Collegues led the *Roman Army* against the *Veientes*. But each particular General had his own Views in carrying on the Campaign; which being sometimes very different, the Troops had contradictory Orders. This the Enemy perceived, and very well understood how to make their Advantage of it. They made all the Haste they could to come to a Battel, pretty near the *Roman Camp*. And the Generals not acting in concert in the Engagement, it became fatal to the *Roman Troops*. One commanded a Retreat, another a Charge, to be sounded, at the same Time. The Orders were different, and consequently the Obedience paid to them was directed to different Ends:

⁶⁷ This *Caius Servilius* was the Man who cut off *Spurius Maelius's* Head. The *Greek Tables* give him the Surname of *Axilla*. So that they confound him with another Man of the same Surname, who was afterwards *Military Tribune* three Times.

⁶⁸ *Livy* seems to make no Difference, in point of Time, between the second *Consulship* of *Titus Quinctius Pennus Cincinnatus*, and his *Military Tribuneship*; which was in this Year 327, according to the *Fasti Capitolini*. The Historian's Words are these. *Tribuni Militum consulari potestate quatuor creati sunt; Titus Quinctius Pennus, ex Consulatu, &c.* Nevertheless, it is certain, that *Lucius Papirius*, and *Caius Servilius Abala* were *Consuls*

the Year before this; as *Diodorus Siculus* himself acknowledges. Concerning which it is proper to observe, that this last Author is mistaken, as usual, in saying, that *T. Quinctius Pennus* was *Consul* for those two Years successively, which immediately preceded the *Consulship* of *Papirius*, and *Servilius Abala*. At this rate, we should be forced to confound the whole Order of the Chronology of the *Consuls*, and add a Year to it more than we find in the *Fasti Capitolini*. Besides, we should likewise be compelled to say, contrary to the express Declarations of the most celebrated Historians, that *Quinctius* was three Times *Consul*, before this Year of *Rome* 327, in which he was *Tribune*. So

So that it is not at all to be wondered at, that an Army, so ill conducted, should be put to the Rout. However, it happened very fortunately, that the Nearness of the *Roman* Camp saved the Troops from Slaughter, and their Disgrace was greater than their Loss. But it had not been usual for them to give Way at all; and the whole City was in a Consternation at the News of this shameful Action. It had been long accustomed to nothing but Victories, and almost every Battel had been followed with a Triumph. So that the Hatred the three *Tribunes* incurred, was proportionable to the Disreputation they had brought upon the *Roman* Name. The People demanded their Deposition, and the Nomination of a *Dictator* at the same time. This they thought the only Remedy the Republick had left; but there was a Scruple in the Way, which obstructed the Completion of their Desires. It belonged only to the *Consuls* to nominate a *Dictator*, and there were no *Consuls* now in being. The *Romans* therefore had Recourse to the *Augurs*: And their Answers were accommodated to the present Wants. They agreed, that *Cornelius Cossus*, the only *Military Tribune*, who had had no Share in the late publick Disaster, should act the part of a *Consul*, and nominate a *Dictator*. Accordingly, he chose *Mamercus Æmilius*, that great Man who had been promoted to this Honour twice already. The *Censors* had indeed degraded him, and sunk him below the common People. But *Cossus* raised him from the Dust, and ventured to rescue oppressed Virtue, for the sake of the publick Good. *Æmilius* therefore appeared again, with Dignity; and in Gratitude, made *Cossus* his General of Horse.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXVII.
T. QUINCTI-
US CINCI-
NATUS, C.
FURIUS, M.
POSTHUMIUS,
and A. COR-
NELIUS COS-
SUS, Military
Tribunes.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXVII.
MAMERCUS
ÆMILIUS,
Dictator.

§. XXVIII. AND whilst *Rome* was preparing for new Battels, under the Command of one single, supreme, and independent General, the *Veientes* sent the News of their Victory to all the Cantons of *Hetruria*. They talked very big of the Defeat of the three *Roman* Generals: And would fain have engaged the whole *Hetrurian* Body, by that Means, in their own private Quarrel. But they found the *Lucumonies* little inclined to declare openly against *Rome*. All they could do, was to draw a good Number of Volunteers into their Troops from *Hetruria*, in Hopes of Plunder. As for the *Fidenates*, they once more signalized their Revolt from *Rome*, by the *Roman* Blood they shed. They had formerly massacred four of their Ambassadors, and now they cut the Throats of all their new Inhabitants, which had been sent them from *Rome*. And when thus polluted with so many Murders, they joined the *Veientes*; and their Territory became the Seat of the War. The *Veientes* passed the *Tyber*, and came and encamped near *Fidenæ*. On the other Hand, the *Roman* Army left its Post in the Neighbourhood of *Veii*, and encamped without the Gate *Collina*, almost under the Walls of *Rome*. The Consternation in the City was great, and the Ramparts were lined with Soldiers, as if the Citizens had been afraid of a Siege. The Senate suspended their Assemblies, the Shops were shut up, and *Rome*, being full of Soldiers, looked more like a Camp, than a City. Nevertheless the *Dictator* assembled the People together, and addressed himself to them in this manner. *How excessive are our Fears, only on account of a slight Disgrace? The Check we have received, did not proceed so much from any want of Courage in our Troops, as from a Misunderstanding between our Commanders. Ought we to be disheartened by every little Frown of Fortune? The Veientes have sunk six Times under our Arms, and yet is their Confidence lessened by it? Fidenæ has been taken as often as we have besieged it, and yet is her Treachery abated? Have our Enemies changed their Natures; or are not our Romans, Romans still? Have not we the same Courage, the same Vigour, and the same Arms, as heretofore? Is not the Dictator, whom you have chosen, the same Æmilius, who defeated the Veientes, and the joint Forces of the Fidenates and Falisci, near Nomentum? Is not the General of Horse the same Cornelius Cossus, who killed the King of the Veientes with his own Hands, and dedicated the Spoils he took from him to Jupiter? Be assured, Romans, That we carry Victory with us; That we shall enjoy the Spoils of the Enemy, and the Honours of a Triumph, the usual Consequences of our Battels; and That we shall revenge the Death of our Ambassadors, the Massacre of a Roman Colony, and the seventh Revolt of a faithless City. Arm then, and follow us. The Enemy will no sooner see us in their Neighbourhood, but this Joy of theirs at Victory, which they are not used to, will be abated: And Rome will, perhaps, very soon have Cause not to repent of having wiped off the Stains, which the Censors threw upon my Honour, after my second Dictatorship.*

THUS

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXVII.
MAMERCUS
ÆMILIUS,
Dictator.

Florus. B. 1.
c. 12, and 13.
Livy B. 4.
c. 33.

THUS spake *Æmilius*, and when he had performed certain Duties of Religion, he set out for the Army, encamped fifteen hundred Paces on this side *Fidenæ*, and was there covered on his right with Hills, and by the *Tyber* on his left : And he ordered *T. Quinctius*, one of his Lieutenant-Generals, to go without Noise and possess himself of that Hill, which was behind the Enemy. Early the next Morning the *Veientes* appeared in the Plain, with the same Confidence, as when they had much more Reason for it. But the *Dictator* was not in haste to enter upon Action, till he knew that *Quinctius* had gained the Eminence which overlooked *Fidenæ*. And then he displayed his Standards, and marched with his Infantry very fast, and in good Order. As for the General of Horse, his Instructions were not to begin the Attack till farther Orders ; and then to do it with the same Courage, by which he had so highly distinguished himself against King *Tolumnius*. And now the *Roman* Infantry rush furiously upon the *Veientes*, and *Fidenates*, and treat the one as Robbers, the other as perfidious Allies, and timorous Enemies. Blows followed Reproaches. The *Romans* both uttered and glutted their Hatred, but in the Heat of the Action, the *Fidenates* shewed the *Romans* a new Sight, and affrighted them, for a little while, with an unusual way of fighting. They opened one of the Gates of the City, and sent out some fighting Men with lighted Flambeaux in their Hands, who were dressed in Habits, pretty like those which are usually given the *Furies*. These ran like mad Enthusiasts through the *Roman* Battalions, threatening them both with Fire and Sword at the same time. They fell upon the left Wing of the *Roman* Army, affrighted it, and made it retire. Instantly therefore the *Dictator* flies thither, and commands *Quinctius* to come down from the Hill he had posted himself upon, and advance with his Cavalry. *What*, said he to his terrified Soldiers, *are you as much afraid of Smoke, as a swarm of Bees ? Make use of your Swords, to wrest these Flambeaux out of the Enemy's Hands, and then go with them, and set fire to the City, from whence they came.* At which Words, the *Romans* recovered their Courage. They gathered up the Fire-brands, which had been thrown among them, or took away the rest by force, from those who carried them. So that the Fire began to shine in both Armies. Then *Cossus* ordered his Cavalry to give their Horses the Reins ; he himself first pushed on towards those Battalions of the Enemy, where the Fire gave most Light : And the Horses were not frightened at the Sight which had terrified the Men. *Cossus's* Squadrons followed him : And the Dust raised with the Horses Feet, mixed with the Smoke of the Flambeaux, made a Cloud, which darkened the Day. The *Roman* Horse mowed down all that stood in their Way. They beat down their Enemies on both sides of them, and covered the Ground with them : And in the midst of their Hurry, and Pursuits, the *Romans* heard a Cry, which made them look behind them. It was the *Dictator*, who was with a loud Voice, telling his Men, that *Quinctius* had fallen upon the Enemy in the Rear, and ordering them to pursue the Charge with yet greater Vigour. So that the two *Roman* Armies, which were one in the Front, and the other in the Rear of the Enemy, obliged them to maintain a double Fight : And being thus surrounded on all sides, they in vain sought a Passage to escape. There was no Retreat to be had to the Hills, *Quinctius* had possessed himself of them. No Refuge to be had in the Camp ; it was surrounded by the *Romans*. No Horse to cover a Retreat, they were already dispersed by the *Roman* Cavalry : And therefore the *Veientes* made it their Business to gain the *Tyber*, and the *Fidenates* their City. But the Flight of the former cost them dear. Some of them were killed upon the Banks of the *Tyber*, and others threw themselves into it : And though they knew how to swim, their Wounds, and their Fears, drowned them. Some old Historians say ⁶⁹, there was a Naval-fight here, on this Occasion. But however that be (for *Livy* upon good Reasons thinks it improbable) it is at least certain, that few of this great Number of *Hetrurians* returned into their own Country. And the

⁶⁹ *Livy*, upon the Credit of some old Annals, speaks of a naval Fight upon the *Tyber*, near *Fidenæ*, between the *Romans*, and the *Veientes*. But he does not believe the Fact to be true ; on the contrary, he ranks it among such as deserve no Credit. It is impossible, says he, that this River, so narrow as it then was, should have carried a Naval Armament. The most that can be said, adds he, is this, that some Boats lay cross the River, when the two Parties disputed the Passage of it. By the

help of this single Circumstance, this Action has been called by the pompous Title of a Naval-fight. *Classibus quoque ad Fidenas pugnatum cum Veientibus quidam Annales retulere ; rem æque difficilem, atque incredibilem, nec nunc lato satis ad hoc amne, Et tum aliquando, ut a veteribus accepimus, ardore ; nisi in trajectu sorte fluminis prohibendo, aliquarum navium concursum in majus, ut sit, celebrantes, navalis victoriae vanum titulum appetivere.*

Fate of the *Fidenates* was yet more unhappy. In order to return into their City, it necessary for them to cross the Camp of the *Veientes*: And the same Impetuosity which hurried them on thither, made the *Romans* as quick in their Pursuit. As soon as they were got through the Camp, they were pursued by *Quinctius's* Men, who were yet fresh, they having been the last who came to the Engagement. The Gate of their City was thrown open; The *Romans* entered it with the *Fidenates*; and *Quinctius's* first Care was, to set up the *Roman* Standard upon the Ramparts, to give the *Dictator* Notice that the City was taken. *Emilius* observed it, and though his Troops were ready to begin plundering the Camp of the *Veientes*, he led them on to *Fidenæ*, giving them Hopes of a better Booty. He came to the City, entered it, and there began another Fight, which was almost as furious as that in the Plain. The *Fidenates* made a desperate Defence in the upper City: But being at length fatigued, and overcome, they threw down their Arms, and surrendered at Discretion. Then *Fidenæ*, and the Camp of the *Veientes*, were both given up to be plundered by the *Roman* Soldiers. The Prisoners were distributed by Lot, one to each *Roman* Officer, from the *Knights* to the *Centurions*. But two were given to such as had distinguished themselves in the Battel: The rest were set to Sale. After this glorious Expedition, the *Dictator* returned to *Rome*, led back his Troops thither, laden with Spoils, and there received the Honours of a Triumph: And all this was done in sixteen Days. *Emilius* held the *Dictatorship* no longer. In this short Space of Time, he subdued the Enemies of the Republick, and re-established Tranquillity in *Rome*, the Government of which he had taken upon him, in a Time of great Trouble and Consternation. So that the Republick owed the Revival of her Glory to a Man branded with Infamy, and who rose at once from the lowest State, to the highest Honours.

§. XXIX. AT this Time, the *Tribunes of the People* must have been in great Credit; since, notwithstanding that the last Year had shewn the Inconvenience of the Republick's being governed by *Military Tribunes*, yet four new ones were again chosen. They were, A. 70 *Sempronius*, L. *Furius*, L. *Quinctius*, and L. *Horatius*, who were all *Patricians*. *Emilius's* Victory had made the *Romans* formidable to their Enemies. They were all earnest to come and desire Truces: And accordingly one was made with the *Veientes* for twenty Years. But the *Romans* would only prolong that granted to the *Æqui* for three Years, though they desired a longer, that they might enjoy the longer Calm after the Storm. So that, the *Romans* were at present wholly taken up with these Negotiations.

THE next Year was well nigh as peaceable as the past. The Republick was then governed by four *Military Tribunes*, whose Names were Ap. 71 *Claudius*, Sp. *Nautius*, L. *Sergius*, and Sex. *Julius*, all *Patricians*. It is certain, that the People were then entertained with the *Great Games*, that is, with Chariot-races in the *Circus*. It is pretended, that *Emilius*, before the Battel with the *Veientes*, had made a Vow to celebrate them. But the Historians don't say it in direct Terms. With respect to *Posthumius Tubertus*, we are indeed expressly told, that he promised the Gods to celebrate the *Great Games* to their Honour, before he went on his Expedition against the *Æqui* and *Volsci*. But we don't find, that this solemn Promise was performed at any other time; and it was probably done in these happy Days, when the *Romans* enjoyed a perfect Tranquillity. These *Games* were celebrated with all the Pomp and Magnificence, of which *Rome* was then capable. And as it was expected that Spectators would come from all the neighbouring Countries on this Occasion, Orders were issued out, after publick Deliberation, that all Strangers should be entertained gratis. Which Hospitality was so perfectly well maintained in *Rome*, that the People, who came out of the Neighbourhood, scarce knew which gave them most Pleasure, whe-

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXVII.
MAMERCUS
ÆMILIUS,
Dictator.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXVIII.
A. SEMPRO-
NIUS, L. FU-
RIUS, LUCIUS
QUINCTIUS,
and L. HORA-
TIUS, Military
Tribunes.
Liv. B. 4.
c. 35.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXIX.
AP. CLAUDI-
US, SP. NAU-
TIUS, L. SER-
GIUS, and
SEX. JULIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.

70 In the oldest Editions of *Livy*, we find only three *Military Tribunes* mentioned for this Year. *Lucius Furius Medullinus*, (who was now chosen Tribune the second time, as well as *Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus*) is omitted. This was the first time *Sempronius Atratinus*, and *Lucius Horatius Barbatus* were chosen *Tribunes*. *Cuspinian* and *Diodorus Siculus*, do likewise reckon no more than three *Tribunes* for this Year. Besides, their Names are so altered in some Copies of the latter, that instead of L. *Quinctius*, we there read *Caius Corinthius*.

71 *Appian Claudius* is distinguished by the Surnames of *Crassus* and *Regillensis*. Instead of *Spurius Nautius Rutilus*, some Editions of *Livy* have the Name of *Nevius*. *Diodorus*, instead of *Sergius*, has *Senius*. But it is manifest, that the *Scutii*, and the *Nevii*, who were of *Plebeian* Families, could not then pretend to the Honours of the *Consulship*, and other great Offices. According to the *Fasti Consulares*, this was the second time *Sergius* was *Tribune*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXIX.
AP. CLAUDI-
US, SP. NAU-
TIUS, L. SER-
GIUS, and
SEX. JULIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.
Livy B. 4.
lib.

ther the Show it self, or the cordial and welcome Reception they met with among the *Romans*. Nevertheless it was not possible for the Republick to enjoy a settled Peace. Immediately after the *Games*, the *Tribunes of the People* renewed their seditious Harangues. They remonstrated to the Commons their extreme Stupidity, in the following manner. *You deliver your selves up to be Slaves, to Men who hate you, and whom you hate. You not only don't aspire at the Consulship, which you might reasonably hope to have a Share in; but you deprive your selves of the right the Law it self gives you, to the Military Tribuneship. What Plebeian has yet been chosen? Have you yet nominated any but Patricians to that Office? Have you ever remembered us in your Elections? And can you, notwithstanding this, expect that your Tribunes should concern themselves for you? Can you hope, that Men will sacrifice all their Time and Labour continually to serve you, when there is neither Honour nor Profit to be got by so doing? Rewards encourage Labour, and Zeal is quickened by grateful Returns. Shall we always dare the Dangers of an intestine War with the Patricians, without any Advantage, and run all the Hazards of it, for nothing? No; don't hope for such Things as these any longer; or expect them at our Hands. You have no other Way to animate us, to exert our Courage in your Defence, but by proposing great Honours for us. Can it be otherwise, than that you must fall into Contempt your selves, if you suffer us to be the Contempt of the Nobility? Why don't you try, by choosing two or three Plebeians, whether it be so difficult, as is pretended, to find Men of Merit enough among them, to qualify them for the Office of a Military Tribune? What Pains did we not take to obtain the Law, which allows the Governors of the Republick to be chosen indifferently, either out of the People, or the Nobility? And for some Years, immediately after the Law was made, Plebeians of known Merit, and Valour, offered themselves to you, for your Votes. But your Refusal to grant them, and the Railleries of the Patricians, interrupted our Pursuits. Would it not be better to abrogate a Law, which empowers us to enjoy, what you never give us? It would surely be less shameful not to hope at all, than to go on hoping for what we cannot obtain.*

THESE Discourses being often repeated, made an Impression of the People: And the *Patricians* were afraid, that the highest Dignity in the State would at last fall into the Hands of *Plebeians*. This was such a Blow, as the Nobility thought they could not take too much Pains to avert; and the Danger of the *Patrician* Party was indeed imminent. Some *Plebeians* had already offered themselves to the People, desiring their Suffrages. They gave the Citizens hopes, that if they were chosen, they would study the Welfare of the Commons, would cause some Lands to be distributed among them, and procure the Establishment of some new Colonies. And lastly, they promised, that in Times of War, they would lay the Burden of it upon the landed-Men, and lessen the Capitation-Tax of the Citizens. The *Military Tribunes* therefore, in order to ward off the Blow which threatened the Nobility, embraced an Opportunity which accidentally fell in their Way. News was brought to *Rome*, that the *Volsci* were entered into the Territories of the *Hernici*, and committed Hostilities there. It was now Autumn, when the *Romans* usually retired into the Country: And the *Military Tribunes*, sent private Expresses to the Senators, who were scattered about in the Neighbourhood of the City, desiring them to repair to Town, on a Day appointed: So that the Senate was assembled, unknown to the *Tribunes of the People*, and when it met, passed a Decree, that two *Consuls* should be chosen to govern the Republick the next Year. Now none except *Patricians* could lawfully be chosen *Consuls*: And by this Means therefore, the Hopes of the *Tribunes of the People* vanished. By the same Decree of the Senate, three of the present *Military Tribunes* were likewise ordered to march to the Frontiers, to succour the Allies. Only one was left at *Rome*, to oppose the Factions of the *Tribunes of the People*; which was *Ap. Claudius*. He was a young Man, and had all the usual Steadiness of the *Claudian* Family, which ever opposed the *Plebeians*, and their *Tribunes*. By this Management of the Nobility, the *Tribunes of the People*, were disappointed of their Expectations, and yet had no room to complain. The *Centuries* chose two *Consuls* in the *Campus Martius*, who were C. 72 *Sempronius*, and Q. *Fabius*.

72 *Diodorus of Sicily* passes over this Year in Silence, and makes no mention of the *Consuls*, *Caius Sempronius Atratinus*, and Q. *Fabius Vibulanus*. *Livy* says, that in their Year, the *Samnites* made themselves Masters of the City of *Vulturnum*; which,

according to him, was formerly built by a Colony of *Hetrurians*; and that it was afterwards called *Capua*, either from the Name of one *Capys*, who was the Head of the *Samnites*, or from the Openness of the Country, *A campestri loco*.

§. XXX. But the new Magistrates did not enter upon their Office till the *Ides of December*: And they found by Experience, how much the *Tribunes of the People* were exasperated against the *Patricians*. It was now three Years since the three *Military Tribunes*, *T. Quinctius*, *C. Furius*, and *M. Posthumius*, had suffered themselves to be beaten by the *Veientes*. Their want of a good Understanding among themselves, had occasioned the Overthrow of the *Roman Army*, and without doubt, their Conduct was blameable. But after all, three Years were now passed, without calling them to any Account before the People, as Criminals; and their Fault seemed to be forgotten. Nevertheless, the Revenge of the *Tribunes*, brought on an Accusation against them, though late. *T. Quinctius*, and *M. Posthumius*, were accused before the People, of having sacrificed a *Roman Army* to their Jealousy, and Misunderstanding. And if *C. Furius* was not included in the Impeachment, it was doubtless, because Death had delivered him from the Pursuits of the *Tribunes*. The Prosecution was brought near to a Conclusion, when a more urgent Affair suspended the Determination of it. Some Deputies from the *Hernici*, and the *Latins*, brought Intelligence, that the *Volsci* now threatened the Republick with as cruel a War as ever; and were very busy in choosing good Generals, and raising a numerous Army. They were heard to say, that they must either receive the *Roman Yoke*, and never more pretend to declare themselves against *Rome*, or resolve to equal in Courage, Steadiness, and Experience in War, those to whom they refused to submit. And these Advices which were brought the Senate, proved very true; but the Senators too much neglected an Affair of such Consequence. The *Consul Sempronius* likewise, to whose Lot it fell to go upon this Expedition against the *Volsci*, undertook it with too much Indifference. He depended upon the Constancy of Fortune. He looked with Contempt on Enemies, which had been so often overcome, and his Confidence made him indolent, in his Preparations for War, in the raising of his Troops, and the keeping them to Discipline. Vigilance and good Order seemed to be now transferred from the *Roman Camp*, to that of the Enemy: And Fortune does commonly declare her self on the side of the Vigilant. But the *Consul Sempronius* was very faulty in his Conduct, on many other Accounts, as well as this Negligence. He came to a Battel inconsiderately, and without taking proper Precautions. He set apart no *Corps-de-reserve*, in case of Need. He posted his Cavalry ill: And the Distrust of the *Romans*, and the Confidence of the *Volsci*, were very visible, from the Shouts of the first Onset, which was made near *Verrugo*. The Shouts of the *Consul's Army* were faint, unequal, and interrupted. Those of the Enemy were more vigorous, and more gay: And the Impetuosity of the *Volsci* was as great, as their Shouts were loud. They ran against the Enemy with their Bucklers, and attacked them with their Swords. On the other hand, the Helmets of the *Romans* tottered on their Heads. They were fearful, irresolute, and crouded against one another. Sometimes the Ensigns kept their Ground, but were forsaken. Sometimes they were forced to retire, into the Center of the *Manipuli*. The *Roman Cohorts* did not indeed yet fly, and give up the Victory for lost; but they rather faced the Enemy, than fought them: Whilst the *Volsci* pressed upon them, made them retire, and cut them in pieces, though they could not make them fly. A considerable Slaughter was every where made of the *Romans*: So that notwithstanding the Exhortations and Reproaches of the *Consul*, they would have been entirely routed, if a *Decurion* ⁷³ of Horse, named *Tempanius*, had not a little recovered the Affairs of the *Romans*, by his great Presence of Mind. He, contrary to the Custom in Battel, ventured to take upon him the Command of the Horse, and advised them to dismount: And he was obeyed, as if he had been General. *We are lost*, cried he, *if the Horse don't dismount, and make Head against the Enemy. Follow my Lance; that shall be your Guide. Let us run and shew the Volsci how formidable we are, whether we engage on Horseback, or on Foot.* And these Words being approved by a Shout, *Tempanius* held his Lance high, and rushed upon the Enemy. The rest followed him, broke the first Lines of the Enemy, and made their Way through them: So that the Enemy was repulsed in

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXX.
C. SEMPRO-
NIUS, and Q.
FABIUS, Con-
suls.

Livy B. 4:
c. 37.

Val. Max.
B. 3. c. 2.

⁷³ The Horse belonging to each *Legion* were formerly divided into ten Companies, each of which usually consisted of thirty Horse, more or less, according to the Number of the whole Body. These Companies were subdivided, into three *Decurie* each, and each *Decuria* had its *Decurion* to com-

mand it. *Primi singularum decuriarum Decuriones dicti, qui ab eo in singulis turmis sunt etiam nunc terni.* Var. B. 4. de ling. Lat. The first of these three *Decurions* had the Command of the whole Troop; the other two were but his Subalterns.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXX.
C. SEMPRO-
NIUS, and Q.
FABIUS, Con-
suls.

Livy B. 4.
c. 39.
Val. Max.
B. 3. c. 2.

Livy B. 4.
Ibid.

the Place, where they were making the *Roman* Infantry give Way. These Horse-men were distinguished by their Bucklers, which were little and light: And where-ever they engaged, they recovered the Disadvantages the *Romans* lay under in the Fight. Infomuch, that could they have engaged in all Places, it is not to be doubted, but the Enemy would have been routed. But, unfortunately for the *Romans*, the General of the *Volsci* saw, whence the Fright of his Troops proceeded. And he ordered the attacked Battalions to open, and let the *Roman* Horse-men penetrate into the Center of his Troops, in order to surround them there. Accordingly, the Impetuosity of these brave Men hurried them on so far, that they were at last out of the reach of any Assistance their Infantry could give them. They were closely surrounded on every side, the Passage they made themselves was shut up, and no Way left for them to return. Then the *Consul* looked about him for this brave Troop, which had just been covering and defending his Army: And not seeing it, he and his Followers threw themselves upon the Enemy, at all Adventures, in order to rescue those brave Defenders of their Country. Upon which one part of the *Volsci* turned against the *Consul*, and the other against *Tempanius*. And all the Efforts the latter made to return, and lead back his Horse-men to the *Roman* Army, were in vain. However, he gained a little Hill, rallied his Troop upon it, drew them up in a Circle, and defended himself like a Man resolved to sell his Life very dear. The brave *Decurion* continued fighting, till Night made him lose sight of the Enemy; and the *Consul* likewise held on the Engagement, as long as the Light would give him Leave: So that the Night only parted the two Armies, which were both doubtful, who had the Victory. And the Terror in both was so great, that both *Romans* and *Volsci* decamped in the Night, leaving nothing but their Wounded in their Camps, and retired to the Mountains. *Tempanius* and his Horse-men remained alone on the Field of Battel, still posted upon his little Hill, and surrounded with Enemies. Till at length the latter were tired, and being informed about Midnight, that their Camp was deserted, they dispersed. But the prudent *Tempanius*, fearing an Ambuscade, kept his Men in the same Post, till Day-break. Then he took the Way to the *Roman* Camp, and was informed by the Wounded, that the *Volsci* had quitted theirs. He therefore entered the *Roman* Entrenchments with great Joy; but found the *Consul* had been guilty of the same scandalous Retreat, as the Enemy. He saw the Camp utterly deserted. In great Affliction therefore he hastened towards *Rome*, for fear the Enemy should recover their Fright, and intercept him in his Return. He carried with him as many of the wounded *Romans* as he could, and took the shortest Way to the City; not knowing to what Place the *Consul* was fled for Refuge.

As soon as Soldiers appeared drawing near to *Rome* in order of Battel, the City was in a great Fright. It had been already reported there, that *Sempronius* had been put to flight, and the *Roman* Cavalry cut in pieces: So that the sight of Troops, which were not yet near enough to be known, made the *Consul Fabius* take proper Precautions to prevent a Surprise. He placed advanced-Guards in the Avenues to the City: And when that Cavalry arrived, the Loss of which had been so much lamented, both in private, and in publick, an universal Joy ensued. The Wives and Mothers of these brave Men, no longer kept within the Bounds of Decency. They leaped upon the Necks of their Husbands, and Sons, in the open Streets, and congratulated them, as if they had returned from the Grave. The Absence of *Sempronius*, and his Army, who had disappeared, was the only thing that gave the *Romans* Disquiet. And of this the *Tribunes of the People* took Advantage, in order to forward the Affair they had begun against *Quinctius*, and *Posthumius*, who had formerly been overcome by the *Veientes*. If *Sempronius* has betrayed the Republick, said they, it is owing to the Effect of our Dilatoriness, in punishing the Treachery of our guilty Generals. The Impunity of some has occasioned the Treason of others. In this general Uneasiness of Mind, *Tempanius* was brought before the People, to be examined concerning the Conduct of the *Consul Sempronius*. The chief Person concerned in interrogating him, was one of the *Tribunes of the People*, named *C. Julius*. Do you think, said he to him, that *Sempronius* gave Battel prudently? Did he prepare a Corps-de-reserve, and do the Duty of a good General? When you had prevailed on the Horse to dismount, and was surrounded by the Enemy, did *Sempronius* come to your Relief? Did he send you any Troops, the Day after the Battel, to secure your Retreat? When you returned to the Camp, was the *Consul* there, or did you not rather find it deserted by every Body but the

the Wounded, who were left without Assistance? These are the Questions you are to answer. Exert then the same Courage and the same Fidelity to your Country, on this Occasion, which have already prompted you to save the Republick. Tell us, where is the Consul? What is become of his Legions? Did you quit the Camp, or the Army forsake you? In a Word, are you the Conquerors, or the Conquered? *Tempanius* was not eloquent. But he answered, with the Frankness and Simplicity of a Soldier, and the Discretion of a Man of Sense. It is not my Business, said he, to determine, whether *Sempronius* has the Qualifications, which are necessary for the Command of an Army, or not. You were the proper Judges of that, when you chose him Consul. I shall only declare to you, what I saw. In the beginning of the Battel *Sempronius* appeared at the Head of his Men, exhorting and encouraging them with his Words to fight, and fighting himself, sometimes in the midst of our Cohorts, and sometimes surrounded with the Darts of the Enemy. Afterwards I lost sight of him: But by the Shouts of the two Armies, I judged that he fought till Night. If he did not rescue me, I have Reason to believe, he was prevented by the great Numbers of the Enemy, which surrounded me. What is become of his Army, I know not: But I suppose they are retired into some safe Place, as is usual in doubtful Cases of this kind, and that they chose rather to retreat to the Mountains, than continue in their Camp. And I cannot believe, that the Affairs of the *Volsci* are in any better Condition than ours. The Night filled both Camps with Terror, and Uncertainty. When *Tempanius* had done speaking, he desired Leave to go and refresh himself after his Fatigue, and to have his Wounds dressed. All present gave him the Applauses he had deserved by his Valour, and by the Moderation with which he spoke of his General. And immediately after, News was brought, that *Sempronius* and his Troops had been seen in the Road between *Lavicum* and *Rome*, and that they halted near the Temple of *Peace*. Horses therefore and Carriages were dispatched to him in all Haste, for the Conveyance of his Men, who were fatigued with the Battel, and with so long a March. As soon as *Sempronius* returned, he did his utmost, both to clear himself, and extol the Exploits of *Tempanius*. But notwithstanding all he could say, or do, the People were so much out of Humour with their bad Generals, that they hastened the Condemnation of *Posthumius*. He paid a large Fine. But the People favoured *Quinctius*: He was unanimously acquitted by all the Tribes. They had a Regard to the brave Exploits, by which he had made Amends for his Fault, and to the Services his Father *Cincinnatus* had done the Republick. Besides, his Uncle, a famous old Man, whom *Livy* calls also *Cincinnatus*, and who had likewise the Surname of *Capitolinus*, desired that he might not be sent to the Shades below, to the great *Cincinnatus* his Brother, with the melancholy News, of his Son's having a Mark of Infamy set upon him by the Roman People. Nothing now remained but to reward *Tempanius*. In order to which, he was chosen Tribune of the People in his Absence; and with him three other brave Horse-men, whom the Cavalry had chosen for their Leaders, at his Recommendation.

§. XXXI. *SEMPRONIUS* had so incensed the Commonalty against him, that they could no longer bear the Name of Consul. Inasmuch, that the Senate itself thought it proper to let them chuse Military Tribunes for the next Year. The four the People chose were, *L. Manlius*, *Q. Antonius*, *L. Papirius*, and *L. Servilius*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXX.
C. SEMPRO-
NIUS, and Q.
FABIUS, Con-
suls.

74 This Temple of *Peace*, or of *Rest*, *Fanum Quietis*, stood, according to *Ferrari*, in his Description of ancient Rome, without the Gate *Collina*, near the Place, where the Churches of *St. Peter*, *St. Paul*, and *St. Marcellinus*, are at present. But this Situation does not agree with *Livy*, who places this Temple in the *Lavican Way*. This Road led to the Gate *Esquilina*, and not *Collina*. But *St. Austin* likewise says, in his fourth Book de Civitate Dei, that this Temple was without the Gate *Collina*. *Quies appellata Dea est, quæ faceret quietum. Illam, cum ædem haberet extra portam Collinam, publice suscipere noluerunt.* The Romans, says *St. Austin*, would not permit a Divinity to have a Temple within the Walls of their City, whose Worship did not suit with their warlike Genius.

75 The Fine was, according to *Livy*, ten thousand *Asses* of Brass, which make five hundred French *Liures*, reckoning each *As* at one *Sol* only. But

if we reckon them by Weight, they will amount to a more considerable Sum, as has been already observed several Times. [These *Asses* make, according to *Arbuthnot*, 32 l. 5 s. 10 d. Sterling.]

76 *Livy* has preserved the Names of these three Horse-men, which are *Aulus Sellius*, *Lucius Antistius*, and *Sextus Pompilius*.

77 *Livy* reckons only three Military Tribunes for this Year, and says nothing of *Servilius Structus*, whom we shall soon see raised a second Time to this Office, according to *Livy* himself. So that we thought it proper, with *Sigonius*, to make him Tribune, for the first Time this Year; without which there can be but three Tribunes now, though it was usual to choose four. *Lucius Manlius* is distinguished by the Surnames of *Vulso* and *Capitolinus*; *Quintus Antonius* by that of *Merenda*; and *Lucius Papirius* by that of *Mugillanus*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXXI.
L. MANLIUS,
Q. ANTONI-
US, L. PAPI-
RIUS, and L.
SERVILIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXXI.

L. MANLIUS,
Q. ANTONI-
US, L. PAPI-
RIUS, and L.
SERVILIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.
Val. Max. B.
6. c. 5.
Livy B. 4.
c. 42.

Under their Administration the Republick enjoyed Peace Abroad, but the *Tribunes of the People* had not laid aside their Animosity against the *Patricians*. One of them, named *Hortensius*, accused *Sempronius* the *Consul* for the last Year before the People. But he, when cited to appear, found some Friends even in the College of the *Tribunes*. *Tempanius* and his three Companions, who had served in the last War under *Sempronius*, and were now become *Tribunes of the People*, declared for their old General. These brave Men zealously opposed the Prosecution *Hortensius* carried on, and gained as much Glory by their Victory in a civil Dispute, as they had done by their Contests with the Enemy. In short, when *Sempronius* appeared upon his Trial in the *Comitia*, *Tempanius* and his Friends asked *Hortensius*, *Why he persecuted an illustrious Patrician, whom they could reproach with nothing but a little ill Fortune*: And *Hortensius* was startled at the Question of his Collegues. He thought, they might perhaps speak in this manner only to try his Constancy; and that they only affected to take upon them the Defence of their General, out of Ostentation. But at the same time he fancied, that the Accused might not perhaps depend so much upon the Favour of the *Tribunes*, who were well-affected to him, as upon the legal Protestation he himself would make against these Proceedings. And being therefore doubtful of the Intention of his Collegues, he thus addressed himself to *Sempronius*. *Is this, says Hortensius to him, the Magnanimity of the Patricians? Does a Consul vouchsafe to screen himself under the Protection of the Tribunes of the People? Does Innocence stand in need of Protectors?* Then turning to his Collegues, he said to them, *What do you pretend to do, if I prove Sempronius guilty? Will you betray the Rights of the People? Will you overturn the Authority of the Tribunes? Will you rescue Sempronius from my Prosecution?* No, replied they, *we will attempt nothing in Derogation to the Dignity of the Roman People. We know they have a Right to judge Sempronius, or any other Roman whatsoever, without Appeal. Nor will we do any thing by Violence. We will only have Recourse to Entreaties and Prayers.* *Sempronius was our General, and our Father. We will therefore, like true Children, wear the Habits of Criminals, as well as he, and as we have shared his Fortune, will now partake of his Disgrace.* Then *Hortensius* could hold out no longer, against so wise and affecting a Declaration from his Collegues. No, replied he, *the Republick shall never see Tribunes in the Habits of Criminals. I drop the Accusation brought against Sempronius: A General, who so well understood how to gain the Affections of his Soldiers, deserves our Regard.* Upon this, both the Nobility and People were charmed with the Conduct of the *Tribunes*, in so critical an Affair. They applauded both the Opposition of the *Tribunes*, and the ready Compliance of *Hortensius*. Though after all, *Sempronius's* Condemnation was only deferred.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXXII.

T. QUINCTI-
US CAPITOLI-
NUS, and NU-
MERIUS FA-
BIUS, Consuls.
Livy B. 4.
c. 43.

§. XXXII. THE Romans had no Thoughts of creating *Military Tribunes*, while they had such moderate *Tribunes of the People*. The Republick, according to antient Custom, chose two *Consuls* to govern it, which were *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*, and *78 Numerius Fabius*. In the beginning of this Year, the *Æqui*, a most restless Nation, were in Motion again. They looked on the doubtful Victory the *Volsci* had gained over *Sempronius*, as an Advantage to themselves. It fell to *Fabius's* Lot to march against them: And though this *Consul* had entirely the Advantage over them, and made them forget the good Fortune which had exalted them; yet his Campaign did not bring Glory enough to the Republick, to gain him a Triumph. The *Æqui* only offered Battel; their own Fears immediately put them to flight. However, *Fabius* effaced the Ignominy, which the last Battel with the *Volsci* had brought upon the Roman Name: And the Honour of an *Ovation* was decreed him, which did not fall very short of that of a Triumph.

78 Diodorus of Sicily passes over the Year of these *Consuls* in Silence, and makes no mention of *Titus Quinctius Capitolinus Barbatus*, and *Numerius Fabius Vibulanus*. The former was, according to *Livy*, the Son of *Titus Capitolinus*, who was six times *Consul*. As for *Fabius*, we learn from *Festus*, that none of the *Fabian* Family ever bore the *Prænomen* of *Numerius*, till *Quintus Fabius*, the only *Fabius* who survived the Battel near the *Cremera*, and married the Daughter of *Numerius Otacilius*, one of the richest Citizens of Rome.

The Conditions of this Marriage were, that the eldest Son should bear the Name of his Grand-Father by the Mother's side, contrary to the Custom of the Romans. *Festus* adds, that several of his Descendants adopted the same *Prænomen*. It was usually given, according to *Varro*, to Children with whom their Mothers had had easy Labours. *Qui taliter erant nati, fieri Numerios prænominabant—quod etiam in partu precabantur Numeriam, quam Deam solent etiam indigitare Pontifices.*

THE Peace which continued all the rest of the Year, gave the *Tribunes* room to make several new Attempts. They embroiled the Nobility with the *Plebeians* about a new Creation of four *Quæstors*. Whether the *Quæstorship* had had its rise under the *Kings*, or had only been instituted by *Valerius Poplicola*, it is certain, it was then looked upon as the next Office in Dignity, to that of *Consul*. The *Quæstors* were at first chosen by the People in *Comitia by Centuries*. Afterwards they were chosen by the *Tribes*; but hitherto none but 7^s *Patricians* had been raised to this honourable Employment. There had likewise hitherto been no more than two *Quæstors* at a Time, who were chosen annually. Their Business was to collect the publick Money, to make People pay the Taxes, to defray the Expences of War, to sell the Spoils taken from the Enemy, and to keep exact Accounts of their Receipts, and Disbursements of the publick Money, for which they were accountable. And lastly, the *Roman Eagles* were deposited with them, and they delivered them out, at the *Consul's* Command, when the *Romans* marched out to War. The *Roman* Generals now observed, that two *Quæstors* were not enough to do the Business of the Republick: So that the *Consuls* proposed it to the Senate to create two more, whose Office should be confined to taking care of the Expences of War, and who should always attend the Generals in the Field: And the Proposal was agreed to by the Senate. This was increasing the Number of *Patrician* Employments: But when that Regulation came to be passed into a Law by the People, the *Tribunes* insisted that it should not pass, but upon Condition, that two of the four *Quæstors* should be *Plebeians*. This the Senate and *Consuls* at first opposed. However, they at last consented, that the *Tribes* should choose two *Patricians*, and two *Plebeians*, for this Employment, if they thought fit. But the *Tribunes of the People* fearing the People would act in this Case, as in that of the *Military Tribuneship*, to which they had never raised any *Plebeian*, though empowered to choose three every Election; they therefore demanded that two of the four *Quæstors* should indispensibly be taken out of the Commons. And these Contradictions made the *Consuls* lay aside the Thoughts of increasing the Number of the *Quæstors*. Nevertheless the *Tribunes* revived, and proposed it again to the People: And to this they added another Claim, which seemed to tend more to Sedition than the former, and which was, that Lands should be distributed among those Citizens, who had none. On these Accounts therefore the Senate was against the electing of *Military Tribunes* for the next Year. The rest of the *Consulship* of *Quinctius* and *Fabius* was spent in Debates between the Senate and the *Tribunes*. The former met, in order to appoint the *Comitia by Centuries* to be assembled, for the Election of new *Consuls*; and the *Tribunes* opposed it: So that the Republick fell into an *Interregnum* before the Elections were made. And the greatest Misfortune was, that the same *Tribunes* sometimes opposed the Choice of any Magistrates to govern, during the *Interregnum*; and sometimes protested against the *Comitia*, which he, who presided during the *Interregnum*, appointed to be assembled for the electing of *Consuls*. Till at length *Papirius* came to preside in his Turn: And all his Care was to put an end to the Disputes between the Senate and *Tribunes*. He reproached both with their Conduct, and then addressed himself to them in this manner. *We have Reason to be thankful for the good Providence of the Gods, to which it is owing, that Rome is not yet utterly destroyed. Though deserted by human Wisdom, the immortal Gods have preserved her. How happy is it for her, that we have made a Truce with the Veientes, and that the Æqui have been so dilatory in their Motions, as not to have taken Advantage of our present Troubles! They might have found the Re-*

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXXII.
T. QUINCTI-
US CAPITOLINUS, and
NUMERIUS
FABIUS, Con-
suls.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXXII.
Interregnum.

79 Though the *Quæstors* had no Jurisdiction, i. e. could not cite any Person to appear before them, or imprison any Man, *neque vocationem, neque prehensionem habebant, atque ad Prætores in jus vocari poterant*, says *Aulus Gellius*, B. 13. c. 13. Yet the most illustrious *Patricians*, and even those who had been *Consuls*, did not think this Office beneath them. We find in the antient Annals, that *Titus Quinctius Capitolinus*, and *Marcus Valerius* were *Quæstors*, after they had enjoyed the Honour of the *Consulship* three times. And we shall hereafter see *Cato the Elder* accepting the *Quæstorship*, after he has enjoyed the Magnificence and State of a *Triumph*, and the highest Dignities in the Republick. This Office gave him who bore it, the Privilege of

sitting in the Senate, and giving his Vote in any Debates, though he had not been enrolled by the *Censors*, as of the Senatorial Order. And several other inferior Magistrates had likewise this Privilege, though they were not Senators, as appears from an antient Form of assembling the Senate, which we find in *Livy*, *Aulus Gellius*, and *Festus*. UT EI SENATORES ADSINT, QUIBUSQUE IN SENATU SENTENTIAM DICERE LICET, i. e. *Let the Senators assemble, and all those who have a Vote in the Senate*. But in the Form of assembling them, none were mentioned but Senators, which was sometimes the Case in Affairs of Importance and Secrecy, then none but they were permitted to come into the House.

publick

Year of *R O M E* publick without any Patricians at the Head of it ; and might have overwhelmed it, before any had been elected. Where are our Armies? What Generals have we to order the raising of Troops, or to lead them into the Field? Is a civil War a proper Preservation against a foreign one? Should our Enemies join together, the Gods themselves cannot preserve us from the greatest Misfortunes. And yet how easy a Matter is it, to reconcile the two contending Parties in the Republick! Let but each abate a little of its Pretensions, and all will be quiet. If the Senate will but consent that the People shall choose Military Tribunes, instead of Consuls; and the Tribunes of the People permit the Tribes to choose the four Quæstors, either out of the Patricians, or the Plebeians, as they think fit, our Debates will be at an end.

Year of *R O M E* CCCXXXII.
Interregnum.
T. QUINCTIUS, M. MANLIUS, L. FURIUS, and A. SEMPRONIUS, Military Tribunes.
Livy B. 4.
c. 44.

§. XXXIII. THIS Harangue of *Papirius* had its Effect. The Accommodation was concluded, and the People first chose *Military Tribunes*. They nominated only *Patricians*; whose Names were ⁸⁰ *T. Quinctius*, *M. Manlius*, *L. Furius*, and *A. Sempronius*: And these Magistrates entered late upon their Office, because their Year had been shortened by a pretty long *Interregnum*. The next thing to be considered of, was the Election of the four ⁸¹ *Quæstors*. Then the *Plebeians* appeared very earnest in canvassing for these new Offices. *A. Sempronius*, one of the *Military Tribunes*, was appointed to preside in the Assembly of the *Tribes*, which was to determine the Choice. Among the other Candidates, one of the *Tribunes of the People*, named *Antistius*, offered his Son for the *Quæstorship*, and another *Tribune* of the same College, named *Pompilius*, desired it for his Brother. It seemed natural for the People to favour the *Plebeians*: But it happened quite otherwise. The *Tribes* were influenced by a kind of innate Respect for the Nobility. They were ashamed to prefer the common Citizens, to the Sons, and Grand-Sons of *Consuls*. In short, all the four *Quæstors* were chosen out of the *Patricians*. This Neglect therefore of *Plebeians*, by *Plebeians* themselves, was an exceeding great Mortification to the *Tribunes of the People*. *Antistius*, and *Pompilius* especially, complained to the Assembly of the *Tribes*, of the little Regard which had been shewn to their Families, and Recommendations. *What!* said they, *will our Benefactions, will the Remembrance of the ill Treatment you have received from the Nobility, and will your own Interest have no Influence at all upon you? It was in your Power to put us in Possession of an honourable Post, to which we hitherto could not aspire, and you have neglected us. If you would not promote any of us to the Military Tribuneship, ought you not at least to have thought of us for the Quæstorship? Is it possible, that the Sollicitations of a Father for his Son; and of one Brother for another, should be utterly disregarded by you? Should you have thrown Contempt on the Tribunes, those inviolable Persons, who were established for no other Purpose, but to be the Defenders of the People? No; surely. There must have been some Trick in Sempronius's Management of the Votes. Artifice has prevailed over Honesty in this Election. We therefore complain to you of it, and demand Justice.* But the People knew *Aulus Sempronius* was innocent; and besides, his Office put him out of the reach of the *Tribunes*: So that he was not molested. But the two angry *Tribunes* got the *Tribune Canuleius* also into their Measures, and they all three vented their Spleen upon *Caius Sempronius*, who was Cousin-German to the *Military Tribune*. He had already been accused before the People, of having brought a Disgrace upon the *Roman Name*, in the War with the *Volsci*, when he was *Consul*. His Accuser had dropped the Prosecution, but the People had not acquitted him. *Canuleius* therefore revived the Affair, and caused *C. Sempronius* to be summoned to appear before the People, in twenty seven Days. And during this whole Interval, *Sempronius* constantly attended the Senate: Where

⁸⁰ The *Consular Annals* give the first of these *Tribunes* the Surnames of *Pennus*, and *Cincinnatus*. He was now raised to the *Tribuneship* a second Time. The second of these *Tribunes* has the Surnames of *Vulso*, and *Capitolinus*; *L. Furius Medullinus* is mentioned as *Military Tribune*, for the third, and *Aulus Sempronius Atratinus*, for the second, Time. The latter was the Son of *L. Sempronius* the first *Censor*; and Grand-son of *Aulus Sempronius*, who had been twice *Consul*. *Diodorus of Sicily* makes no mention of these *Tribunes*.

⁸¹ The *Military Quæstors* exercised much the same Functions in the Army, as the *Quæstors* of *Rome* did in the City. Their Business was to pay

the Soldiers, to collect the Produce of the Booty, and Spoils of the Enemy, and to provide Ammunition and Provisions for the Army. They were probably accountable for their Behaviour to the *Quæstors of Rome*, who furnished them with Money, for the Support of the Army, out of the publick Treasury. In short, the Office of *Military Quæstor*, was something like that of *Commissary-General of War*, and *Superintendent of Provisions*, among the *French*. This new Creation gave Rise likewise to another sort of *Quæstors*, called *Provincial Quæstors*, because they had each of them his District, in the *Provinces* subject to the Republick. We shall speak of them in their proper Place.

the *Tribunes* proposed, that a Distribution might be made of some Lands, among the common People. But *Sempronius*, though he had Reason to be afraid of provoking his Judges, before whom he was cited to appear, yet resolved not to lose his Character in the Senate, by a timorous Behaviour. He zealously opposed the Request of the *Tribunes*, and chose rather to hurt his own Cause, than to give up that of the Publick. He insisted upon it, That the Distribution of the Lands, which the *Tribunes* desired, ought not to be granted to the People; and That their Petition was only a Pretence to bring the Odium of the People upon him: He declared, that he would bear up against this Storm with Courage; and he intreated the Senate to have more Regard for the publick Welfare, than for his. When the Day of *Sempronius's* Trial was come, he appeared in the Assembly of the People, with the same Steadiness, as he had done in the Senate: And he was heard in his own Defence. But notwithstanding all the Sollicitations of the Senators, he was ⁸² Fined. And this Decree of the People, which the *Tribunes* extorted from them, out of Revenge, was followed by the Trial of a *Vestal* Virgin, before the *Pontifices*. This Prosecution proceeded from a Love of Chastity, which was then exceedingly respected in *Rome*. The *Vestal* had not dishonoured her Ministry by Incontinence; but her Levity, and too free Airs, had made her suspected. She loved Dress, and the Ornaments she wore were not agreeable to her Profession. In short, she did not enough consult her Reputation. Her Trial was at first put off, till new Accusations were brought against her; and at last she was acquitted. However, the ⁸³ *Pontifex Maximus* gave her serious Admonitions, to abstain from indecent Expressions for the future, and to choose rather to adorn her self with Modesty to please the Gods, than with Art, to please the World.

§. XXXIV. THE People having now frequently prevented the Election of *Consuls*, the Government seemed to be lodged in the Hands of *Military Tribunes* for a great while. The *Plebeians* were become sole Masters of Elections; but they exercised their Power with Wisdom. They again chose four *Patricians* for *Tribunes*; which were ⁸⁴ *Agrippa Menenius, Sp. Nautius, P. Lucretius, and C. Servilius*: Under whose Administration, *Rome* was rather preserved by her good Fortune, than by the Precautions of her Magistrates. The numberless Slaves which were about the City, formed an horrid Plot against it: Which was to set it on Fire in several distant Quarters at once, and in the Hurry, which Fires always occasion, to seize the *Capitol*. But a Conspiracy of Slaves, seldom fails of being discovered by some of the Accomplices in it. In the present Instance, Fear and Hopes drew off two of the Conspirators from the rest. They brought Accusations before the Magistrates, against their Companions in Iniquity. *Rome* punished the Guilty, and rewarded the Informers. Besides giving them their Liberty, a pretty considerable ⁸⁵ Sum of Money, for that Time, was assigned

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXXIII.
T. QUINCTI-
US, M. MAN-
LIUS, L. FU-
RIUS, and A.
SEMPRONIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXXIV.
AGRIPPA ME-
NENIUS, SP.
NAUTIUS, P.
LUCRETIUS,
and C. SERVI-
LIUS, Military
Tribunes.
Livy B. 4.
c. 45.

⁸² The Fine was fifteen thousand *Aſſes* of Brass; which was a considerable Sum, if each *As* weighed a Pound. It is indeed well known, that this was the Weight of this piece of Money, in these first Ages; but it is uncertain, whether *Livy* had always a Regard to the Differences of Times in his Calculations; or whether he does not reckon the *As*, according to the Value of it, after the Reduction of this Species, during the Wars of *Carthage*.

⁸³ The Name of this *Pontifex Maximus*, according to *Plutarch*, was *Spurius Minucius*.

⁸⁴ *Diodorus Siculus* says nothing of these *Military Tribunes*: And in several Editions of *Livy*, we find but three of them mentioned. The Name of *Caius Servilius Axilla* is omitted.

⁸⁵ The Sum of ten thousand *Aſſes* of Brass-Money was given them for their Reward; *Dena millia æris gravis numerata*. That is, this Sum was paid them in Money, and not by Weight, as had formerly been customary in *Servius Tullius's* Reign, when there was yet no coined Money. All that remains then is, to know what we are to understand by this *Æs grave*, as *Livy* and the ancient Authors call the *As*, which weighed a Pound. Now concerning this, we shall observe, 1. That the first Money was made of Iron and Copper, because these two Metals were of most common Use in Life. Now these Materials were first valued by

their Bulk, *per pensationem manuum*. After this, Weights came in use: And at last, to avoid the Trouble of continually weighing Money, and having perpetual recourse to the Ballance, it was ordered, that every piece of Metal should have its own Mark, which should shew its Weight and Value. 2^{dly}, That after this Time, the Metal which passed current by Weight, was called *Æs rude*, because it had no Stamp upon it, nor was it of any fixed Form. 3^{dly}, That the *Romans* made use of this *Æs rude* in their Commerce, till *Servius Tullius's* Time, who first put a Stamp upon Copper. Then every piece of Copper-Money which weighed a Pound, was called an *As*. 4^{thly}, That *Pliny* tells us, that the Republick wanting the necessary Sums to carry on the first War with *Carthage*, raised the Value of their Money. The *As* was divided into six Parts, of two Ounces each, so that the *Sextans*, or *As* of two Ounces weight, was of the same Value now, as the *As* of a Pound weight was before this rise. In after-times, the *As* likewise underwent several other Changes, by having its Parts subdivided, and yet continued of the same Value as before, and still retained its former Impression; which was on one side a double Head of a *Janus*, the most ancient King in *Italy*, who was thought the Inventor of Money; and on the other, a Stern of a Ship, in Memory of that, in which *Saturn* came

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXXIV.

AGRIPPA ME-
NENIUS, SP.
NAUTIUS, P.
LUCRETIUS,
and C. SER-
VILIUS, Mili-
tary Tribunes.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXXV.

M. PAPIRIUS,
Q. SERVILI-
US, and L.
SERGIUS, Mi-
litary Tri-
bunes.

Livy B. 4.
Ibid.

signed them out of the publick Treasury. After *Rome* had escaped this Danger at Home, she fell into another Abroad. *Labicum* was a City of *Latium*, about fifteen Miles distant from *Rome*. It was included in the *Latin* Confederacy, and the constant Adherence of the *Latins* to the *Romans*, ever since their last Union with them, is well known. Nevertheless, *Labicum* now inclined to a Change, and carried on a secret Intelligence with the *Æqui*, those old Enemies of *Rome*. The Senators were informed of this by pretty good Hands; but that they might be the more sure of the Fact, they sent a Deputation to the *Labicani*, with Instructions to inform themselves fully of their Dispositions, and Inclinations. These Envoys made a Report, that the *Labicani* were not indeed making any Preparations for War, as yet; but that their Fidelity was not to be depended upon, for they seemed wavering. And the *Romans* contented themselves for the present, with ordering the *Tusculani* to watch the Motions of the *Labicani*, and give the Republick Notice of what Steps they took.

§.XXXV. BUT the next Year brought to light the ill Designs, and produced the entire Revolt of the *Labicani*. M. ⁸⁶ *Papirius*, C. *Servilius*, and L. *Sergius*, then governed the Republick, with the Title of *Military Tribunes*. Why only three *Tribunes* were then invested with the *Consular* Authority, contrary to the received Custom of choosing four, History has not informed us. But these were scarce fixed in their Offices, when some Deputies from *Tusculum* brought an Account of the open Revolt of the *Labicani*. They had taken up Arms, joined the *Æqui*, and after having plundered the Territory of *Tusculum*, had encamped with their new Allies, under the *Algidus*: So that the Senate had nothing else to do, but to declare War with *Labicum*. It also ordered, that two of the *Military Tribunes* should march into the Field, and the third continue in *Rome* to take care of Affairs at Home. And now Jealousy sowed Discord among the three Collegues. Neither of them was for continuing at *Rome*. Each thought himself most capable of commanding an Army, and despised the less glorious Employment of governing a City. These Disputes gave the Senators Umbrage. They were offended, to see three Men, whose Duty it was to take Care of the Interest of the Publick, sacrifice it to their private Glory. And there was one among the numerous Body of the Senators, who had Weight enough to put an end to the Dispute. This was the famous Q. *Servilius*, who had taken *Fidenæ* in his *Dictatorship*, and had from thence gained the Surname of *Fidenas*. His Son C. *Servilius* was one of the *Military Tribunes*, and he likewise contended with his Collegues for the Glory of taking the Field, and commanding the Troops. How great an Authority Parents then had over their Children at *Rome*, is well known. Though *Caius Servilius* the Son, was raised above his Father *Quinctius*, by the Office he then exercised in the Republick, yet the latter bespoke him thus. *Since the Respect which is due to the Senate, and the publick Interest of the State, are not sufficient to put a Stop to your Contentions, the Authority of a Father shall end them. You, my Son, shall continue in Rome, without drawing Lots: And the Gods grant, that the two Generals, who will command our Army, may agree better in the Field, than they have done in the City!* When the Generals were thus fixed, the Levies were made: But the War did not seem to be of Importance enough to require a general inlisting. So that only ten of the *Tribes* were obliged to furnish Men for it, and those ten *Tribes* were drawn by Lot. All the Youth in them, which yet owed the Republick any Service, were obliged to march, and take the Field under the two Generals; whose Disputes were carried to a greater height in the Camp, than they had been in the City. The two Commanders were never of the same Opinion. Each was for fighting the Enemy his own Way. Each thought what he proposed, the only safe Method of proceeding:

came to *Latium*, where *Janus* governed. And from hence it was, that *Caput* and *Navis*, among the antient *Romans*, signified the same thing as *Cross* and *Pile* among us. 5thly, That after these several Alterations, the *As* of a Pound weight was called nothing but *Æs grave*, to distinguish it from its Parts, which were also current under the Name of *As*. So that *Salmatinus* is mistaken in thinking, that the Words *Æs grave*, were first used to distinguish the *As* of a Pound, which had a Stamp, from the *Æs rude*, which signified an unshapen Mass. The Denomination of *Grave*, was equally applied to a Pound of Brass Money, and a Pound of Cop-

per uncoined: And consequently this Term was not sufficient of it self, to distinguish one from the other. And 6thly, That after the *Æs grave* was no longer current, great Sums, Fines, and the Valuation of Mens Estates, still continued to be reckoned by it, till it became customary to reckon by *Sesterces*.

86 This is the second Time that *Caius Servilius Axilla*, and the third that L. *Sergius Fidenas*, was made *Tribune*. *Diodorus* gives *Servilius* the *Prænomen* of *Marcus*. In some Editions of *Livy*, we read *Claudius* instead of *Caius*; but it is a Mistake of the Copyists.

And each pretended that his Orders ought to be preferred. One General despised the other, and the Troops were divided into two Parties: Till at length the Lieutenant-Generals in the Army, made an Attempt to establish Concord between the two Commanders, and secure the Obedience of the Army. They prevailed so far as to bring them to an Agreement, that each General should command his Day, and the Troops obey them alternately. This News was brought to *Rome*, and *Servilius* the Father, whose long Experience had taught him Wisdom in military Affairs, publicly said, *That he prayed the Gods, that the Discord between the two Tribunes, might not have more fatal Effects, than the Misfortunes the Republick suffered at the Battel of Veii.* And not only this, but as he plainly foresaw the Danger which threatened *Rome*, he advised his Son to raise more Troops, and increase the Number of his Men, at all Events. Advice, which was very serviceable to the Republick. For a few Days after, *Sergius*, who was General for the Day, very imprudently hazarded a Battel, with the *Æqui* and *Labicani*. The latter pretended Fear, and retired into their Entrenchments. *L. Sergius* pursued them, and came too near their Camp. He did not know that a body of Troops would come down from the neighbouring Hills: But they came like a Torrent, and fell upon him all on a sudden. The *Romans* were cut to pieces in great Numbers, though they did not fly; they were tumbled over one another, a few of them only recovered their Camp, and with great Difficulty. The next Day, being invested on all sides, they left their Entrenchments, and both Generals and Lieutenants, with the *Cohorts* appointed to guard the Standards, fled in a shameful manner to *Tusculum*. The rest of the Army dispersed, and returned different Ways to *Rome*, where they exaggerated the Loss the Republick had suffered. However, the Apprehensions the People had had of the Misfortune beforehand, very much lessened the Concern of the Publick, and the *Tribunes*. *Servilius's* Troops seemed to be a ready Remedy. *Couriers* were sent to learn the true State of Affairs! And they brought Word, that the Generals, and chief Officers of the Army, with the Ensigns, were safe in *Tusculum*; and that the Enemy had not decamped. So that this News revived the Courage of the People, and they were transported, at being told, that the Senate had ordered a *Dictator* to be appointed. The young *Servilius*, the only *Military Tribune* who continued in *Rome*, was to nominate him. He named ⁸⁷ *Quintus Servilius* his Father; and the *Dictator* in his Turn, made his Son the General of Horse.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXXV.
M. PAPIRIUS,
Q. SERVILI-
US, and L.
SERGIUS, Mi-
litary Tri-
bunes.

§. XXXVI. THIS new Disposition of the Army, gave the *Romans* new Confidence. They were beyond Measure delighted to see the Command of it lodged in the Hands of a Man, who was famous for several Victories, and was now *Dictator* a second Time. Besides, his Foresight of the ill Success of the late Action, made them think him inspired. The Union also of a Father and a Son, afforded a very promising Prospect. They left *Rome* at the Head of a new Army; for that which had fled to *Tusculum*, was recalled. The *Dictator* went and encamped, at two Miles Distance from the Enemy: And he then perceived, that the *Æqui* were grown very negligent and presumptuous, since their last Success. Resolving therefore to lose no Time in giving them Battel, he commanded his Cavalry to begin the Attack: And they, after a brisk Charge, broke the first Ranks of the Enemy. Then the Ensigns of the *Legions* were ordered to advance with Speed against the *Æqui*, who began to give Way: And one of them, marching more slowly than the *Dictator* liked, he killed him with his own Hands. Upon this the Ardor of the *Romans* increased, and their Impetuosity was so great, that the *Æqui* could not stand before them. They fled, dispersed, and returned to their Camp. The *Romans* pursued them closely, besieged their Camp, and forced it in less Time, and with less Loss, than the Battel had cost them. The Camp, when taken, was plundered, and given up as a free Booty to the Soldiers. But this did not hinder the *Dictator* from pursuing the Enemy in their second Flight. He was informed, that all the *Labicani* had perished in the Action, and that the *Æqui* had chosen *Labicum* for the Place of their Retreat. Early the next Morning therefore, *Servilius* flew thither, invested the Place, took it by Storm, and delivered it up to his Army to be plundered. And all these Exploits were performed with such Expedition, that *Q. Servilius* held the *Dictatorship* but eight Days. He

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXXV.
Q. SERVILI-
US, Dictator.

⁸⁷ This is the second Time *Q. Servilius Priscus Fidenas* was made *Dictator*. And if we will believe some old Annals, which *Livy* quotes in Proof of it, the *Dictator* chose his own Son to be his

General of Horse. Some give the latter the Surname of *Axilla*. He is so called in the *Fasti Capitolini*. But others give him the Surname of *Abala*.

Diod. Sic. B.
^{13.}
Livy B. 4.
c. 47.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXXV.
Q. SERVILI-
US, Dictator.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXXVI.
P. LUCRETI-
US, L. SERVI-
LIUS, AGRIP-
PA MENENI-
US, and Sp.
VETURIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXXVII.
A. SEMPRO-
NIUS, M. PA-
PIRIUS, Q.
FABIUS, and
SP. NAUTIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.

returned to *Rome*, as soon as he had finished his Conquests, and laid down his Office as soon as he came thither. A memorable Victory, but thought of too little Importance to deserve a Triumph! The Distribution of the Lands of *Laticum* would doubtless have occasioned a fresh seditious Petition by the *Tribunes of the People*; but the Senate had taken care to prevent it. They had already ordered a Colony of *Romans* to be sent thither: Which accordingly removed, to the Number of one thousand five hundred Men, and two Acres of Land were given to every one of them.

AFTER this the Peace continued for some Time, undisturbed either by domestick Factions, or foreign Enemies: So that the *Military Tribunes*, P.⁸⁸ *Lucretius*, L. *Servilius*, *Agrippa Menenius*, and Sp. *Veturius*, gained no other Glory, but that of preserving the Republick in perfect Tranquillity.

§. XXXVII. BUT *Rome* was less peaceable the next Year, when ⁸⁹ A. *Sempronius*, M. *Papirius*, Q. *Fabius*, and Sp. *Nautius*, governed the Republick, with the Title of *Military Tribunes*. Then the *Tribunes of the People* revived the old Quarrel about the Distribution of Lands: They were for having them equally divided between the Nobility and the People, allowing every Man his Proportion. But this would have been ruining the *Patricians*, and putting them out of a Condition to maintain their Rank. Indeed the Territory of *Rome* was a very narrow one at the Time of its Foundation, and not sufficient to support that great Number of additional Families, which had come in Crowds to it ever since. So that the chief Part of the *Patricians* Estates were Lands, which they had appropriated to themselves in the conquered Countries. And hence proceeded their Greediness of Conquests: Whilst few of the *Plebeians* had any Share in the Distribution of those Lands. Their Industry was thought sufficient to support them, without Estates. But from the Time that the *Tribunes of the People* raised the Dignity of the *Plebeians*, the latter never ceased aspiring at the same Privileges with the Nobility. Hence the warm Disputes about the Distribution of Lands, which were renewed by Intervals, and which were now again revived by two of the *Tribunes*, named Sp. *Mæcilius*, and Sp. *Metilius*. They pretended, that the Lands the *Patricians* enjoyed, had been usurped by them, and not assigned them by publick Authority. And they therefore required, that there should be a new Division of those Lands between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*. This was an Affair which nearly concerned the whole Body of the Nobility; but the opposite Party was to be Judges. The Senate therefore being at a stand, how to stop, or at least suspend the Proceedings of the *Tribunes of the People*, held sometimes publick, and sometimes private Assemblies, and no body could find out an Expedient to ward off this fatal Blow: Till at length *Appius Claudius*, the youngest of the Senators, made a Proposal, which was followed. He was the Great-Grand-son of the famous *Appius Claudius*, who came from *Sabinia* to *Rome*, and from his Great-Grand-father's Time to his own, his Family all along entertained an Hatred to the People. *Claudius* spoke thus. *It has ever been a Tradition in our Family, which has been conveyed down to me from my Ancestors, that the proper Way to destroy the Tribunes, is to make them the Instruments of their own Destruction. If we set them up one against another, we shall not fail of gaining our Point, which is to make their Attempts abortive. These Upstarts still retain at Bottom, a Respect for the antient Nobility, and if we shew them but a little Civility, and abate a little of the Distance and Reserve we have shewn towards them, it will be easy to divert them from their Designs. They have all of them nothing in view, but raising their own Fortunes. As soon therefore as any of their Body shall appear to have gained an Ascendant over the rest, in the Esteem and Favour of the People, their Jealousies*

88 This was the second *Tribuneship* of P. *Lucretius Tricipitinus*, L. *Servilius*, and *Agrippa Menenius Lanatus*. Sp. *Veturius* is distinguished by the two Surnames of *Crassus* and *Cicurius*. We don't find the Name of *Lucius Servilius* in the old Copies of *Livy*; and *Diodorus Siculus* gives him, by Mistake, the *Prenomen* of *Caius*. Indeed, *Caius Servilius* had already been twice *Military Tribune*, before this Year 336. But the *Servilius* we are speaking of, had held this Office but once, according to *Livy*, and the *Fasti Capitolini*, which call this his second *Tribuneship*. And therefore this second Promotion can agree only with *Lucius Servilius*, who had been elected *Tribune* for the first

Time, in the Year of *Rome* 331. *Livy* puts Sp. *Rutilius Crassus*, in the room of *Spurius Veturius*. But we prefer *Diodorus Siculus* to him in this particular. 1. Because the *Rutilian* Family was *Plebeian*: And the *Plebeians* had not yet been raised to the highest Offices. And 2dly, Because the Surname of *Crassus* was common among the *Veturii*.

89 We don't find in *Livy* the Name of *Quintus Fabius Vibulanus* among the *Military Tribunes* for this Year 337. But it is probable this is an Omission of the Copyists, because *Livy* says, that *Quintus Fabius* was raised to the *Tribuneship* a second Time, in the Year 339.

lousies will sow Divisions among them. And those of them who shall despair of gaining an Interest superior to that of their Rivals among the People, will seek the Friendship and Protection of the Senators, and join with us against their Collegues. This Discourse of young *Appius* met with great Applause. The Senate ordered the *Conscript Fathers*, to stir up the *Tribunes of the People*, as much as possible against the Promoters of the new Law. The College of *Tribunes* then consisted of ten Persons. The *Patricians* therefore made it their Business to gain over a Majority of them to their Interest. They added Promises to Entreaties, and Advice to Promises. They gave them to understand, that they might by this Means lay Obligations on the Senators, who knew how to return their good Offices. And in short, they gained their Point so far, as to draw off six of them from the Interests of the People, and to get a Promise from them, that they would oppose the Intrigues of their Collegues. The next Day therefore, the Senate designedly caused an Information to be brought before them, of the seditious Behaviour of the two *Tribunes*, *Mæcilius*, and *Metilius*. They were accused of designing to corrupt the People, by making them Presents, and wicked Promises, with a view to promote their own ambitious Purposes. Some of the old Senators made Speeches, and with the Air of Suppliants, let the *Tribunes* know, That the only Refuge the Nobility had left, was to fly to their Protection; That they had been established to defend the Oppressed; That the *Patricians* had as good a Claim to their Assistance, as the most contemptible Citizens; and lastly, That it would be a Glory to their College, for them to shew more Courage, in opposing two unjust Collegues, than the latter had shewn in troubling the Senate, and raising Disturbances in the Republick. These Words were followed with a general Murmur through the whole Senate, and Voices were heard from all Parts, desiring the Assistance of the *Tribunes*. Then those whom the *Patricians* had gained over to them, declared, That since the *Conscript Fathers* were of Opinion, that the Request of *Mæcilius*, and *Metilius* would, if granted, be the Ruin of the Republick, they would resolutely oppose it. Upon which the Senate returned their Thanks to these Friends of the Nobility: Whilst the two Authors of the Law made a great Noise and Stir among the People. They accused those who opposed them, of having betrayed the Interests of the Commons. They treated them, as Men bought off by the Senate, and Slaves to the *Patricians*. But all their Clamours ended, in dropping their Request: Though they, after all, sowed the Seeds of those Divisions, which we shall see often springing up anew in the Republick.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXXVII.
A. SEMPRO-
NIUS, M. PA-
PIRIUS, Q.
FABIUS, and
SP. NAUTIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.

§. XXXVIII. THESE domestick Disputes had like to have been followed by two foreign Wars. *Cornelius* 90 *Cossus*, *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, *Valerius Volusus*, and *Fabius Vibulanus*, were just chosen *Military Tribunes*, and invested with the Authority of *Consuls*: And in their Time, the Republick was threatened on two sides. The *Veientes* made Preparations for renewing their ancient Enmity against *Rome*, and the *Æqui*, those indefatigable Enemies to the *Romans*, notwithstanding their Losses had a plausible Pretence for taking up Arms again. Nevertheless, the *Veientes* suspended their Hostilities, out of a religious Scruple. It is well known, that the *Hetrurians* had a great Regard for Prognosticks. And it happened, that just as they were ready to declare War, the *Tyber* overflowed its Banks, and did a great deal of Damage upon their Lands. This therefore was enough for the Heads of their Canton to delay the War. As for the *Æqui*, they had been so much exhausted ever since their last Overthrow by *Servilius*, three Years ago, that they durst not so much as attempt to relieve *Bola*, a City dependent upon them. The *Bolani*, who depended too much on the rest of their Nation, had ravaged the Country of *Labicum*, a new *Roman* Colony: And it was a Maxim with the Republick, never to desert its Allies, much less its Colonies. It therefore sent Troops to the Assistance of the *Labicani*. Which of the four *Tribunes* commanded them, History does not inform us; without doubt, because the Glory of the Action was small, though the Advantages arising from it were not contemptible. In short, after a slight Engagement, *Bola* was taken, without any Motions, on the part of the *Æqui*, in Defence of it. It was a great City, and had a large District belonging to it, which was now wholly subdued by the *Ro-*

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXXVIII.
CORNELIUS
COSSUS,
QUINCTIUS
CINCINNA-
TUS, VALERI-
US VOLUSUS,
and FABIUS
VIBULANUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.
Livy B. 4.
c. 49.

90 *Diodorus Siculus* mentions but two *Military Tribunes* for this Year 338, namely, *Publius Cornelius Cossus*, and *Numerius Fabius Vibulanus*. He omits *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, and *Gaius Valerius Potitus Volusus*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXXVIII.
CORNELIUS
COSSUS,
QUINCTIUS
CINCINNA-
TUS, VALE-
RIUS VOLU-
SUS, and FA-
BIUS VIBU-
LANUS, Mili-
tary Tribunes.

mans. The Division therefore of so large a Track of Ground, was a fresh Subject of Contention, between the People, and the Nobility. The latter seem to have possessed themselves of the Lands of this new Conquest. But however that be, it is at least certain, that one of the *Tribunes of the People*, named *Sextius*, undertook to offer a Petition to the People; that a Colony might be sent to *Bola*, as one had been to *Labicum*; thinking by that Means to get the Territory of the former divided among the new Inhabitants, as that of the latter had been. But the *Patricians*, who would have been dispossessed by this Scheme, had Recourse again to *Appius's* Expedient. They raised a Division among the *Tribunes*. The Majority of them protested against *Sextius's* Petition, and declared, they would not agree, that the People should pass a Law, for making *Bola* a Colony, without the Consent of the Senate: So that the Project of one single *Tribune of the People*, who was opposed by all the rest of his Colleagues, came to nothing.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXXIX.
Q. FABIUS,
CN. CORNE-
LIUS, P. POST-
HUMIUS, and
L. VALERI-
US, Military
Tribunes.

§. XXXIX. *BOLA* ⁹¹ was indeed retaken the next Year by the *Æqui*. The new *Military Tribunes* the *Centuries* had chosen, were ⁹² *Q. Fabius*, *Cn. Cornelius*, *P. Posthumius*, and *L. Valerius*. And as soon as the Enemy had reinstated themselves in the Possession of this City, which had been taken from them the last Year, they fortified it, and settled a Garrison in it, which they called a Colony. The *Romans* therefore could not avoid sending an Army against the *Æqui*, who were now recovered from their Indolence. The Command of this Army fell by Lot to *P. Posthumius*. He was a Man of more Valour than Honesty, and was both very cruel, and indiscreet. He had been little known till he came into Office; and had not discovered himself till he was General. Being both brave, and a Man of Dispatch, he made it his Business to wear out the Enemy with continual Skirmishes; and accordingly sunk their Courage, by harassing them with uninterrupted Fatigues. After this he turned his Arms against *Bola*. During the Siege, he promised his Soldiers the Plunder of the City to encourage them, but at the same time resolved to break his Word. Accordingly, the *Roman* Army made themselves Masters of the City of *Bola*, and *Posthumius*, contrary ⁹³ to the Expectations of the *Legions*, assigned over the Spoil of it to the publick Treasury, and delivered it into the Hands of the *Quæstors*, who attended the Army. This Insincerity alienated the Minds of the Troops from their General; and an uncommon Accident, joined with this, entirely lost him the Affections of all the People, both in the City, and the Camp. The *Tribune Sextius* continued still to sollicite in *Rome*, the Law relating to the Distribution of the conquered Lands, in favour of the People: And during the Disturbances he occasioned, *Posthumius* was recalled to the City, and left his Army encamped. When he came there, he dropped many inconsiderate Expressions, in several Conferences between him and the *Tribunes of the People*, in publick, and in the Presence of the *Curia*. One Day *Sextius* declared to *Posthumius* from *The Tribune of Harangues*, That he was going to get the People to pass a Law, that the City and Territory of *Bola* should be divided among the Soldiers, who were then in the Field; affirming, that those who had conquered them, had the best Right to possess them. To which the imprudent *Posthumius* replied, *That his Troops should fare the worse for it, if any Step of that kind was taken, in their Favour*. This threatening was reported with Aggravation, and was not in the end approved of, even by the Senators themselves. And *Sextius* was a Man of Penetration; he needed no more to let him into the Character of *Posthumius*, and to discover his too hasty Temper. He immediately concluded, that he might, by provoking him, draw many unguarded Expressions from him, which he might turn to the Disadvantage of the General, and all the *Patrician* Party. For the future therefore he addressed himself to no body but him, in the publick Conferences which were held between the *Military Tribunes*, and the *Tribunes of the People*. *Sextius* took a Pleasure in exasperating *Posthumius*, and making him say Things, which would give Offence both to the People, and his own Army. And as soon as he saw the Commons

Zonar. Annal.
B. 7.
Livy B. 4.
Ibid.

⁹¹ We have spoken elsewhere of the City of *Bola*, which was situated on the Confines of the *Æqui*, and the *Latins*. Some Geographers think it stood in the Place where *Poli* now stands.

⁹² This was the second Time *Quintus Fabius Vibulanus* was made *Military Tribune*, according to *Livy*; who, by declaring this, justifies our Re-

mark of his having omitted his first *Tribuneship*, which he passes over in silence.

⁹³ According to *Livy*, *Posthumius* had promised the Soldiers, to divide the Plunder and Spoils of the Enemy among them; but after the City was taken, he changed his Mind, and frustrated the Expectations of his Army.

were enraged against both him, and his Party, the artful *Tribune* harangued the People, in these Words. Romans, *you have heard the proud Posthumius threaten his Soldiers, as so many Slaves. And can you then think a Man, thus destitute of Reason, more worthy of the Military Tribuneship, than your own Tribunes, who do their utmost, to have the Lands distributed, to procure you fruitful Colonies, and to get you an honourable Retreat in your old Age? Shall we receive no Advantage at all from the Battles we fight for you, against such cruel and senseless Enemies? If this be the Case, is it a Wonder that so few of the Tribunes should stand up in your Defence? What have they to expect from you, Honours? You bestow them upon your Enemies.* Posthumius's Discourses have indeed provoked you, but if you were to give your Suffrages this Moment, you would prefer him, and others like him, before your most zealous Protectors? This was an artful Discourse; which turned the Minds of the Commons, in favour of their Tribunes, and brought them off from the Partiality they had hitherto shewn the Nobility, in Elections. Thus stood Affairs at Rome, when *Posthumius* resolved to return to his Camp. But he was not yet arrived, when an Account was brought thither of the Speeches he had made before the People, and the Threatnings he had uttered against his Army: Upon which, all the Troops were filled with Rage; but one of the Soldiers distinguished himself more than the rest, by his Clamours. One of the *Quæstors* therefore, named *Sestius*, thinking it necessary to stifle the Sedition in its Birth, ordered a *Liëtor* to seize the mutinous Soldier. But his fellow-Soldiers immediately took up Stones, and without Regard to the *Quæstor's* Dignity, threw them at his Head, and killed him. And then, *See*, said the Rebels, *how the Threatnings of the General, rebound upon his principal Officer!* The News of this rash and wicked Attempt was soon carried to Rome; which *Posthumius* was obliged to leave, in order to go and appease the Sedition: But his Presence only increased it. We have already observed, That the Roman Generals were absolute in the Field, and that there lay no Appeal from their Sentences. And as *Posthumius* was always in Extremes, he carried his Prosecutions too far, in relation to the Assassination of *Sestius*, and the Revolt of his Troops. He revived a kind of Execution, which has yet been but once mentioned, in the whole Course of this History. This was to throw the Criminal into a shallow Water, to cover him with an Hurdle, and to lay Stones upon it, to press him down till he was drowned. And as this was a slow Death, and those who suffered it cried out terribly, the Soldiers flocked round the present Criminals, and would not suffer them to be executed. At this the Judge, transported with Rage, came down from his Tribunal, to disperse the Multitude which was gathered together, or if he could, to punish them. The *Liëtors* and *Centurions*, who attended him, fell upon the Company of the Mutineers, and beat them aside, to make Way for him: Upon which the Fury of the Soldiers was too great, to regard either Duty, or Decency. They took up Stones, threw them at their General, and knocked him on the Head. Thus fell a *Military Tribune*, one of the chief Magistrates of the Republick, and a General of an Army, whose indiscreet Expressions, Pride, Haughtiness of Carriage, and Breach of Promise, brought him by Degrees to an untimely End. The first Instance of the kind, from the Foundation of Rome, to this Time; but hereafter we shall more than once meet with the like, which were partly owing to that Republican Liberty, which indulged Seditions in the City, from whence they communicated themselves to the Camp.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXXIX.
Q. FABIVS,
CN. CORNELIVS, P. POSTHUMIVS, and
L. VALERIIVS, Military
Tribunes.

Zenar. Annal.
B. 7.

Roman History.

B O O K XII.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXXXIX.

Q. FABIVS,
CN. CORNE-
LIUS, P. POST-
HUMIVS, and
L. VALERIVS,
Military Tri-
bunes.

§. I.

A

FTER the tragical End of General *Posthumius*, the civil Dissentions in *Rome* increased. The *Military Tribunes*, who resided in the City, did their utmost to revenge the Death of their Collegue, who was basely as-

fassinated by his own Troops: And which seems strange, those rebellious Soldiers, who had polluted themselves with the Blood of their Commander, were protected by the *Tribunes of the People*. The *Military Tribunes* demanded of the Senate, that Informations should be ordered to be lodged against the Assassines, but in vain. The *Con-*

script Fathers had another Affair in view, in which they thought themselves more nearly concerned. This was to avoid another Election of *Military Tribunes*, at least for the next Year. Their Intention was to re-establish the Government upon its an-
cient Foot, and to get two *Consuls* elected. And indeed, if they had made an Order for searching for the Criminals in the Army, they would have had Reason to fear, that the *Centuries* would immediately have elected such new *Military Tribunes* out of the *Plebeians*, as would have had Credit enough to screen the guilty Soldiers. They therefore made a Regulation, that *Consuls* should be chosen by the *Centuries*, assembled in the *Campus Martius*. But this Decree was attacked by the *Tribunes of the People*, who opposed it. The Affair was drawn out to a great Length; and the Republick

Interregnum.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXL.

M. CORNELI-
US CASSIVS, and
L. FURIUS
MEDULLI-
NVS, Consuls.
*Livy B. 4.
c. 51.*

fell into an *Interregnum*. This gave the Senate Hopes, that they should gain their Point. And indeed, *Fabius Vibulanus* one of the Governors of the City, during the *Interregnum*, assembled the *Comitia by Centuries*; which chose *M. Cornelius Cassius*, and *L. Furius Medullinus*, *Consuls*. They were both good-natured Men; and were not thought capable of being extremely rigorous, in punishing the Soldiers who were guilty of the Murder of their General. And therefore the Senate, People, and Army, all concurred in nominating them, to make Enquiry into the Crime. It was necessary to make an Example of some; but it was done with Moderation. Punishment was inflicted on only a very small Number of the Criminals: And they fell by their own Hands; so that the *Axes* of the *Lictors* were not stained with their Blood. Nevertheless, this great Moderation did not appease the factious Spirit of the People. They thought it a proper Time to demand, that a Colony of *Plebeians* should be sent to *Bola*, to divide the Lands belonging to it. *What*, said the Populace, *will the Senate be strictly Observant of the Laws then only, when some unhappy Plebeians are to be punished; whilst the Laws which have been so long drawn up in our Favour by our Tribunes, still continue ineffectual?* And it must be confessed, that the *Patricians* themselves would have acted with more Wisdom, if they had suffered the Lands of *Bola* to be divided among the People. By that Means, they would have appeased the enraged Minds of the Commons, and satisfied their greedy Desires of having some Lands of their own. Besides, this perhaps might have diverted the Demand the People made to the utter Ruin of the Nobility, That the *Plebeians* should have their equal Share of the Lands, the *Patricians* had usurped. And indeed, was it not very unreasonable, that the Commonalty should not only be excluded from all the Advantages of the old Conquests, but likewise deprived of a Territory newly conquered, which a small Number of *Patricians* were going to take Possession of? The Senate continued steady, and the People were not suffered to have any Share in a Territory, which they had purchased with a great deal of Blood. This therefore only increased their Pretensions to a general Distribution of all the Lands, and we shall soon see them renewed with more Fury than ever. But in the mean time it was necessary, that this People, so ill treated, should march against the *Volsi*, under the Conduct of the *Consul Fu-*

rius.

rius. They had over-run the Country of the *Hernici*, and plundered it. But upon the Approach of the *Roman* Army, the Enemy disappeared: So that *Furius* marched against ¹ *Ferentinum*, which was a different City from that in which the *Latins* held their Assemblies. It belonged to the *Volsci*, and the best part of their Army had fled thither for Refuge. It was immediately taken without Resistance, but there was very little Booty in it. The Enemy, who despaired of being able to defend it, carried off all their Effects, in the Night. As for the City and its Territory, they were doubtless given the *Hernici*, to make them Amends for the Losses they had sustained by the Irruptions of the *Volsci*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXL.
M. CORNELI-
US COSSUS, and
L. FURIUS
MEDULLI-
NUS, Consuls.

§. II. As well satisfied as the People were with the Moderation of the *Consuls*, the Senate had not less Reason to be so, with the Wisdom of the *Tribunes of the People*. These did not make any Opposition to the Election of new *Consuls*; So that ² Q. *Fabius*, and L. *Furius* were chosen: And the Publick would have enjoyed a perfect Peace, during their Administration, if one L. *Icilius* had not been advanced to the *Tribuneship*. He was of a Family, which always declared openly against the Nobility. One of his Ancestors had been made *Tribune of the People*, when the *Tribuneship* was first erected. And since him there had been many *Icili* in the College of *Tribunes*, who had all signalized themselves by gaining some Advantage over the *Patricians*. L. *Icilius* therefore, that he might not degenerate from the Zeal of his Ancestors, in procuring the Advancement of the People, resumed the Affair of the Distribution of Lands with such Warmth, that every body believed he would pursue it, even to an open Sedition. In the mean Time, *Rome* was visited with a Plague: But the Calamities it brought with it, were not so great as those which were feared from the Plots of the *Tribune*. However, the Contagion interrupted the Course of his Fury. Every one retired Home, shut himself up in his House, and was wholly employed in endeavouring to preserve himself from the Distemper: And indeed, there were few died in the City, but Abundance fell sick. Now it happened, that a Plague was generally succeeded by a Famine in *Rome*. Almost all these honourable Citizens were then but so many Husbandmen, who left their Lands untilld, whenever epidemical Distempers raged among them. And if only one Harvest was lost, *Rome* was immediately reduced to very great Want.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXLI.
Q. FABIVS,
and L. FURI-
US, Consuls.

Livy B. 4.
c. 52.

THE Scarcity was therefore very sensibly felt in the succeeding *Consulship* of M. ³ *Papirius*, and C. *Nautius*: And it would have caused more Desolation in *Rome* than the last Year's Plague had done, if Care had not been taken to fetch Corn from the side of *Hetruria*, and the Country along the *Tyber*. The *Romans* applied themselves likewise to a new Colony of the *Samnites*, who had made themselves Masters of *Capua* some little Time before, and had just then seized *Cumæ*, and driven out the *Greeks* from thence, who had founded it. But these Robbers treated them very inhumanly. They forbid the *Roman* Merchants carrying away any Corn from the Country they had invaded. But in *Sicily* they met with more Humanity. The petty Kings, who were Sovereigns of the several Cantons of this fertile Island, gave the *Roman* Envoys all the Assistance they could: Notwithstanding that the Ambassadors of the Republick were not all Men of the same Distinction, as formerly. The *Romans* had hitherto sent none inferior to Senators, to negotiate a Supply of Provisions with Strangers. But now the Plague and the Famine had left *Rome* destitute, and the *Consuls* could only find Senators enough, to place one at the Head of each Embassy, and only joined two *Knights* with him, in his Commission. Nevertheless the City was sufficiently supplied, and by a signal Happiness, continued yet undisturbed by any Commotions, either at Home, or Abroad.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXLII.
M. PAPIRIUS,
and C. NAU-
TIUS, Consuls.

Livy B. 4.
c. 52.

¹ There were formerly several Cities of this Name in *Italy*. There was one in *Hetruria*, the Ruins of which are yet to be seen at *Ferenti*, near *Viterbo*; another in *Apulia*, or *La Poëille*, in the Neighbourhood of *Florenza*; And a third, in the Country of the *Volsci*, which continues to have the same Name to this very Day: Besides the *Ferentinum* of the *Latins*, which we have mentioned several Times.

² *Quintus Fabius* had the Surname of *Ambustus*,

and *Caius Furius* that of *Pacilus*. We cannot be too exact in observing the Surnames of Families, in order to avoid the Confusion, which otherwise would appear in the Succession of *Consulships*, there being several Persons called by the same Name, and who differ only in their *Prænomina*, and Surnames.

³ *Marcus Papirius* has the Surname of *Mugillanus*, which was then common in the *Papirian* Family. C. *Nautius* has that of *Rutilus*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXLIII.
M. ÆMILIUS,
and C. VA-
LERIUS, Con-
suls.

Livy B. 4.
c. 53.

§. III. BUT so various and changeable was the Fate of the *Romans*, that they were no sooner delivered from one publick Calamity, but they fell into another. As soon as the Plague and the Famine ceased in *Rome*, War, and civil Broils, laid it desolate. *M. Æmilius* 4 and *C. Valerius* were *Consuls*. The *Æqui* then renewed their usual Incursions into the Territories of the *Hernici* and *Latins*. The *Volsci* had also joined these Enemies of the Republick, not indeed by any general and legal Consent of the Nation, but by having given Leave to any of their Youth, that pleased, to serve in the Army of the *Æqui*. The News of these Hostilities, made it necessary for the *Consuls* to oppose them with *Roman* Forces: And *C. Valerius*, to whose Lot it fell, to go upon this Expedition, was already beginning to raise Levies; when *Mænius* the *Tribune* had recourse to the old Artifices of his Predecessors, in order to obtain a Distribution of Lands in favour of the People. He opposed the raising any Troops among the Citizens: So that the *Consul* durst not now force any body to take Arms. By this Means, the Enemies of *Rome* had their free Course. They came and insulted the *Romans*, very near *Rome* it self, and took from them the Fort of 5 *Carventum*. The Shame of this provoking Insult fell upon the *Tribune Mænius*. The Senate was enraged at it, and his own Collegues deserted him. They were angry at his having made so unseasonable a Protestation: And the taking of a Fortrefs, almost before their Faces, gave them the better Authority to thwart *Mænius's* Designs: But he was resolved to hold it out to the last Extremity. The *Consul* told the People, that the present Confusion, and whatever future Calamities might happen, were solely to be ascribed to *Mænius's* Obstinacy. The latter declared, That the Obstinacy of the *Patricians*, in keeping to themselves the Lands, to which the Citizens had as good a Right as they, was the sole Cause of all the Misfortunes which threatened *Rome*; and that as soon as the Nobility did Justice, he would desist. But at length the rest of the *Tribunes* put an end to Disputes, which were so destructive of the publick Good. They all nine made a Decree against the Pretensions of this single Collegue, and declared, they would assist the *Consul* in punishing all those of the People, who refused to obey his Orders. Then *Valerius* raised an Army, without any Opposition: The only Trouble he had in it was, the imprisoning some Mutineers, who called upon *Mænius* the *Tribune* for Assistance. When the Troops had taken the military Oaths, they marched towards *Carventum*: And though they had but little Affection for their General, they behaved themselves bravely at the retaking of the Fort. They drove out the few Soldiers the Enemy left for its Defence, and took Possession of it. The *Romans* had indeed no great Battels to fight before the Place: The greatest part of the Garrison were gone out for Booty: But the Spoils they found there were not contemptible. The Enemy had there amassed together, as in a Place of Security, all the Booty they had taken for a long Time before. The *Roman* Army hoped it would have been given up to them, for Plunder: But the *Consul* did not think his Soldiers deserved these Favours at his Hands. He sold every Thing at the best Rate, and returned the Money to the *Quæstors*, to be put into the publick Treasury. And then he told his Soldiers, who were covetous of Booty, that when they had learned to come readily into the Levies, they should then have their Share of the Spoil. This Reproof, together with the Disappointment, enraged the Troops against their General; but he had no farther Occasion for their Service. The *Æqui* returned no more into the Field, and the *Consul* led back his Troops to *Rome*. Where, as his Expedition had been both honourable in it self, and of great Service to the Republick, the Honour of an *Ovation* was decreed him: But in his Procession, on this Occasion, the Soldiers revenged themselves on their General. It was common enough in Triumphs, for the victorious Soldiers to sing satyrical Verses, upon him who triumphed. But in *Valerius's* *Ovation*, there was something singular. The *Legions* divided themselves into two Bodies, like two Choirs; and whilst one made the Air resound with Songs against the General, the other sung Verses in praise of *Mænius*. These coarse and artless Verses, expressed the favourable Opinion the Army had of the one, and their Disrespect for the other. The People likewise joined with them, and *Mænius's*

4 The *Fasti Capitolini*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, give *Æmilius* the *Prænomen* of *Manius*, and not that of *Marcus*, which is given him by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*. His Surname is *Mamercinus*. His Col-

legue *C. Valerius* has two Surnames given him, *Potitus*, and *Volusus*.

5 *Stephens* speaks of a City of *Carventum*, Καρβέντιον, which he places in *Latium*.

Name made them leap for Joy. These popular Acclamations, in favour of a seditious *Tribune*, made the Senate afraid, that if there should be another Election of *Military Tribunes*, *Mænius* the *Plebeian* would be one. But they happily prevailed, in having the *Comitia* held by *Centuries*, to choose *Consuls*, and not *Military Tribunes*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXLIV.
Cn. CORNE-
LIUS, and L.
FURIUS, Con-
suls.

§. IV. THE Choice of the People fell upon Cn. ⁶ *Cornelius*, and L. *Furius*. In this the Nobility gained an Advantage over the People; but they, in return, took care to guard against the Encroachments of the Nobility. In the *Comitia* by *Tribes*, they chose such Men *Tribunes*, as were zealous in their Interest, and not easy to be disunited. The three who signalized themselves most, were all of the same Name, and of a Family, which had always been devoted to the Interests of the Commonalty: They were all three *Icili*. The *Tribuneship* was, in a manner, hereditary in their Family, and whenever there had been an *Icilius* in that Office, the Nobility had received some Blow, to the Diminution of their Authority. The three Relations, who at present enjoyed it, made themselves Masters of the whole College, and succeeded in the important Scheme which they had laid, in favour of the *Plebeian* Party. The *Quæstorship* was then the second Post of Honour in the Republick: And though the Number of the *Quæstors* had been increased, and the Commons were expressly permitted by Law, to stand for the *Quæstorship* as well as the *Patricians*, yet the People had hitherto shewn such Moderation towards the Nobility in their Elections, as to choose none but Nobles. But the *Icili* emboldened the People, to overlook a Consideration, which stood in the Way of their Advancement: And they found the Multitude disposed beforehand to enter into their Measures. They had been offended at the Senate's having refused to let them choose *Military Tribunes*, rather than *Consuls*; and at their not being able to place their dear *Mænius*, among the Heads of the Republick. So that it was easy for the *Icili* to stir up the People to revenge themselves, in the Election of *Quæstors*. *We*, said they, *will never undertake any thing for you, if you dare do nothing for our Honour in the next Comitia. The Laws give you a Power to choose some Quæstors out of the Plebeians, as well as out of the Patricians. The generous Regard therefore which you shall shew towards us, in your Comitia for choosing Quæstors, will encourage us to put in Execution the vast Schemes we have formed for your Advancement.* Resentment and Ambition encouraged the People to venture to take this first Step towards aggrandizing themselves. Of the four *Quæstors*, which they had a Right to choose, they took three out of the *Plebeians*. Their Names were Q. *Silius*, P. *Cælius*, and P. *Pupius*. *Cæso Fabius* was the only *Patrician* now raised to the *Quæstorship*. The Joy this unexpected Step gave the common Citizens, is not to be imagined. They immediately promised themselves *Consulships*, and Triumphs: And indeed, the *Quæstorship* to which they then raised themselves, was the first Step, by which we shall see so many *Plebeian* Families, mount up to the greatest Honours in the Republick. As for the Nobility, they could not conceal their Despair. They could never speak of the Victory the People had gained over them, without Rage. They were heard to say, *To what Purpose are we at so much Care and Expence in the Education of our Children, if they are deprived of those Dignities which only their Ancestors enjoyed? Shall our Families have no other distinguishing Posts, but those among the Pontifices and the Salii? Shall all Employments of Authority and Credit be in common with us, and other Citizens, and shall we have nothing peculiar to us but the Priesthood?* But the Triumphs of the People, and the Mortification of the Nobility, served only to keep up the Misunderstandings between the two Bodies. The *Plebeians* thought they had a Right to put in a Claim to every Thing, and a Power to gain whatever they pretended to, by the Help of the three *Icili*. Besides, the *Quæstorship*, of which they were now in Possession, made them proud: So that their Ambition increased, in Proportion with their Power. The People, encouraged by their *Tribunes*, easily persuaded themselves, that now they had decreed themselves the *Quæstorship*, they might very well aspire at the *Military Tribuneship*. This was the Point the *Tribunes of the People* had in view; they stirred up the Commonalty to form Pretensions to it, purely with Design to gain that Honour to themselves. In short, the Senate were already preparing to pass a Decree for the Election of *Consuls*, when the *Icili* opposed it.

⁶ Instead of *Cneius Cornelius Cossus*, we read in *Diodorus of Sicily*, *Cneius Pompeius*. But besides that, the *Pompeian* Family, which was originally *Plebeian*, could not be admitted, in these Times,

to enjoy the Honours of the *Consulship*; it is certain, by the Silence of the Historians, and ancient Annals, that it was not at this Time a Family of any Distinction in the Republick.

They

Year of
R O M E
CCCXLIV.
Cn. CORNE-
LIUS, and L.
FURIUS, Con-
suls.

They demanded, that the Republick should be governed the next Year by *Military Tribunes*. Upon this, the Disputes grew warm between the *Conscrip*t Fathers, and the College of *Tribunes*. But the *Icilii* were not Men of a tractable Temper, who would easily give up any Point: And their Offices empowered them to thwart all the Designs of the *Consuls*. This was the Situation of Affairs at *Rome*, when, happily for the *Icilii* , News was brought thither, that the confederated *Volsci* and *Æqui* had entered the Country of the *Latins*, and *Hernici*, in Arms. The Senate therefore ordered Levies to be made. The *Consuls* prepared to raise them, but the *Tribunes* opposed it: And from that Time, the *Icilii* never lost sight of the two *Consuls*. Two of the three took upon them to pursue the *Consuls*, in every Step they should take, and to stick closely each to his Man. They were active, vigilant, and Men of Courage. The third *Icilius* undertook to keep the People within Bounds, or to stir them up to Commotions, by his Harangues, as he judged proper: And this Distribution of Employments, among the three Relations, was of great Service to their Party. The *Consuls* neither durst raise the Levies, nor assemble the *Comitia by Centuries*, for the Election of *Consuls*. Every thing seemed to favour the *Plebeian* Party, when this further News was brought to *Rome*, that the Fort of *Carventum* was retaken by the *Æqui*. Upon this, the completing the Levies was pressed with great Earnestness: And the *Tribunes* took Advantage of it. They were sounded, and solicited, not to throw any Difficulties in the Way of raising the Troops, for this once at least. But they stood their Ground, both against the Storms which threatened *Rome*, and the Hatred of the Publick: And in short, the Senate was forced to give Way. They consented, that the Republick should be governed the next Year by *Military Tribunes*, chosen by the *Centuries*; but they added a Clause, which entirely frustrated the secret Expectations of the *Icilii* . The Decree they passed, was this; That none of the present *Tribunes of the People*, should either be chosen *Military Tribunes*, or continued in their Offices the next Year. But though the *Tribunes* were probably dissatisfied with the Decree, yet they dissembled it, the better to conceal their Ambition. All was quiet in the State, the Army was raised, which was to march against the *Æqui*: And the *Consuls*, according to some, both marched to recover *Carventum*. But others say, that one of them continued in *Rome*. Be that as it will, the *Romans* lost a great deal of Time in attacking the Fort, and they raised the Siege. However, they fell upon *Verrugo*, a City in the Territory of the *Volsci*, which the *Romans* had formerly fortified, and which had returned to the Dominion of its old Masters. It was taken, and plundered, as the Territories of both the *Æqui* and *Volsci* were, by the *Roman* Army, without Opposition. In the mean while the Time came for proceeding to the Elections at *Rome*. The Senate had given the People Leave to choose *Military Tribunes*, instead of *Consuls*. And the Commons were inclined to make choice of *Plebeians*; but the Nobility dreaded nothing so much, as seeing Commoners at the Head of the Republick. What then was to be done? The *Patricians* made use of Artifice, to avoid a Blow which would have been more grievous to them, than seeing the *Quæstorship* in the Hands of ignoble Citizens. They engaged some mean Citizens, who had neither Merit nor Weight, to stand Candidates for the *Military Tribuneship*. These made a strong Party, which was backed with the Interest of the Nobility: But the People were ashamed to put the Government of the *Roman* State in such contemptible Hands. They therefore pitched upon three illustrious *Patricians*, C. Julius Iulus, P. Cornelius Cossus, and C. Servilius Ahala. By this means, the *Tribunes of the People*, who had gained a Point upon the Nobility, in getting *Military Tribunes*, were now mortified in their Turn, by the *Patricians*, who had so far succeeded, as to have none chosen, but Men of their own Body: Though, after all, this Victory could not be lasting. As Affairs now stood at *Rome*, the Nobility were upon the decline, and it could not be long ere the People prevailed.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXLV.
C. JULIUS
IULUS, P.
CORNELIUS
COSSUS, and
C. SERVILI-
US AHALA,
Military Tri-
bunes.

§. V. THIS Election of three *Patricians* to govern *Rome*, was what scarce any Body expected; and their Administration was not so happy, as there was Reason to hope it would be. None of the *Tribunes of the People* indeed, raised any seditious Disturbances in their time; but the Senate does not seem to have had Regard enough for them. The *Volsci* renewed the War again. The Hopes of Conquest, and Desire of Revenge, animated them to it. The *Romans* had not succeeded the last Year in their Attempt upon *Carventum*, and the Fort, which still continued in the Hands of the *Volsci*, favoured their Incursions, and was a Check upon the *Romans*. Besides, these

old Enemies of the Republick, had drawn over to themselves some of her new Allies. The *Volsci* had just sent a Deputation to the *Antiates*, to draw them off from the Romans. *What*, said they to them, *have you shut your selves up within your Walls, and given the Romans free Admittance into your Country, which they have laid Waste? What? Has not the taking of Verrugo raised your Jealousy? Have you suffered the Romans, not only to send Armies, but likewise to plant Colonies among you? Shall Foreigners possess your Lands, which they have divided among themselves? Shall they give away Ferentinum, one of your Cities, to the Hernici?* The same Deputies were likewise sent by the *Volsci*, to several other Cantons in their Neighbourhood. And as fast as they stirred up any People against the Romans, they immediately enlisted their Youth, and obliged them to march. In short, the *Rendezvous* of their Army was by *Antium*. They encamped there, and there waited for the Roman Army. Rome had taken the Alarm, upon the first Report of these Preparations, and perhaps, with a little more Concern, than it should have done. At least the Senate might have spared the Affront they put upon the *Military Tribunes*, who were, in their Year, the natural Generals of the Troops of the Republick: But they had recourse to their usual Remedy, under sudden Misfortunes. They ordered a *Dictator* to be nominated. But the three *Military Tribunes* had already drawn Lots about the Command of the Army, and it had fallen to *Julius* and *Cornelius* to be Generals, and to *Servilius* to continue in Rome, to keep the City in good Order: So that the two Generals were affronted at the Distrust shewn of their Conduct, before it had been put to the Trial. They thought themselves able Commanders enough to carry on a War, against Enemies, which had been so often overcome. In short, *Julius* and *Cornelius* obstinately refused to nominate a *Dictator*, and insisted upon being Generals themselves. And the Dispute was carried to so great a height, that the *Conscript Fathers* thought themselves obliged to interpose the Authority of the *Tribunes of the People*. They complained to them of the Disobedience of the *Military Tribunes*. They put them in mind, that *Consuls* themselves had been forced, by their Orders, to submit to the Senate. It was a double Pleasure to the College of *The Tribunes of the People*, to see themselves made the Arbitrators in the Disputes of the Nobility, and to leave lasting Divisions among the *Patricians*. When therefore these *Plebeian* Magistrates were desired to put an end to the Dispute, they made a malicious and insolent use of the Advantage, the Senate gave them over themselves. *Who are we*, said they, *but vile Plebeians, contemptible Creatures, mean Citizens, who are not fit to live in civil Society? When the People shall think fit to place us in the highest Posts in the Republick, we shall then know how to subdue you by force, and put an end to your Divisions. Till that time, you have nothing to expect from us. You invade all other Offices: And if that be wanting to make you agree, usurp the Tribuneship of the People too.* This Refusal exceedingly perplexed the Senate. It became daily more and more necessary to enter into a War with the *Volsci*, and the Republick wanted a General to command her Armies. The Senators often assembled; but as they insisted on having a *Dictator*, so were *Julius* and *Cornelius* obstinate in refusing to nominate one. At length, *C. Servilius* the third *Military Tribune*, extricated the Republick out of this Difficulty, and delivered his Opinion thus. *My Silence hitherto has not proceeded from any Indifference towards the Welfare of the Publick. Is it excusable in any Citizen to neglect the Interests of his Country? I kept Silence in Deference to my Collegues; and should have continued to do so, if their Disputes with the Senate did not tend to the Ruin of the Republick. I have waited with Patience, and longed for the happy Moment, which should bring them to Reason. But their Obstinacy is invincible. I cannot therefore think my self at Liberty, to carry my Deference for them any farther. Rome is dearer to me than my Collegues. For which Reason, I declare, that if the Senate persists in having a Dictator, I will name one to-morrow Night. If any think fit to oppose this, under Pretence, that the Comitia will not then have given the last Sanction to the Decree, as the Law requires: I declare 7 the Authority of the Senate, shall be a Law to me.* These Words were

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C. JULIUS
IULUS, P.
CORNELIUS
COSSUS, and
C. SERVILI-
US AHALA,
Military Tri-
bunes.

7 There was a Distinction in old Rome, between a Decree of the Senate, *Senatus-Consultum*, and the Authority, or Will, of the Senate, *Autoritas Senatus*. There were several Things that hindered a Decree from having the Force of a Law.

1. The Opposition of the *Tribunes of the People*.
2. Their delaying to put it in execution, till it had been more fully examined. 3. The registering the Decree at an improper Hour, that is, about the Close of the Day, or at Sun-set. 4. The *Augurs* demanding,

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P. CORNELI-
US RUTILUS,
Dictator.

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CORNELIUS
COSIUS, and
C. SERVILI-
US AHALA,
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bunes.

were received with great Applause; and *Servilius*, without Opposition, nominated *P. Cornelius Rutilus* to be *Dictator*, who chose *Servilius* to be his General of Horse. Thus was the Moderation of this *Military Tribune* rewarded. He renounced a lesser Honour, and received a greater. It may be said, that the *Dictator*, and General of Horse, wanted nothing to increase their Glory, but a more formidable Enemy to contend with. Only one Battel was fought with the *Volsci* near *Antium*, where they were put to flight, and the Victory of the *Romans* was complete. The gaining this easy Victory, was also followed by the taking of a little Fort, upon the Borders of the Lake *Fucinus*, on that side of it, where it overflows a part of the Territory of the *Volsci*: And in the Fort were taken three thousand Prisoners. The rest of the Enemy's Army left the Field, and gave up their Lands to be plundered by the *Romans*. Thus ended a Campaign, in which *Rome* had the Advantage, but which brought only a small Degree of Honour to the General. When the *Dictator* laid down his Office, the *Military Tribunes* reassumed theirs. And as they had been treated unworthily by the Senate, they vented their Rage against the whole Body of the *Patricians*, of which they themselves were a part. It belonged to these Magistrates, to propose what sort of *Comitia* should be held for the next Election; and they, without mentioning the *Consular Comitia* to the Senate, for the electing of *Consuls*, ordered the *Centuries* to be assembled, for electing *Military Tribunes*. The Nobility therefore, for fear the People

demanding, that the *Aspices* should be consulted before it was promulged. 5. The Places not being duly consecrated, according to Law, where the Assembly was held. 6. The Senate's not having been assembled in due Form, or by a Magistrate, who had a Right to convene it. 7. The Senate's being assembled on one of those Days, which were excepted by Religion. In case of any one of these Defects, the *Senatus-consultum* did not pass for such, nor was it thought a lawful Decree. Nevertheless it was registred, as a Regulation made by the Senate, and the Revival of the Decree was referred to the People, who ratified it, or declared it null, as they found it for their Interest. *Dio Cassius* confirms this Custom, B. 55. *Quod si forte usu venerit, ut non tam multi, quam opus erat, convenirent, Senatus quidem habebatur, Decretumque perscribatur, non tamen quasi ratum effectum habebatur. Sed erat auctoritas, ut Senatus sententia nota ac testata esset. Tale enim quiddam vis hujus verbi declarat, quod uno verbo grace exprimi non potest. Quod etiam observatum est, si quando in loco aliquo non legitimo, aut die non idoneo, aut non legitimo edicto, sed ambitiose Senatus coactus esset, aut Tribuni Plebis nonnulli intercessissent. Tum enim Senatus-consultum fieri non poterat, quod tamen placuisset testari reliqui volebant.* We have likewise as good Proof of this Distinction, in *Tully's first Book of his Epistles*, Ep. 2.—*De his rebus Senatus auctoritas gravissima intercesserat, cum Cato & Caninius intercessissent, tamen est perscripta.* As it was common for the *Tribunes* to oppose a *Senatus-consultum*, this Clause was usually added to it. *SI QUIS HUIC SENATUS-CONSULTO INTERCESSERIT, SENATUI PLACET AUCTORITATEM PERSCRIBI, ET DE EA RE AD SENATUM POPULUMQUE DEFERRI.* When a formal Opposition was made to it, it was always set down in the Register, in these Words. *HUIC SENATUS-CONSULTO INTERCESSIT, C. Cælius, C. Pansa, Tribunus Plebis.*

8 This Lake still retains the Name of *Lago Fucino*, in the Language of the Country, though it be more commonly called *Lago di Celano*, from the Name of a City, in its Neighbourhood. *Lycophron* the Poet calls it *φίρεν λίμνη*, but why it is so called, we cannot imagine. *Isaac Tzetza* places it five hundred *Stadia* from *Rome*, and most Geographers seventy seven Miles from thence, which amounts to much the same. *Strabo* tells us, B. 5. that this Lake rose sometimes as high as the Eminencies that surrounded it, and at other times sunk so low, that nothing appeared but a marshy Bottom. *Julius Obsequens*, in his Book of *Prodigies*, says, that when *Marcus Æmilius*,

and *C. Hostilius Mancinus* were *Consuls*, the Lake *Fucinus* overflowed its Banks five Miles, every Way. *Pliny*, B. 31. c. 3. speaks of a Rivulet, which he calls *Annis Pitonius*, and which some Geographers call *Giovenco*: And says, that this little River, which runs from the *Apennine Hills*, between the Territories of the *Marfi*, and the *Peligni*, discharged it self into the Lake *Fucinus*, without mixing with the Waters of it; After which it sunk into the Earth, and ran as far as *Tibur*, under Ground. There, says he, it came out of the Ground again, and was conveyed to *Rome* by an Aqueduct made on Purpose, nine Miles long. Some say *Ancus Marcius* built this Aqueduct: But others ascribe it to another *Marcius*, as we shall see hereafter. The latter at least repaired it; and from him the Water was called *Aqua Marcia*. *Dio Cassius* tells us, B. 60. that the Emperor *Claudius* attempted in vain to convey the Water of the Lake *Fucinus* through the Hills, into the *Tyber*, in order to make it navigable: But the Impossibility of the Thing has made some with Reason believe, that the Historian mistakes the *Tyber*, for the *Liris*, which was nearer this Lake. As for the Fort which the *Romans* took by Assault, *Livy* appears to contradict himself, when he seems to place it in the Country of the *Volsci*, near the Lake *Fucinus*, which according to some Geographers, was in the Country of the *Marfi*. *Victor exercitus depopulatus Volscum agrum, castellum ad Lacum Fucinum vi expugnatum.* But it is easy to clear *Livy* of this seeming Contradiction. 1. He does not say, that this Fort was in the Territory of the *Volsci*. He only means, that the *Romans* made themselves Masters of the Fort, after they had ravaged the Enemy's Country. 2. It is true, that the Fort stood upon the Borders of the Lake *Fucinus*, and that it was reasonable to infer from thence, that it belonged to the *Marfi*: And possibly the latter may have joined with the *Volsci*, their Neighbours, against the Republick: In which Case, it is not to be wondered at, that the *Roman Army* proceeded as far as the Lake *Fucinus*. 3. It may likewise, for ought appears to the contrary, be asserted, that the Fort did stand in the Country of the *Volsci*, at a little Distance from the Lake *Fucinus*; if we consider this Lake, not in its usual Extent, which was thirty Miles in Compass, but at the Time of any of its great Inundations. For it then overflowed the neighbouring Countries, and consequently reached as far as the southern Frontiers of the *Volsci*, which were at most but five Miles from the Lake *Fucinus*, if we reckon from the eastern part of the Country of the *Volsci*, which was watered by the *Liris*.

should

should join some *Plebeians* with them, in the Government of the Republick, had recourse to a new Artifice, as they had done the last Year. They proposed only such Men as Candidates for the *Military Tribuneship*, as were of so distinguished a Merit, and so great a Reputation, that the People could scarce avoid choosing them. Accordingly four *Patricians* were chosen, who had all enjoyed this highest Post of Honour before. These were *C. Valerius* 9, *L. Furius*, *Num. Fabius*, and *C. Servilius*. The last was continued in this Employment, though possessed of it the last Year, in Consideration of his good Conduct, in nominating a *Dictator*, and his personal good Qualities.

§. VI. THE *Romans* were then scrupulously exact in observing the Laws of Equity in their Wars with Foreigners. They seem indeed to have carried their Scruples so far, as to have infringed a little on the Laws of Policy. As soon as the Truce with the *Veientes* was ended, they sent *Feciales*, to demand Satisfaction of these old Enemies, for the Injuries they had done the Republick during the Truce. But these honourable Deputies met Ambassadors on the Road, before they came to the Frontiers of the *Veientes*, which were sent by the latter to the Republick. They therefore desired the *Feciales* not to proceed to *Veii*, till they had executed their Commission at *Rome*: And the *Feciales* were so complaisant to the Ambassadors, as to proceed no farther. The latter, when they came to *Rome*, were admitted into the Senate: Where they represented, that their City was disturbed with domestick Broils, and would not be in a Condition for a Year to come to make the *Romans* Satisfaction. This was therefore a favourable Opportunity for the Republick, to take Advantage of the Dissentions in *Veii*, as the Enemies of *Rome* often did, of the Contests between the *Patricians* and the *Plebeians*. But the *Romans* had then Magnanimity enough to act upon very different Maxims: They were afraid to take Advantage of the Misfortunes of their Neighbours. Nevertheless, the Republick seems to have been then in a languid, declining Condition. The *Volsci* had laid Siege to *Verrugo*. The *Roman* Garrison in it defended it with Courage, and pressed earnestly for Succours. But the Senate did not enough consider, that the Strength and Valour of these brave Men, would, in length of time, be exhausted: And therefore long delayed giving their *Military Tribunes* Leave to take the Field. Had they appeared in time, the Place would not have fallen into the Hands of the Enemy: But it was taken, and the Garrison put to the Sword. These brave Men indeed sold their Lives very dear: And their Ruin was wholly ascribed to the Dilatoriness of the Senate. However, the *Military Tribunes* found Means in the end, to revenge their Death. They surprized the *Volsci*, and cut them in pieces, as they were dispersed over the Fields, which they were busy in pillaging.

§. VII. BUT the Indulgence shewn the *Veientes* was carried to excess, under the new *Military Tribunes*, *Cornelius* 10 *Cossus*, *L. Valerius Cornelius Rutilus*, and *Fabius Ambustus*. The *Roman* Ambassadors had appeared at their Assemblies, and had brought back only proud Answers. *Be gone, Romans, be gone out of these Places, unless you have a mind to undergo the same Fate, which your Ambassadors formerly suffered, from King Tolumnius.* These insolent Threatnings were brought to *Rome*; the Senate was incensed at them; and made a Decree, requiring the *Military Tribunes* to propose the declaring War with the *Veientes* 11, to the People. But this Decree was not agreeable

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C. VALERIUS,
L. FURIUS,
NUM. FABI-
US, and C.
SERVILIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.

Livy B. 4.
c. 58.

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R O M E
CCCXLVII.
CORNELIUS
COSSUS, L.
VALERIUS,
CORNELIUS
RUTILUS, and
FABIUS AM-
BUSTUS, Mi-
litary Tri-
bunes.
Livy B. 4.
Ibid.

9 This was the second time *Caius Valerius Potitus Volusus*, *Caius Servilius Ahala*, and *Numerius Fabius Vibulanus* (not *Cneius Fabius*, as we have it in some Editions of *Livy*) were made *Tribunes*. But *Livy* is mistaken, when he says, this was the second *Military Tribuneship* of *Lucius Furius Medullinus*. He had indeed been twice *Consul*. But it is evident, from the *Fasli Capitolini*, that he had never been *Tribune* before. *Livy* perhaps confounded him with his Father *Lucius Furius*, who enjoyed the Honour of this Office three times.

10 *Publius Cornelius Cossus* had already been *Dictator*, and *Cneius Cornelius Cossus* had shared the Honours of the *Consulship*. *Diodorus Siculus* substitutes one *Terentius Maximus* in the room of the latter, but we don't find him mentioned in the *Consular Annals*. *Numerius Fabius* is distinguished

from *Numerius Fabius Vibulanus*, by the Surname of *Ambustus*. *L. Valerius Potitus* was now promoted to the *Military Tribuneship*, a second time.

11 The Senate could not declare War with any Nation, of its own Authority. The Right of doing this belonged to the Assembly of the *Centuries*. So that the Decree passed by the Senate, with regard to the intended War with the *Veientes*, was only a preparatory Decree, or rather barely a Commission to the *Military Tribunes*, to notify to the People the Necessity of this War; of which Notification, they were afterwards to make a Report to the *Comitia by Centuries*. For we must not forget the usual Forms observed in the Republick, in getting any Laws accepted. 1. The Magistrate ascended *The Tribune of Harangues*, to represent to the People, the Necessity and the Advantages of the

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litary Tri-
bunes.

agreeable to the Commons. The *Plebeian* Youth cried out, of their own accord, without being instigated thereto by the *Tribunes*, that they would never consent to the bringing upon themselves a new Enemy. *We are already embarked*, said they, *in an old War with the Volsci, which is not yet ended. Our two Garrisons, which they have lately put to the Sword, are Insults, which we are much more nearly concerned to revenge, than the proud Answers of the Veientes. The Volsci continue yet in Possession of the two Places they recovered by the Slaughter of our Romans. Can we then suffer them to continue in their Hands without Danger? Every Year brings a new War upon us. Are all the Labours which are laid upon us, thought to be nothing? Why then would the Senate engage us in a new Quarrel with a powerful Nation, which is able to get all Hetruria into its Interest?* These Dispositions in the Commons to reject the War with the *Veientes*, were also encouraged by the *Tribunes of the People*. *The Quarrels of most Importance to us*, said they, *are those we have with the Patricians. We fight with them within our own Walls. And therefore, Romans, they are desirous of employing you elsewhere, in order to rob you of your Victories at Home. 'Tis the Artifice of the Senate to keep you continually exposed in foreign Wars, in order to divert you from pursuing your just Pretensions. By drawing you into Camps Abroad, they make you forget the Business of securing your Liberty, of demanding Colonies, of insisting on an equal Distribution of Lands, and your Right of choosing Plebeians, as well as Patricians, to be Consuls, if you think fit.* Nor did the *Tribunes of the People* confine themselves to Words: They caressed the old Soldiers, in order to prevail on them to oppose the Senatorial Party. They made them shew their Scars, and asked them pleasantly, whether they had room for any more Wounds. *Have you*, said they to them, *any more Blood in your Veins, which you can spare for the Service of your Country?* By these private Discourses, and publick Harangues, they gave the People such a Distaste for the War with the *Veientes*, that they suspended the Law for declaring it, and had absolutely rejected it, if it had been put to the Vote: Nevertheless the People gave the *Military Tribunes* leave to raise an Army, and lead it against the *Volsci*. Three of the four Heads of the Republick commanded the Troops, which they divided between them, and *Cn. Cornelius* only continued in *Rome*. But the *Romans* sought for Enemies to fight with, in vain; none appeared. The *Volsci* were no longer disposed to hazard Battels, in which they had always been worsted. They abandoned their Fields, and left them to be plundered by the *Romans*. The three *Military Tribunes* therefore separated from one another, and each marched his Troops into a different part of the Enemy's Country, to ravage it. *Valerius* turned towards *Antium*, and *Cornelius Rutilus* to the side of *Ecetræ*; whilst *Fabius* went upon a more useful, and more glorious Expedition. He would not suffer his Soldiers to stay to plunder any Place, but led them before *Anxur*, the taking of which was of more Importance. *Anxur* was the same City, which was afterwards called *Terracina*. It was situated on the Declivity of an Hill, defended at the Bottom with a Morass: And *Fabius* resolving to take it on that side, he there made his principal Attack. But in order to amuse the Besieged, he commanded *Caius Servilius Ahala*, to march with four Cohorts to an Eminence on the side of the Upper-City, which overlooked it, and which was scarce at all fortified, and but weakly defended. The Shouts therefore of *Servilius's* Cohorts, and the false Attack on the Upper-City, made the People desert the Place, where *Fabius* was. Then the General planted his Scaling-Ladders on the side of the Lower-City, and the *Romans* were instantly on the Ramparts. There they

the Law proposed. 2. He explained all the Parts of it. 3. He had it written upon a Table, which was put up in the *Forum*, in sight of all the Citizens, for twenty seven Days. 4. He assembled the Country People on all the three Market-days, which happened in that Space of Time, and informed them of the Law, that was to be proposed to the next *Comitia by Centuries*, or *Tribes* according to the Nature of the thing under Deliberation. He shewed the Usefulness of this Law: He exhorted the Citizens to vote for it, and employed Agents of Credit, in whom he could confide, to persuade them to accept it. So that the People had Time enough to consult about the Affair in hand, to foresee the good and ill Consequences of it, to weigh

the one against the other, and to determine for themselves, upon a full Knowledge of the Question. It may well be presumed, Things were debated with Warmth, in so great a Multitude of People of all Conditions, who were most of them divided from one another, both in Interests and Inclinations. From hence arose those different Factions, intestine Wars, and seditious Tumults, which so often threw *Rome* into Confusion. And to this we may add, that the *Tribunes of the People* often came to the Assistance of the Mutineers, either in order to dissuade them from the Law in Question, or to propose new ones to them, to the Detriment of the Nobility.

came to a Battel, and killed both those that resisted, and those that fled, without Distinction. They neither spared the Soldiers, who were under Arms, nor the unarmed People: By which Means the Enemy, being reduced to Despair, found themselves under a Necessity of fighting. But at length the General forbade his Soldiers to kill any who threw down their Arms. Then the Inhabitants of *Anxur* defended themselves no longer; and two thousand five hundred of them were taken Prisoners. The Soldiers hoped to have had the City immediately given up to them, to be plundered by them. But the wise *Fabius* commanded them to tarry till the rest of the Army came to them, that those who were absent might have their Share in the Spoil. *The Troops my Collegues command, said he, have contributed as much to the taking of Anxur, as we. They facilitated it, by keeping off those Succours, which would otherwise have been sent to relieve it.* So that the Spoils of this, which had always been a wealthy City, were given up to the three Bodies of Troops, which the three *Military Tribunes* commanded. This was a piece of Generosity rarely shewn of late to the Soldiers by their Generals; and proved a first Step towards a Reconciliation between the People and the Nobility! Which Reconciliation the *Patricians* absolutely completed, by a second Benefaction. The *Military Tribunes*, and the Senate observed, that nothing hindered the Progress of the *Roman Arms*, but the very frequent Refusals of the Soldiers to enlist themselves, even for necessary Wars. This had long been the weak side of the Governors of the Republick, and the Means by which the *Tribunes of the People* always prevailed over them. In order to force from the Nobility their unjust Usurpations, the *Tribunes* opposed the raising Levies, in the most dangerous Times: And the People were led by their Interest, to follow the Dictates of their *Tribunes* in such Cases. As every Citizen was obliged to make the Campaign at his own Expence, they all looked upon their taking Arms, as a Burden which ruined their Families. Attempts indeed had been formerly made, to settle a certain Pay for the Subsistence of the Troops; but either this Establishment was not made, or it was but of short Duration, till after the taking and plundering of the City of *Anxur*. Then the Senate made a Decree, that the ¹² Infantry in the *Roman Army*, should for the future be maintained in the Field, at the publick Expence. And this Decree was the more agreeable to the Commonalty, because they had not asked for it. Never did any People shew a greater Joy on receiving signal Benefactions, than the *Romans* did on this Occasion. They ran to the Palace in Crowds: They pressed upon the Senators to kiss their Hands, as they came out of it. *You, said they, are very justly called Fathers. You are the true Fathers of the People. As long as we have any Strength or Blood left, we will spend them in the Service of a Country, which bestows its Bounties so liberally upon us* But what strange Effects do a Diversity of Interests produce! The *Tribunes of the People*, and they alone, had no Share in the publick Rejoicings, nor desired, that the two Orders of Men in the Republick should be united. Their Authority flourished most in Divisions: They therefore did their utmost to convince the *Curia*, that the Decree, which had rejoiced them so much, was neither so advantageous to the People in it self, nor so considerable a Favour on the part of the Senators, as they had imagined. *There is indeed, said they, Appearance enough of Favour to impose upon you: But if you search it to the Bottom you will be undeceived. These Funds, with which the Troops are to be paid, will, after all, be raised upon us, by Taxes. Besides, shall then those among us, who are no longer obliged to serve in our Armies, be obliged to pay these Taxes? They will say, let others carry on the War at their own Expence, as we have done at ours! Is it just that we should pay for our selves, and for others too?* These Discourses made an Impression on some of the People; but it was much worse, when the Tax came to be made, for the Maintenance of the Troops. The *Tribunes of the People* then declared, that they would protect all those

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CORNELIUS
CASSUS, L.
VALERIUS,
CORNELIUS
RUTILUS, and
FABIUS AM-
BUSTUS, Mi-
litary Tri-
bunes.
Diod. Sic. B.
4.
Livy B. 4.
c. 59.

¹² Thus the *Romans* had served in their Armies, at their own Expence, for above three hundred Years after the building of *Rome*. But now we shall soon see the Cavalry, supported by the Publick, as well as the Infantry. This new Regulation was first made in favour of the Foot, who, generally speaking, were worth but little, and consequently were the less able to bear their own Expences in a Campaign. What Pay was then given to each Soldier, cannot now be discovered. All

we know of it is, that in *Polybius's* Time, *i. e.* in the Time of the second *Carthaginian War*, every Foot-Soldier was allowed two *Oboli*, or about the third part of an *Attich Drachma*, a Day. A *Centurion* had double Pay; an Horse-man treble. But there were several Changes made in this Matter, which we shall have Occasion to observe hereafter. [The *Drachma*, according to Dr. *Arbutnot*, was worth seven Pence three Farthings, *English*.]

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CORNELIUS
COSSUS, L
VALERIUS,
CORNELIUS
RUTILUS, and
FABIUS AM-
BUSTUS, Mili-
tary Tribunes.
Pliny B. 33.
c. 3.

Zonar. B. 7.
Livy B. 4.
c. 60.

who refused to pay it. But the Senators were not disheartened at this. They made it a Point of Honour to complete what they had begun: And therefore they gave the Publick an Example. They first taxed themselves, and readily paid their Assessments. And as these had been made, in Proportion to Men's Estates, they laid great Sums upon themselves, as being richest. There was yet no ¹³ silver Coin in Rome. The only Species was Copper; which passed either by Weight, or Tale. Some of the *Patricians* therefore who were taxed high, ostentatiously sent their Payments in Carts. After this, the Senators prevailed on the rich Citizens to follow their Example. Accordingly they readily payed the Taxes which were laid upon them: For which, the *Conscript Fathers* did not fail to commend publickly the exact Obedience of these good Citizens, to the Decree; and the Youth who were to serve in the Wars, extolled them, as good, and faithful Commonwealthsmen: And then the common People themselves did not refuse to pay their Contributions. They were ready to perform their Parts, and submitted to the Orders of the Senate, without troubling themselves about the Protection the *Tribunes* offered. And the Success of this wise Regulation, produced the Effects which had been expected from it. The War with the *Veientes* met with no further Obstacles. The Law, which had been rejected at first, now passed without Opposition, and the People declared the *Veientes* Enemies to the Republick. They were likewise very eager to enlist themselves in the Infantry, thinking it an Advantage to go to War at the publick Expence: So that the Commonalty were now more attached to the Nobility than ever. They had loaded themselves with the greatest part of the military Taxes, had freed the Poor from the Burden of serving at their own Expence, and had done the People this signal Service, of their own accord, without being forced to it by the *Tribunes*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXLVIII.
C. JULIUS,
M. ÆMILIUS,
T. QUINCTI-
US, L. FURI-
US, Q. QUIN-
CTIUS, and A.
MANLIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.

Livy B. 4.
c. 61.

Plut. in Vit.
Camill.
Dion. Hal.
B. 2. p. 116.

§. VIII. UPON what Motives the *Centuries* increased the Number of the *Military Tribunes*, History has not told us. Hitherto the *Romans* had contented themselves with four Heads to govern them with *Consular* Authority. But they now chose six for the first Time, though this had been the Number agreed on, at the first Institution of this Office. Their Names were, C. ¹⁴ *Julius*, M. *Æmilius*, T. *Quinctius*, L. *Furius*, Q. *Quinctius*, and A. *Manlius*. If I may be permitted to guess at the Reason of this Alteration, it seems to be this; that the People's Regard for the Nobility, made them willing to do Honour to as many *Patricians* as they could: Besides, they had a plausible Pretence for it. The War with the *Æqui* and *Volsci* was not yet ended, and yet they were going to begin a new one with the *Veientes*: So that lest there should be Occasion to multiply their Armies, it seemed necessary to increase the Number of their Generals, at all Events. It was happy for the *Romans*, that their Enemies, on this side the *Tyber*, made no Motion, whilst their Troops were marching on the other side the *Tyber*, against the *Veientes*. The latter would not come to any Battel with the *Romans*. They had shut themselves up in their Capital, which was the strongest Place then known, except Rome. At least the Historians represent *Veii*, as equal, when in its Splendor, both in Extent, and Number of Inhabitants, to ¹⁵ *Athens*. The *Veientes*, who were afraid of the *Romans*, had not contented themselves, with the advantageous Situation of their City. They had fortified it by Art: They had raised the Walls of it, and stored it well with Arms, and Provisions. Nevertheless, as the Republick now paid her Troops, she did not despair of making this important Conquest. She therefore began this famous Siege, which, for Difficulty,

¹³ Pliny B. 33. c. 3. tells us, the *Romans* did not begin to coin any Silver, till five Years after the first *Carthaginian* War, when *Fabius* and *Ogulnius* were *Consuls*.

¹⁴ This was the first Time the Republick chose six *Military Tribunes*. But *Diodorus* mentions only three, omitting *Manius Æmilius Mamercinus*, *Quintus Quinctius Cincinnatus*, and L. *Furius Medullinus*, who was now created Tribune the second Time, as well as *Caius Julius Iulus*. T. *Quinctius Capitolinus Barbatus*, is the same Man, who was *Consul* in the Year of Rome 332. *Aulus Manlius* has the two Surnames of *Vulso*, and *Capitolinus*.

¹⁵ See our Remarks above, p. 48. *Dion. Hal.* himself compares the City of *Veii*, with that of *Athens*, for Largeness: Which, if a just Comparison, we cannot suppose *Veii* to have been less than

two or three and twenty Miles in Circumference; since *Athens*, according to *Thucydides* B. 2. and *Aristides*, *Orat. Panath.* was a hundred and seventy eight *Stadia* in Compass, which make twenty two thousand geometrical Paces, at the Rate of a hundred and twenty five Paces *per Stadium*. But is it credible, that such a steep Rock, as *Veii* stood upon, could have been of so great an Extent? Let the Reader judge for himself. Nevertheless, *Plutarch*, on the other hand, tells us, in his *Life of Camillus*, that *Veii* was not inferior to Rome, either in Largeness, or Number of Inhabitants. Now, according to *Dion. Hal.* Rome might have been compared to *Athens* for Largeness, in *Servius Tullius's* Time, and when *Publius Servilius*, and *Lucius Ebutius Elva* were *Consuls*, in the Year 291.

and Length, is compared by the Historians to that of *Troy*. The *Romans* flattered themselves, that by dint of Valour, and Constancy, they should be able to carry this Place, notwithstanding its Strength, and advantageous Situation; and thereby make themselves Masters of a new Territory, which was ¹⁶ larger than their own. As soon as the Report of this formidable Undertaking was spread Abroad in *Hetruria*, the general Diet of the *Lucumonies* was assembled near the Temple of *Voltumna*. It was there debated, whether they, in a national Body, should take the *Veientes* under their Protection. But the Diet was divided in Opinion, and the *Veientes* were left, for a Time, to defend themselves.

§. IX. In the mean time, the *Roman* Generals, who had begun the Siege of *Veii*, were soon succeeded by others, whom the *Centuries* nominated. They chose six new *Military Tribunes*, namely ¹⁷ *P. Cornelius*, *Sp. Nautius*, *Cn. Cornelius*, *C. Valerius*, *Cæso Fabius*, and *M. Sergius*. This continual changing of the Generals of their Armies was a Fault in the *Roman* Policy, in these Ages. With that invincible Valour, which gained the *Romans* Success, in almost all their Battels, and that Knowledge in the Art of War, which, though yet imperfect, was infinitely superior to that of their Neighbours, they might have conquered the greatest part of *Italy* already, if they had been constantly governed by some one or other of those illustrious *Dictators*, who were their last Refuge, in Cases of extreme Difficulty. But such is the usual Conduct of Republicks, which are extremely jealous of their Liberty. They stop the Rapidity of their Conquerors, for fear they themselves should become a part of their Conquests. Thus the *Military Tribunes*, who had made the first Attacks upon the Walls of *Veii*, were obliged to return to *Rome*, and lead back their Troops thither. Their Successors were forced to divide the Troops of the Republick, in order to act against two Enemies. They carried but a small Body of Men, to continue the Siege of *Veii*; and marched with the greatest part of their Troops against the *Volsci*. The latter had taken up Arms again, and interrupted the *Romans* in their Enterprize, on the other side the *Tyber*. The *Military Tribunes* marched against them, and put an end to the Diversion they made, by a Victory. The Battle was fought between *Ferentinum* and *Ecetræ*. From thence they came and fate down before the City of *Artena*, which was different from the City of that Name in the Territory of the *Veientes*. The former belonged to the *Volsci*; but the latter had been destroyed ever since the Times of the *Roman Kings*. The Besieged defended themselves with Courage; but in a Sally they made on the Besiegers, they could not bear up against the *Roman* Bravery. Being repulsed, and put into Disorder, they fled back to their City for Refuge. But the *Romans* pursued them thither with such Expedition, that they crowded through the Gates with them. The City was taken, and a great Slaughter made of the Inhabitants. Nothing remained but to take the Castle, which was situated on an Eminence, and difficult of Access. The greatest part of the Garrison had escaped thither; and they wanted neither Courage, nor Provisions: So that it seemed probable, that they would keep the Forces of the Republick a great while in Play. The Besieged had carried all the Provisions in the City into the Citadel, before they ventured to make their Sally. But the Treachery of a Slave, deprived the Inhabitants of *Artena* of their last Hopes. When the *Romans* were ready to raise the Siege of the Citadel, this Traitor assisted them in taking the Castle by a steep Place. They climbed up that Way, and put those who defended it to the Sword: The rest of the Besieged surrendered at Discretion. As for the Slave, the *Roman* Generals gave him his Liberty, and the Name of *Servius Romanus*: Nay, they enriched him, and gave him the Estates of two of the Families belonging to the City, which he had betrayed. But they razed *Artena*, and its Castle; and brought all their Forces before *Veii*, without Delay.

¹⁶ The *Roman* Territory was then confined within such narrow Bounds, by the neighbouring Nations, that it is no Wonder it was less in Extent, than the Territory of *Veii*, which then passed for the most powerful of all the twelve *Hetrurian Lucumonies*.

¹⁷ In this Year 349, *Publius Cornelius Maluginensis*, *C. Fabius Ambustus*, and *Manius Servilius Tullianus* were made *Tribunes* the first time; *Cneius*

Cornelius Cossus, the second time; and *Caius Valerius Potitus Volusus*, and *Spurius Nautius Rutilus*, the third Time. According to *Livy* indeed, this was the second *Tribuneship* of *Rutilus*. But we have, with Reason, preferred the Testimony of the *Fasti Capitolini*, to his. *Diodorus* substitutes one *Junius Lucullus* in the room of *Cn. Cornelius*; but the *Consular Annals* say nothing of him.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXLVIII.

C. JULIUS,
M. ÆMILIUS,
T. QUINCTI-
US, L. FURI-
US, Q. QUIN-
CTIUS, and A.
MANLIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXLIX.

P. CORNELI-
US, SP. NAU-
TIUS, CN.
CORNELIUS,
C. VALERI-
US, CÆSO FA-
BIUS, and
M. SERGIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.
Livy B. 4.
Ibid.

Year of
R O M E
CCCL.

M. ÆMILIUS,
M. FURIUS,
AP. CLAUDI-
US, L. JULI-
US, M. QUINC-
TILIUS, and
L. VALERI-
US, Military
Tribunes.
Fasti Capitol.
Val. Max.
B. 2. c. 9.
and *Plut. in*
Vit. Camil.
Livy B. 5.
c. 1.

§. X. THE next Year, the *Romans*, if we believe *Livy*, acted contrary to their Laws, relating to the Election of *Military Tribunes*. This Historian, deceived by incorrect Memoirs, pretends, that the *Centuries* chose eight, contrary to the Rule laid down at the Institution of this Office. It is certain, they could not lawfully choose more than six. And accordingly, the Persons who were now chosen, were M.¹⁸ *Æmilius*, *M. Furius*, *Ap. Claudius*, *L. Julius*, *M. Quinctilius*, and *L. Valerius*. It seems past doubt, that *Livy* confounded the two *Censors* for this Year with the *Military Tribunes*, and by this mistaken Addition, makes them eight, instead of six. The *Censors*, who were then chosen, were *M. Posthumius*, and the famous *Furius Camillus*, who never enjoyed any publick Office, till he was now promoted to the *Censorship*. These two *Livy* makes *Military Tribunes*, contrary to the *Fasti Capitolini*, which make them only *Censors*.

AND now, the six new Heads of the Republick applied themselves wholly to the Siege of *Veii*. This was the only Conquest, of which the *Romans* were then ambitious. But whilst Preparations were making for it at *Rome*, News was brought thither, that the Government of the *Veientes* was changed. Being tired out with the Intrigues which were every Year carried on, on Account of their Elections of Magistrates, they had made themselves a King. We have not his Name in Story; but we are told, that he was an haughty passionate Man, whose Pride made him insupportable to all the rest of *Hetruria*. Not that Monarchy it self was an odious Thing there, as it was at *Rome*: The Hatred was personal to the new Monarch only. The *Hetrurians* remembered, that he had formerly interrupted the publick Games, which were celebrated, as an Entertainment for all the *Hetrurian* Nation. Being full of Resentment, at the *Lucumones* having refused him a Priesthood, which he had stood for, he had come all on a sudden into the Place where the Games were celebrated, and took away his Slaves, whom he had lent to the Publick, to assist in carrying them on. And with the *Hetrurians*, who were a superstitious People, and more regardful of Decency in religious Ceremonies, than any other Nation, this was an impious thing, thus to disturb the Celebration of a Festival consecrated to the Gods: So that the Remembrance of this, prejudiced the *Hetrurian* Diet against the *Veientes*. The Diet threatened not to send them any Succours, as long as they continued subject to the Government of the new King. But though the Report of these Threatnings was spread Abroad throughout all *Hetruria*, none durst mention it in *Veii*. Every Body was afraid of the Anger of the Sovereign, who would have treated the Author of this News as an Impostor, and a sower of Sedition, notwithstanding the Truth of it. However, these Reports increased the Confidence of the *Romans*, without lessening their Precautions. Their Army appeared again before *Veii*: Five *Military Tribunes* commanded it; for only *Ap. Claudius* had been left in *Rome*, to govern the City. The Generals made it their Business to carry on the Siege with more Regularity than ever. They seem to have invented, at this Time, those Lines of Circumvallation, and Contravallation, which have been so much in use ever since: At least, this is the first Time we find them mentioned in *Roman* Antiquity. The *Romans* entrenched themselves, both on the side of the City they surrounded, to prevent Sallies, and on the side of the Country, to guard themselves, at all Events, against any Succours which the *Hetrurians* might send to the *Veientes*. The *Military Tribunes* likewise considered, that *Veii* could not be taken, but by length of Time, and then not so much by Force, as by Famine. But as their Troops now made War at the publick Expence, they were therefore more at their Command, than formerly. They therefore formed a Design of keeping their Army in the Field all the Winter, in wooden Barracks, covered with Skins, and of surrounding their Camp with Walls, like a City; to which the Soldiers made no Opposition. They chose rather to live in the Camp, at the Expence of the Publick, than to live in *Rome*, at their own. Though, after all, this was an Innova-

Plut. Life of
Cam.

¹⁸ We don't, without Reason, reject *Livy's* Testimony, who reckons up eight *Military Tribunes* for this Year, instead of six. He is contradicted in this, by all the *Consular Annals*; not to mention the Law, which at the first Institution of the *Tribunes*, confined their Number to six. Add to this, what *Plutarch* says, namely, that the Great *Camillus* had been *Censor*, before he was chosen *Military Tribune* the first Time. It cannot therefore be

true, that he enjoyed the *Military Tribuneship* first, in this Year 350. *Livy* says nothing of *Marcus Fufus*, but substitutes one *Marcus Posthumius* in his room, whose Name we don't find in the *Fasti Capitolini*. This was the second *Tribuneship* of *Manius Æmilius Mamercinus*; the third of *L. Valerius Potitus*; and the first of *Quintilius Varus*, *L. Julius Iulus*, *Appius Claudius Crassus*, and *Marcus Furius Fufus*.

tion, from which the *Tribunes of the People* apprehended ill Consequences. The main Strength of their Party was in the common People, of whom the *Legions* consisted, and who were now going to be kept encamped for several Years together, far from those seditious *Comitia*, in which the *Tribunes* carried all before them: Besides, the *Tribunes of the People* were tired with having continued so long quiet. They therefore seized the Opportunity which offered it self, to lower the Minds of the People, and set them against the Government of the *Military Tribunes*. They addressed themselves to an Assembly of *Tribes*, in this manner. *We foresaw the Inconveniencies, which the Artifice of the Senate has now produced. By the Help of their deceitful Bribes, they made the People sell them their Liberty. You now see the Roman Youth banished from their Country for whole Years together, obliged to suffer the Hardships of Winter in Tents, without returning to their Families, or being able to attend to their own Affairs. Have you well considered the Design of the Military Tribunes? They know the Strength of the People lays in those brave Youth, which they keep in the Field. Their Intention therefore in depriving you of them, is to weaken you. Who can resist the Invasions of the Nobility, or maintain your Rights in their Absence? Unfortunate Romans, don't you endure more Hardships in the Camp, than the Veientes do, whom you besiege? Though buried in Snow, and surrounded with Frosts, you have nothing but Huts to defend you, whilst your Enemies are under the Shelter of their Houses, and defended by their Walls! What, shall our Troops have no rest, Summer, nor Winter? Shall the Season, in which no Body makes War, either by Sea, or Land, afford our fatigued Legions no Refreshment? What Slavery is this! Did our Kings, our severest Consuls, our rigorous Dictators, our cruel Decemviri, ever require any Thing like this? Can bare Tribunes, who are only feint Representatives of the Dictators and Consuls, do, what neither of them ever durst do? And who may we thank for all this, but you, Romans, who, among the great Number of Military Tribunes you have chosen, have not had the Courage to elect one single Plebeian? If there had been but so much as one among them, he would have represented to his Collegues, that they ought not to use Roman Citizens like Slaves; and that they ought to give them the Winter, at least, to breathe in, to return to their Wives and Children, and to assist at the Election of Magistrates. Thus spake the Tribunes of the People: And their seditious Harangues might have interrupted the Siege of Veii, and thereby stifled the rising Grandeur and Glory of the Romans in its Birth. But to the great Happiness of the Republick, Appius Claudius, one of the Military Tribunes, was left at Rome. He was the most formidable Adversary of the Tribunes of the People. He was the Grandson of Appius Claudius the Decemvir, and had inherited his Hatred to popular Factions. This was he who advised the Senate, some Years before, to create Divisions among the Tribunes of the People, and disunite them. He was inured to these Wrangles in the *Comitia*, had a great deal of Wit, as well as a long Experience in the Management of Affairs, and had long accustomed himself to speak in publick. He therefore assembled the People, and made them this Speech. Romans, if you have not hitherto thought your Tribunes the Authors of the Misfortunes and Troubles of the Republick, you have now an Opportunity to undeceive your selves. What rejoices me, with Respect to you, and the Republick, is this; that your present Prosperity must necessarily convince you of your Mistake. That is what makes your Tribunes uneasy. Have you ever seen them in a greater Consternation, than since our Soldiers have left off making War at their own Expence? They were sensible, That the Senate had united the two Orders in the State by that Means, and that a good Understanding between them would take away all their Power. Your Tribunes are, indeed, very much like our Physicians. They would have us always full of Diseases, that they may have the more Practice. Answer me, Tribunes. Are you really the Defenders of the common People, or their Enemies? Are you really in the Interest of the Roman Soldiery, or is it your Design to ruin them? If you are sincere, you will acknowledge, that your sole Aim is to destroy the Nobility, whether they favour the common People, or oppress them: And in this manner we treat our Slaves. We will not suffer them to have any Intercourse with our Neighbours, for fear they should either receive Favours from them, or be ill-used by them. In like manner you forbid the Commons having any Commerce with the Nobility. Our Affection for the People, and our own Prosperity, are equally offensive to you. But if you had any Humanity, ought you not to be delighted to see the Regard the Senate shews the People, and the Obedience the People pay to the Orders of the Senate? Who does not see,*

Year of
R O M E
CCCL.

M. ÆMILIUS,
M. FURIUS,
AP. CLAUDI-
US, L. JULI-
US, M. QUIN-
TILIUS, and
L. VALERI-
US, Military
Tribunes.
Livy B. 5.
c. 2.

Livy B. 5.
c. 3.

Year of
R O M E
CCCL.
M. ÆMILIUS,
M. FURIUS,
AP. CLAUDI-
US, L. JULI-
US, M. QUINC-
TILIUS, and
L. VALERIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.

that the Glory and Grandeur of this Empire, do absolutely depend upon the invariable good Understanding between these two Orders of Men? And in what then does this deplorable Condition, in which you complain our Troops at present are, consist? Do they, who are in the Camp, think themselves in so ill a State? When we thought of paying our Troops, you said it was a Novelty. I grant it; but when a new Salary is paid, is it not just to require new Services in return for it? Ought not the Trouble to be proportioned to the Reward? Our Soldiers were formerly very uneasy at being obliged to serve at their own Expence. They accepted Pay with Joy. Let them then with the same Joy absent themselves a little the longer from their Families, and continue in the Camp, where they are free from all Expences, and domestick Cares! Might not the Republick justly say to our Troops, in case they were to come to an Account with it, your Advantages are increased, increase therefore your Services? Is it just that you should have a Year's Pay, for six Months Duty? But what am I saying? It is with Concern that I mention such Particulars as these, which are fitter for Mercenaries, than Roman Citizens. Is it not unquestionable, that Rome either ought not to have undertaken the Siege of Veii, or else carry it on with Vigour, and Expedition, for her own Glory? How shameful will it be for us, to raise it out of Inconstancy, after we have begun it with Courage? The Greeks formerly sustained the Fatigues of a ten Years War, before Troy, for the Sake of a Woman. At the same Time, how large a Tract of Lands and Seas was there between them and their own Country? And shall we then be tired with a Siege of one Year, at twenty Miles distance from hence, which is in a manner in sight of Rome? Have not we very great Reason to pursue a furious Enemy, without Intermission? The Veientes have declared War with us, contrary to the Faith of Treaties, seven Times; and have committed Ravages on our Lands a thousand. The Veientes drew the Fidenates into a Revolt, put our Garrisons in Fidenæ to the Sword, assassinated our Ambassadors, in Defiance of the Laws of Nations, and stirred up all Hetruria against Rome. Our Feciales narrowly escaped being massacred by them. Ought then any Measures to be kept with such an Enemy? On the other hand, have not we taken the most proper Steps to punish these Traitors? Their Capital is besieged. We have surrounded it with prodigious Works. We have plundered its Territory, and laid it waste. And shall we recall our Army, after all this? Would not the Enemy, in that Case, immediately overrun our Territories, both to revenge themselves, and to get Necessaries? And what shall I say of the surprizing Labours our Soldiers have undergone, since they received Pay; the Fruits of which Labours, these kind Tribunes of the People would deprive them of? With what a prodigious Line have they surrounded the City? How many little Forts have they erected; few indeed at first, but they have very much increased their Number since? How wide a Line of Contravallation have they thrown up to prevent Sallies? What an immense Circumvallation, to guard against any Succours from the Hetrurians! How many ¹⁹ moveable Towers! How many ²⁰ covered Galleries! What ²¹ Mantelets, built in the Shape of Tortoises! In short, how many Machines for the Siege! Shall they leave all these Works behind them, that they may have them to begin again the next Summer? Besides, should not we thereby run the Hazard of spinning out an Affair into a prodigious Length, which we begun with Dispatch? Will not the Veientes immediately send a pressing Deputation to their national Diet, if we decamp? They may, perhaps, depose their King: Or the King may, perhaps, divest himself of his Authority for the sake of the publick Good. And if this should happen, how dangerous would it prove to the Republick? We have now nothing to do but with the Veientes, we should then have all Hetruria upon us. The Destruction of our Works before Veii, and the ravaging of our Lands, would be the necessary Consequences of the Advice your Tribunes give you.

¹⁹ The Antients attacked Places with moveable Towers of Wood, which run upon Wheels, that they might be the more easily moved backwards, or forwards, as there was Occasion. By the Help of these Towers, which consisted of several Floors, the Besiegers raised themselves as high, as the Walls of the besieged Place, and thereby discovered what was done in the City. Besides, they could easily throw their Darts upon the Enemy's Garrison, and work to Advantage their Catapults, and Ballists, and other battering Engines, which were formerly in use, for want of Cannon.

²⁰ These Galleries guarded the Workmen against

the Attacks of the Besieged. They were covered with shelving Roofs, to break the Force of the Stones which were thrown from above, that they might not fall perpendicularly, but slide down to the Bottom. This Roof was made of Planks, or Hurdles, covered with green Ox-hides, that they might be Proof against Fire. There were several sorts of these moveable Galleries, of which we shall speak hereafter.

²¹ These Mantelets were moveable Parapets, which covered the Workmen when they were filling up the Ditch. They were used by the Soldiers, in their Approaches, and in Sapping Walls.

And if you pursue it, you would be in the State of Valetudinarians, who are suffered to eat or drink what they please; and who, by too much Indulgence, fall into a Relapse, which is more dangerous than the first Disorder. Nay, I go farther. Will not our obliging our Soldiers to keep the Field all the Winter, teach them such Discipline, as may make them Conquerors? This will accustom them not to content themselves with the Advantages of an hasty Victory. They will learn to endure the Fatigues of a long Siege; to wait with Patience to the end of a slow Expedition; to join Summer and Winter together, rather than leave any Enterprize unfinished; and not to fly away from their Camp, as Swallows do from the Country, as soon as Autumn approaches. But Winter is a very troublesome Season. What then? Shall we be afraid to carry on a War in it, when we are not afraid to pursue our Hunting, in the midst of it? We make our Way in the Mountains through Frosts and Snow, in pursuit of a Stag, or a Boar. Shall then the Love of Pleasure have a greater Influence upon us, than the Love of Glory, and the publick Good? No, no, it were an Affront to brave Men, to suspect them of being so effeminate, as not to dare pass a Winter in their Tents. They doubtless never gave the Tribunes a Commission to be the Protectors of such Cowardice, as they impute to them. They know that their Fore-fathers obtained the Creation of Tribunes in a Camp, and during the Severities of the Winter. They know the Example they shall shew before Veii, will be followed in future Wars, and that it will promote the Glory of the Roman Name. This will remove the ill Opinion the World entertains of us, that the Romans can conquer no Cities, but such as they can take at the first Attack. Perseverance is very necessary for important Conquests. Strong Places are only to be starved out. Time and Patience are necessary to subdue them. And these will make us Masters of Veii, if the Tribunes of the People don't rob us of this Conquest. Is it possible that the Veientes should be assisted by the Romans, when Hetruria refuses to send them any Succours? What can they desire more, than to see Disturbances raised both in the City, and the Camp, by our Divisions? Our Enemies have indeed more Constancy than we: Even their Dislike to the Regal Authority, and the Burden of a Siege, have not made them change their Government. They bear the Refusal of the Hetrurians, to send them any Succours without Impatience. Intestine Commotions are banished from among them, and such seditious Discourses, as are here applauded, don't escape unpunished at Veii. Nay, in our own Camp, we beat those Soldiers to Death, who leave their Posts, or their Colours. And yet we tolerate Magistrates in Rome, who aim at making a whole Army desert. So great an Ascendant have your assumed Tribunes over you! Their Discourses are hearkened to, even though they tend to the Detriment, nay, the Ruin of the Republick. Your Fondness for these pretended Protectors, is such, that it makes you blind to the Crimes, which they conceal from you, under the cover of their Authority. As for you, Tribunes, what have you more to do, but to go to the Camp, and there corrupt our Army? This you may accomplish, since nothing is now called Liberty at Rome, but a Licence to despise the Senate, the Magistrates, the Laws, the antient Customs, the Establishments of our Ancestors, and all military Discipline.

THUS, by the Force of his Reasoning, the eloquent Appius made his Party at least equal to that of the Tribunes of the People. And in the end, it became superior, by an Accident, which, one would have imagined, must necessarily have frustrated all his Designs. The Romans received a considerable Shock before Veii: The Besiegers had already brought one of their moveable ²² Terrasses, which were made of Timber, and covered with Turf, near the City. They had already brought their Galleries almost to the Foot of the Wall: And had nothing more to do, but to be as diligent in defending their Works by Night, as they were indefatigable in carrying them on by Day: But in this they failed. The Besieged opened one of their Gates in the Dark, made a Sally with Flambeaux in their Hands, and set Fire to the Machines of the Besiegers: And the Fire destroyed the Work of many Days, in a few Hours. At the same Time, the Enemy, with their Flambeaux, and Swords, destroyed many of the Roman Soldiers, who ran together to put out the Fire. And when the News of so considerable a Loss was divulged in Rome, it threw the Senate into a Consternation. They were afraid of a Sedition, both in the City and the Camp. All good Citizens were exceedingly grieved at it; and the Tribunes of the People were the only Persons

Year of
R O M E
CCCL.

M. ÆMILIUS,
M. FURIUS,
AP. CLAUDI-
US, L. JULI-
US, M. QUINC-
TILIUS, and
L. VALERI-
US, Military
Tribunes.

²² The Besiegers raised this sort of Terrasses, that they might fight the Besieged from them, with more Advantage.

Year of
R O M E
CCCL.

M. ÆMILIUS,
M. FURIUS,
AP. CLAUDI-
US, L. JULI-
US, M. QUINC-
TILIUS, and
L. VALERI-
US, Military
Tribunes.

who rejoiced at this common Misfortune. By their excessive Joy, one would have imagined they had been the Conquerors of the Republick. They expected to have been able to get the Law, which established the Soldiers Pay, repealed; and to have had the Levies again in their Power: But their Hopes were vain. The most considerable Citizens in *Rome*, were on a sudden seized with an unaccountable Fit of Zeal. Several of them were rich enough to have been placed ²³ in the first *Class*, among the *Roman Knights*; but the Republick had not yet given them Horses: This was a necessary Ceremony to make a Man a *Knight*. All these rich Citizens came to the Senate, voluntarily offered to furnish themselves with Horses, and march to the Camp to continue the Siege of *Veii*: An Offer, which the Senate accepted with Thankfulness. And after the Example of the better Citizens, the Populace came and offered to serve in the Infantry, though not obliged to it. *Lead us, said they, to Veii, or wherever you please. If we are ordered to carry on the Siege which is begun, we will never leave it, till the City is taken*: So that this general Zeal for the publick Good, filled the Senators with Joy. They deputed Magistrates to return the new *Knights* Thanks, and to speak their Praises. As to those of the common People, who offered themselves to serve in the Infantry, they were not brought into the Hall of the Palace to receive their Answer. They continued in the Place, before the *Comitium*, adjoining to the Palace; and the *Conscript Fathers* shewed them their Satisfaction, from the Top of the Steps at the Entrance of the Palace, both by their Words, and Gestures. *Happy Republick!* said they, *This Union of the People, and Senate, will make it invincible, and perpetual*. None could refrain from praising both the *Knights* and the People. Every body blessed the happy Day, which brought so much Felicity to the Republick: And Tears of Joy flowed from the Eyes of both Senators and People. In short, the Senators returned to the Council-room, and made a Decree, commanding the *Military Tribunes* to assemble all the Troops, both Foot and Horse; upon the Arrival of this new Reinforcement, to return them Thanks in the Name of the Senate; and to promise them, that their Affection should be remembered: The same Pay was likewise given to these Foot-Voluntiers, as to the other Soldiers. Nay, the Republick did more: It now began to give the Horse Pay. The ²⁴ Horses of the *Roman Cavalry* had indeed been maintained, at the Expence of the Publick, ever since King *Servius Tullius's* Time; but the Horse-men had served at their own Expence. Funds were now first settled for their Subsistence.

It is probable that the two *Censors*, *Furius Camillus*, and *M. Posthumius*, invented a new sort of Tax. It was a part of their Office to take Care that People married, and to punish those, who obstinately continued in a single Life, till they grew old. They ordered that an Impost ²⁵ should be laid upon Men of an advanced Age, who had never had any Wives, or supplied the Republick with any Citizens: And they threatened to inflict double Punishment upon them, if they complained of the Severity of this Ordinance. *If any Men*, said they, *are obliged to pay towards the Expences of the Publick, it is doubtless such, as have never had any Wives or Children to maintain: They must have been long exempt from these Charges, since they are neither Husbands, nor Fathers, to this Day. Let them therefore contribute great Sums, and open the Sacks, in which they have kept their Money, which shall, for the future, be applied towards the Maintenance of numerous Families*. This was the first publick Action, which distinguished the first Office which was born by *Camillus*; an Hero, whom we shall see ascend by Degrees to the highest Pitch of Glory.

²³ It is not known exactly how much a *Roman* Citizen was then obliged to be worth, in order to be a *Roman Knight*. All we know, is, that the *Romans* of the first *Class*, the most considerable part of which was the *Roman Knights*, were not worth less than a hundred *Mina*, according to *Dion. Hal.* or a hundred thousand *Asses* of Brass Money, according to *Livy*. What is certain, is, that *Servius Tullius* chose his Horse, out of the richest and most considerable Families.

²⁴ From *Servius Tullius's* Time, according to *Livy*, ten thousand *Asses* were allowed every Horseman out of the publick Treasury, to buy him a Horse, and two thousand annually for keeping it.

²⁵ This new Law was the more necessary, says *Plutarch* in the *Life of Camillus*, because there were

then in *Rome* alone, a very great Number of Widows, who had lost their Husbands in the late Wars. One particular Injunction laid upon the *Censors*, says *Cicero* *B. 3. de Legib.* was, not to suffer any Citizen to live single. *CÆLINES ESSE PROHIBENTO*. *Plutarch* adds, that when *Camillus* was *Censor*, he ordered, that the Orphans, who had hitherto been exempted from publick Taxes, should, for the future, be subject to them. There was a Necessity for this, continues he, on Account of the continual Wars the Republick was in, which were not to be carried on, but at an immense Expence: Especially the Siege of *Veii* required a great Fund it self. As it was the Business of the *Censors* to get in the Taxes, they had a Right to tax private Persons in Proportion to their Worth.

§. XI. THE Election of new *Military Tribunes*, furnished the Army with new Generals, for carrying on the Siege of *Veii*. The six the *Centuries* chose were, C.²⁶ *Servilius*, Q. *Sulpitius*, Q. *Servilius*, A. *Manlius*, L. *Virginus*, and M. *Servilius*. The Choice was in Appearance good, but it did not prove fortunate. Whilst the *Roman* Army was wholly bent on pursuing the Siege of *Veii*, the *Volsci*, the old Enemies of the Republick, renewed their Hostilities against her. The City of *Anxur*, which had been taken from them, was but negligently guarded. The *Roman* Soldiers too easily got Leave to be absent, and a great Number of them rambled about the Country trafficking, like so many Sutlers: The *Volsci* were also suffered to enter the City with freedom, and traffick there. These therefore formed a Design to surprize the Place: And accordingly the Guard was betrayed, and cut in pieces: But there were but few *Romans* lost on this Occasion. The greatest part of them were strolling round about *Anxur*, and scarce any but the Sick were left in it. However, the *Romans* postponed revenging themselves on the *Volsci*, and continued their Attempt upon *Veii*. This was the great Point, both Senate and People had in view. But the private Quarrels which arose between two of the *Military Tribunes*, who commanded at the Siege, disconcerted the Measures of the *Romans* for some Time.

MANIUS SERGIUS commanded the *Legions*, which were ordered to carry on the Attacks, and C. *Virginus* was General of the Army which covered the Siege, and encamped near *Veii*. These two Men bore one another private Grudges for a great while, which had a greater Influence upon them, than the Interests of their Country. And whilst they were attending, each his Commands, the two *Hetrurian* Nations, which lay nearest *Veii*, undertook to relieve the Besieged. The ²⁷ *Capenates*, and the ²⁸ *Falisci*, the one situated East, the other North, of *Veii*, took up Arms, marched to the Deliverance of the *Veientes*, and came and fell upon that Quarter, which *Servilius* defended. These two Nations were led on to this by Self-Interest. They were afraid, that if the *Romans* once took *Veii*, the Torrent would overflow their Territories likewise, and lay them waste: Besides, the *Falisci* had a private Reason to be afraid of the Resentments of the *Romans*. They had formerly joined the *Fidenates*, when the latter revolted from *Rome*. The *Capenates* and *Falisci* made a joint Attack upon *Servilius's* Entrenchments, with great Fury. This was an unforeseen Irruption, and the *Roman* Army was so much alarmed at it, as to think that all *Hetruria* had taken the part of the Enemy. The Besieged likewise being full of the same Hopes, redoubled their Efforts against the Besiegers: So that the *Romans* being attacked on two sides, knew not well how to defend their Lines, both against the Sallics of the *Veientes*, and the Attacks of the Enemy. Nevertheless, they faced about every Way, and ran where the Danger was greatest. Their only Remedy was to get *Virginus* to attack the *Capenates* and *Falisci*, with the great Army, that lay encamped under his Command, and to leave *Servilius* nothing to do, but to drive back the Besieged within their Walls: But the Disagreement between the two Generals, hindered their taking such wholesome Advice. *Servilius* disdained to implore the Assistance of his Collegue: And *Virginus* absolutely resolved to continue unactive, till *Servilius* should think fit to desire him to march to his Relief: And both were obstinate. Repeated Advices were brought *Virginus* to his Camp, That the greatest part of the advanced Forts were invested; That the *Roman* Entrenchments were going to be forced; and That the Enemy began to enter them, both on the side of the City, and of the Country: But all was to no Purpose. He contented himself with keeping his Troops drawn up in Battalia, and always answered, that if his Collegue was so closely pressed by the Enemy,

Year of
R O M E
CCCLI.

C. SERVILIUS, Q. SULPITIUS, Q. SERVILIUS, A. MANLIUS, L. VIRGINIUS, and M. SERVILIUS, Military Tribunes.

²⁶ This was the third Time *Caius Servilius Ahala*; the second, *Anlus Manlius Vulso Capitolinus*, and *Manius Sergius Fidenas*; and the first, that *Quintus Sulpicius Camerinus Cornutus*, *Quintus Servilius Priscus Fidenas*, and *Lucius Virginus Tricostus Calimontanus*, were Tribunes. But *Diodorus of Sicily* does not reckon either *Manius Sergius*, or *Quintus Servilius*, among the Number of these *Military Tribunes*.

²⁷ The ancient City of *Capena* stood upon the Frontiers of *Hetruria*, and *Sabinia*. *Ortenius*, and some other Geographers have, by Mistake, thought it stood in the Place, where *Canapina* now stands. It is certain, from the Testimony of the Historians,

that *Capena* was in the Neighbourhood of the *Falisci*. Its Situation therefore could not be that of the present *Canapina*, which is pretty far from them. *Cluverius* conjectures, that *Capena* formerly stood upon the Ground, where at present stands a small City, called by the Natives of the Country *Civitaella*, at a little distance from Mount *Soraete*, and *Fiano*. *Hollstenius* declares, there are some Footsteps of this City near *Morlupo*. The Temple and Grove of *Feronia*, were in the Territory of the *Capenates*.

²⁸ See what we say of these Nations in the second Volume of this History.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLI.

C. SERVILI-
US, Q. SUL-
PITIUS, Q.
SERVILIUS,
A. MANLIUS,
L. VIRGINI-
US, and M.
SERVILIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.

as was pretended, he would, doubtless, have recourse to him. So that Pride, and Haughtiness of Spirit, made *Virginius* choose rather to leave the *Romans* in Danger, than deliver them from it; and made *Sergius* choose to be overcome, for want of Assistance, rather than ask it, and conquer. The Enemy therefore made a great Slaughter of the *Romans* in their Lines. Some fled to the Camp, others returned to *Rome*, and *Sergius* with them. There the vanquished General threw all the Blame of this publick Misfortune on his Collegue. It was therefore thought necessary to recal *Virginius* to *Rome*, and to bring him to an Account for his Proceedings. The Senate was assembled to try these two Men, who were *Military Tribunes*, Generals, and Heads of the Republick: And their Defences consisted rather of mutual Reproaches, than any good Reasons for their Conduct. However, each of them had his Friends, and Partizans, in the Senate. Some declared for *Sergius*, and others for *Virginius*, as their personal Affections for the Men inclined them, without any Regard for the publick Good. Some of the Senators ascribed the Defeat of the *Romans* to Accident, others to the ill Conduct of the Generals: And to put an end to these Disputes, the Senators made a Decree, which was generally approved. They made an Order, that the People should immediately proceed to the Election of new *Military Tribunes*, without tarrying till the usual Time for it returned. The Custom then was to have the *Comitia*, for the electing these chief Magistrates, held on the *Ides of December*; but they were now held on the *Calends of October*. The other four *Military Tribunes*, who had been guilty of no Fault, made no Opposition to the Decree. The two Offenders only, first prayed that they might not have so great an Affront put upon them, as to be deposed, before their Time: And then protested against the Decree of the Senate, declaring, they would not lay down their Offices till the third of *December*. This seemed therefore a favourable Opportunity for the *Tribunes of the People* to recover their Credit. As long as *Rome* prospered, and a good Understanding was kept up between the Nobility, and the *Plebeians*, they had been forced to hold their Peace. But as soon as any Sparks of Division broke out among the *Patricians*, they were not remiss in endeavouring to make their Advantage of it. They pronounced with an Air of great Authority, that if the two refractory Magistrates continued obstinate in refusing to pay Obedience to the Senate, they would send them to Prison. This Revival of the old Pride of the *Tribunes of the People*, was not at all agreeable to *Servilius Ahala*, one of the *Military Tribunes*. He made a Speech, which was calculated, both to suppress the Insolence of the *Tribunes of the People*, and at the same time to frighten the two Generals. *I hear on one side*, said he, *the Threatnings of the Tribunes of the People; and on the other, I see Sergius and Virginius refuse to submit to the Decrees of the Senate. As to the former, were it my own Case, I would make them very sensible, that as they have no Right, so neither durst they imprison two Heads of the Republick. And as for my Collegues, I know a sure Way of bringing them to Order, and putting an end to the Divisions they raise. If they refuse to obey the Senate any longer, I will immediately nominate a Dictator, who will force them to submit, whether they will or not.* This Discourse was received with universal Applause. The Senate rejoiced exceedingly, that an Expedient was found out, to force the two *Military Tribunes* to comply, without having recourse to the *Tribunes of the People*. *Sergius* and *Virginius* acquiesced in this unanimous Determination. The Election was made; and six new *Military Tribunes* entered upon their Office, on the first Day of *October*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLII.

L. VALERIUS,
L. JULIUS,
M. ÆMILIUS,
CN. CORNELIUS,
CÆSO FABIVS, and
M. FURIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.

§. XII. THE Centuries chose ²⁹ L. Valerius, L. Julius, M. Æmilius, Cn. Cornelius, Cæso Fabius, and M. Furius, surnamed ³⁰ Camillus, who was now raised to this great Dignity the first Time. And now the Army furnished out as many different Employments for the Heads of the Republick, and as many different Affairs to undertake, as any *Roman* Army ever had done. The *Romans* were now to begin the Siege of *Veii* again; to keep the *Capenates*, and *Falisci*, who had been troublesome to them within Bounds; to make War with the *Volsi*, and retake *Anxur* from them; all at

²⁹ This Year 352 was the fourth *Tribuneship* of L. Valerius Potitus; the third of Manius Æmilins Mamercinus; the second of Cn. Cornelius Cossus, and Cæso Fabius Ambustus; and the first of Julius Iulus, as well as of M. Furius Camillus. Some of these Names are maimed in *Diodorus Siculus*.

³⁰ The Surname of *Camillus* was given only to such Children as were of free Condition. Perhaps

they were so called, from their having been employed from their Infancy in the Service of the Altars, under the Direction of the *Flamen Dialis*, or the other Priests of the Gods. [The Antients called the Boys and Girls, who assisted the Priests in their Office *Camilli*, and *Camillæ*. See above, p. 27. Note 97.]

the same time. Besides, the *Tribunes of the People*, had reassumed a sort of Ascendant, and their Threatnings, were ready to raise fresh Disturbances: Which indeed broke out, when the Army came to be raised. Not only all the Youth, who were obliged to serve in the *Legions*, were enlisted; but the old Men were likewise forced to take Arms, to guard the City: And this made it necessary to enlarge the Funds which were to supply the military Chest, in Proportion, as the Number of Soldiers was increased. Then the *Tribunes of the People*, who were always ready to catch at any Opportunity of exasperating the People, under Pretence of promoting their Interests, told those Soldiers, who continued in *Rome*, That by their being enlisted, they were exempted from paying the Tax; and That the Services they did the Publick, in guarding the Walls, ought to be accepted, instead of their Assessments. These Considerations flattered the Avarice of the Veterans; and the warm Declarations of the *Tribunes of the People*, in the publick Assemblies, increased the Difficulty People always make, of paying Taxes.

THE Decree of the Senate, said they, *which establishes the Pay of our Troops, tends only to waste and destroy our young Plebeians, by the Fatigues of War, and to ruin our old Citizens, with Taxes. Our Legions have now been forced to continue encamped for three whole Winters together. This unusual Dilatoriness in carrying on the Siege of one single Place, is an Artifice of the Generals. They designedly suffer our Army to receive some Checks in this War, purely in order to prolong it. How is the City exhausted, by the four Armies which are just now raised here! All, ³¹ even Children, and old Men, have been forced by the Military Tribunes to enlist themselves. No longer any Difference between Summer and Winter; no more rest to be enjoyed by this unhappy People. They are treated like a tributary Nation. When our Citizens are no longer able to receive any new Wounds, by Reason of their advanced Age; when their Lands lay fallow, and produce nothing; they are loaded with Taxes. Alas! The Republick makes the Troops dearly buy the Pay they receive! It lends out this Money at a very exorbitant Interest.*

THE Disturbances raised in the City by making the Levies, collecting the Tribute, and by these seditious Harangues, were so great, that the Commons could not agree in the Choice of *Tribunes of the People*. They ought to have elected ten. The *Trebonian Law* enacted, that the *Comitia* should not be ended, till the College of the *Tribunes* was filled with its whole Number, which was ten: And it deprived any less Number which should be chosen, of the Power of filling up their own Body themselves. But notwithstanding this, it so happened now, that the assembled *Tribes* could agree upon electing no more than eight *Tribunes*. There were two still wanting: Upon which the *Patricians* first endeavoured to fill up these two Vacancies with two of their own Body, but without Success. Then they caballed together, to strike at the *Trebonian Law*, which took from them all Hopes of ever seeing any of the Nobility in the College of *Tribunes*. After this, they took such Pains, that they at last succeeded, in getting two ³² Persons added to the other eight: They were indeed Commons, but not appointed *Tribunes* by the Assembly of the People, but by a Majority of the eight *Tribunes* already chosen. This was indeed in effect abrogating the *Trebonian Law*, but it was sufficiently revenged by one *C. Trebonius*, who was then *Tribune of the People*, and bore the same Name, and was of the same Family, as the Author of that Law. He informed the People that their Interests were betrayed, and that his Collegues having been wrought upon by the Nobility, had in effect given up the *Tribuneship* to them. *We shall soon*, said he, *see none but Patricians intruded into the College of Tribunes. The Trebonian Law was a Preservative against their Ambition. If you suffer that to be abolished, you bring the great Work your Fore-fathers completed, on the Sacred Mountain, to nothing; and will soon deprive your selves of the Protection you receive from your Tribunes.* This Discourse brought the Odium of the People upon such of the *Tribunes*, as had, of their own Authority, and contrary to the *Tre-*

Year of
R O M E
CCCLII.
L. VALERIUS,
L. JULIUS,
M. AEMILIUS,
CN. CORNELIUS, CÆSO
FANIUS, and
M. FURIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.
Livy B. 5.
c. 10.

³¹ Hence it appears, that in Cases of great Necessity, the Republick obliged those, who were under seventeen, to take Arms. The Reader will, doubtless, wonder, why the *Romans*, when attacked on all sides, did not have recourse to the Multitude of the common People, who were in the sixth Class, and stiled *Proletarii*, and *Capite-Censi*. The Slaves, and *Freed-men*, might also have been of great Service, on Occasion. But the *Romans* of

these Ages were afraid of dishonouring the Profession of Arms, by admitting any Persons, of mean Condition, to serve. They likewise excluded the Comedians, and Actors of Farces, out of the Army, as Men infamous by Profession.

³² One of these two *Tribunes of the People*, was, according to *Livy*, *Caius Lacerius*, and the other *Marcus Acutius*.

Year of
ROME
CCCLII.

L. VALERIUS,
L. JULIUS,
M. ÆMILIUS,
CN. CORNELIUS, CÆSO
FABIUS, and
M. FURIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.

bonian Law, chosen themselves two Collegues. Nor were the Commonalty less enraged at the *Patricians*, who were the Authors of the Intrigue, in favour of the Persons so elected: but they were most highly exasperated against three of the eight *Tribunes*; whose Names were *P. Curiatius*, *M. Metilius*, and *M. Minutius*. Nevertheless, these *Tribunes*, who were afraid what might be the Consequence, found Means to extricate themselves out of this Difficulty: They diverted the Hatred of the Publick from themselves, by turning it upon other Objects. The two Generals for the last Year, had not been punished for their fatal Disunion, which had occasioned the Misfortune of the *Romans* before *Veii*. They therefore advised the People to cite *Sergius* and *Virginus* to appear before them, since the Senate had suffered them to escape unpunished. The Accusation the three *Tribunes* brought against them, before the People, was this. *We are required*, said they, *to shew you the Complaints of all those, who find themselves aggrieved, either by the unusual Levies which have been made of late, or by the Taxes laid upon the People, or the Slowness of carrying on a War on our Frontiers. We come to represent to you the Grief of the Publick, at the Defeat of our Troops before Veii, and the Mourning of all those Families, which have lost Fathers, or Brothers, or Relations. The Publick in general calls upon you, by our Mouths, to inflict due Punishment on the two Offenders, who brought all these Evils upon us. Yes, Sergius, and Virginus, you cannot your selves disown the Crime we lay to your Charge! You are mutually the Accusers of each other. Sergius reproaches Virginus with having betrayed and deserted him: Virginus reproaches Sergius, with choosing rather to fly, than ask for Assistance. But after all, can any Man think it credible, that either of them should run into such an excess of Folly, as this? Let us then dive a little into the Mystery. Is it not more probable, that the Senate and the two Generals agreed together, that the latter should suffer themselves to be beaten, in order to continue the War, and prolong our Misfortunes? They would have our Youth grow old before Veii, in order thereby to prevent our demanding the Distribution of Lands; to lessen the Power of our Assemblies; diminish the Number of those who assist at them; and to bring our Comitia absolutely under the Power of the Nobility. But be that as it will, the two Offenders at least have a Decree already past against them, which condemns them. The Senate deprived them of their Office, by ordering their Successors to be chosen on the first Day of October. Was not this declaring, that the Republick could not subsist, if they continued in their Office? But, say they, we have already been punished for the Misfortune, which is charged upon us as a Crime. What! Do you call the necessary Precaution of the Republick, in depriving you of the Military Tribuneship, a Punishment? At this rate, your Collegues, who were obliged to abdicate, without having had any thing laid to their Charge, will have been punished, without having been guilty of any Offence. As for you, Romans, recall to mind the terrible Condition you were in, after the Loss of this Battel. How great was your Consternation, when you saw our Soldiers come flying to Rome, full of Wounds. Will they throw the Blame of their Defeat upon Chance, or the Gods? Will they accuse any others as Authors of our Misfortunes, but the two Generals? Is there a Man here present, who does not curse the Persons, Families, and Conduct of Sergius and Virginus? You have prayed to the Gods to punish them; why don't you then exert your own Power, in revenging your Misfortunes? The Gods don't themselves punish Offenders, when they have put it in the Power of the Persons injured, to do themselves Justice. The Accusation had its desired Effect: And the People fined the two Offenders ten thousand *Asses* ³³ of Brass each. It was to little Purpose for *Sergius* to exclaim, that they ought not to have been made accountable for the unforeseen Events of War. *Virginus* in vain complained, that this would make him endure more Hardships in the City, than he had done in the Camp. They both payed their Fines: And the three *Tribunes of the People* gained their Point. They diverted the Commons from pursuing them. Being wholly intent upon prosecuting the two Generals, they forgot the *Trebonian Law*: And the two associated *Tribunes* kept their Seats in the College. The *Tribunes*, in Acknowledgment of the Peoples Favours, proposed two Laws. The first, required a Distribution of Lands to be made, as formerly.*

³³ These ten thousand *Asses* of Brass Money, reckoned by their Weight, and according to the intrinsic Value of *French Farthings*, amount to the Sum of six thousand seven hundred and fifty *Livres*;

but not more than five hundred *Livres*, reckoning each *As*, as most Moderns do, to be worth no more than a *French Sol*. See above, p. 399. Note 32. and p. 430. Note 80.

The second, excused the People from any more Taxes, for paying the Soldiers. Our Armies indeed, said they, which are in the Field, do well enough; but they don't act in such a manner, as to give us any Hopes of an end of the War. Indeed, all the Works before *Vei*, which had been destroyed, were already repaired. *M. Æmilius*, and *Cæso Fabius*, who commanded at the Siege, had rebuilt all the little Forts, which had been demolished, and provided them with Garrisons. The *Capenates* and *Falisci* were shut up within their own Walls. *C. Cornelius*, and the famous *Camillus*, who led an Army against these Nations, had found none of their Troops in the Field. The *Hetrurians* had left their Lands and Farms open, to be plundered; but the *Romans* were not in a Condition to undertake to besiege their Cities. On the side of the *Volsi*, the *Roman Army*, under the Command of *L. Valerius*, had ravaged all the Territory of *Anxur*; and after having in vain attempted to take the City by Assault, had blocked it up, and drawn a wide Ditch round it. *Rome* received pretty good News from all Parts, where the War was carrying on: But this did not put a Stop to Seditions at Home, which had like to have ruined the Republick. The *Tribunes of the People* would not suffer the Citizens to pay the Taxes for the War any longer, and thereby the *Legions* were deprived of their Pay: So that they were very ripe for Sedition. But all this Bustle ended at last, in getting some *Plebeians* chosen *Military Tribunes*. This was an Honour, of which the People had always been ambitious, but could never yet obtain it. But now the *Plebeians* had nothing more to wish for the aggrandizing of their Order; they were now permitted, for the first Time, to enjoy a Share of the highest Dignity in the State.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLII.
L. VALERIUS,
L. JULIUS,
M. ÆMILIUS,
CN. CORNELIUS, CÆSO
FABIUS, and
M. FURIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.

§. XIII. In short, the *Centuries* made choice of one *Plebeian* at least, when they elected new Heads to govern the Republick. His Name was *P. Licinius Calvus*: And if we believe *Livy*, he was the only 34 Commoner of the six then chosen. The Names of the other five were these, 35 *P. Mælius*, *P. Mænius*, 36 *Sp. Furius*, *L. 37 Titinius*, and *L. 38 Publilius*. But modern * Criticks pretend on the contrary, that there was but one *Patrician* chosen *Military Tribune* this Election, whose Name was *Furius*. They judge so from their Names only, which do, in their Opinion, shew, that the other five Families were *Plebeian*. But however that be, it is rash to contradict an antient Author, as to the Quality of the *Roman Families*, of which we can only judge by fallacious Proofs; what is remarkable in this Affair, is, that *Licinius* was already an old Senator, when he was raised to the highest Rank in the Republick, and yet he was but a *Plebeian*. The Reason of which was this, that the considerable Commoners had begun to be admitted into the Senate-house, and incorporated into that Body, ever since the Year of *Rome* 263. But what raised *Licinius* from a Senator to a *Military Tribune*, is not known. Some say: he owed his Rise to the *Cornelian* Family, which protected him, and into which 39 one of his Brothers had been

Year of
R O M E
CCCLIII.
P. LICINIUS
CALVUS, P.
MÆLIUS, P.
MÆNIUS, SP.
FURIUS, L.
TITINIUS, and
L. PUBLILI-
US, Military
Tribunes.
* Sigonius and
Pighius in
Fast. Capitol.

34 *Pighius* cannot be persuaded, that *P. Licinius Calvus* was the only *Military Tribune*, of the six, chosen for this Year, who was of *Plebeian* Extraction, as *Livy* expressly says he was. It is certain, says *Pighius*, that the *Mælian*, *Mænian*, *Titinian*, and *Publilian* Families were originally *Plebeian*. But how does he know, but these Families were divided into two Branches each, one of which was *Patrician*, and the other *Plebeian*. Besides, the Presumption will always be on *Livy's* side, with relation to *Roman Families*; he must probably have had a more certain Knowledge of them, than any of our modern Criticks can have; who in this, as in many other Cases, sometimes give us their own arbitrary Conjectures, as evident Proofs of Things.

35 In some MSS. we read *Publius Manlius*, instead of *Publius Mælius*, and *Menenius* instead of *Mænius*. But the Reasons which *Sigonius* gives us, in his *Commentaries upon Livy*, for rejecting this reading, convince us, that we ought to retain the other. *Publius* has the Surname of *Capitolinus*.

36 It is evident from the *Fasti Capitolini*, that *Furius* was now advanced to the *Military Tribuneship* the first time: But he had not the *Prænomen* of *Lucius*, which *Livy's* Copyists have given him. It might have been observed, that that *Lucius* had been *Military Tribune* twice already: Which makes

some conjecture, that he who was invested with this Office, in this Year 353, was *Lucius's* Brother. The *Fasti Capitolini* tell us, he was the Grand-son of another *Spurius Furius*, whose *Prænomen* we have given him.

37 In some Copies of *Livy* we read *Publius Titinius* instead of *Lucius Titinius*. But both *Livy* himself, and *Diodorus Siculus*, give *Titinius* the *Prænomen* of *Lucius*, when they speak of his second *Tribuneship*.

38 *Lucius Publilius* has the two Surnames of *Philo* and *Volsus*. In some Editions of *Livy* this *Consul* is called *Popilius*. But this is plainly a Mistake, since the Surnames of *Philo* and *Volsus* were never used in the *Popilian* Family; whereas, they were pretty common in the *Publilian*.

39 *Livy* says, *Licinius* was Brother to *Cn. Cornelius*. And the Difference of their Names and Families made *Glarean* think, that they were Brothers by the same Mother only; that is, that their Mother was married first to a *Plebeian* named *Licinius*, and after his Death, to the Father of *Cornelius*. But it is more probable, that they both had the same Father, and that *Cn. Cornelius* changed his first Name for that of the *Cornelian* Family, which had adopted him. *Sigonius* supports this Conjecture with this Observation, that *L. Licinius* was already

Year of
R O M E
CCCLIII.

P. LICINIUS
CALVUS, P.
MÆLIUS, P.
MÆNIUS, SP.
FURIUS, L.
TITINIUS, and
L. PUBLILIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.

been adopted: Whilst others assure us, that he was raised to this Dignity, on Account of a judicious Harangue, in which he endeavoured to reconcile the Nobility and the People. The *Tribunes of the People* were so much rejoiced to see a *Plebeian* in this desired Post, that they readily dropped their Opposition to the raising the Tax for the War. It was levied without any Difficulty, and the Troops received their Pay again. This was enough to revive their Courage: And accordingly, *Anxur* was soon taken. The *Volsci*, who guarded it, neglected their military Discipline on some Festival, and the *Romans* taking Advantage of that Neglect, made themselves Masters of it.

IN the mean time, the *Romans* carried on the Siege of *Veii*, with as much Perseverance as ever. They had a great deal to suffer from the extreme cold of the Winter. A more rigorous Season had not been known for a great while. The *Tyber* was frozen, and consequently not navigable. But the *Romans* had stocked themselves with Provisions in time, and lived upon the Corn, they had in the City.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLIV.

M. VETURI-
US, C. DUILI-
US, L. AFINI-
US, CN. GE-
NUCIUS, M.
POMPONIUS,
and V. PUB-
LILIUS, Mili-
tary Tribunes.

§. XIV. As for *Licinius*, he had filled his Seat among the *Military Tribunes* with universal Approbation. Both Nobility and People were pleased with his Moderation. And this encouraged the Commons to make as many of their own Body *Military Tribunes*, as they could: They began to like governing in Chief. When therefore the *Centuries* were assembled to proceed to a new Election, they pitched upon five *Plebeians*, to raise them to the highest Office in *Rome*, and joined with them only one *Patrician*, *M. Veturius*. The Names of the five⁵⁰ were, *C. Duilius*, *L. Atilius*, *Cn. Genucius*, *M. Pomponius*, and *V. Publilius*. And this Year's Experience shewed, that the Affairs of War succeeded as well in their Hands, as if managed solely by *Patricians*. The *Roman Arms* prospered before *Veii*. The three Armies of the last Year were joined together, to hasten the Reduction of the Place. Nevertheless the *Capenates* and *Falisci* came again to relieve the Besieged, who prepared to make Sallies: So that the *Romans* were obliged to fight three Armies of three different Nations, at the same Time. And this one would have imagined must have made the Success of those Battels doubtful. The *Falisci* and the *Fidenates* came and fell upon the *Roman Lines*, as before; and the *Veientes* sallied out, and attacked their Entrenchments. Then the *Romans* in the Camp remembered the Condemnation of *Sergius* and *Virginius*. The Army which covered the Siege ran to the Relief of that which was carrying it on. The Generals, who had hitherto been unactive, immediately led their Troops out of their Camp, and came and fell upon the Rear of the *Capenates*, who were busy in attacking the Lines of the *Romans*. Thus the Battel began on that side; and if the *Falisci* were affrighted at this first Shock, they were much more so, when they saw fresh *Legions* marching out against them, which fell upon them, and put them into Disorder. Upon this the *Capenates* were broken, fled in Confusion, and were warmly pursued by the *Romans*. The latter covered the Ground with great Numbers of slain: And the few who fled away, did not escape Death. It accidentally happened, that a Body of *Romans*, who were returning from the Neighbourhood of *Capena*, where they had been committing Devastations, met these poor Wretches, who had escaped out of the Battel, and cut them in pieces. So complete a Victory made the Administration of the *Military Tribunes* glorious in the Eyes of the People; but it was not perfectly happy. The Winter had been rigorous, and the Cold had held a long Time: So that the Season changed all on a sudden, from excessive Colds, to excessive Heats, without any Medium. This Irregularity in the Seasons, made the Air unwholesome; and being infected, it produced a Mortality, both among Men, and Cattle. And when the *Romans* could find no Remedy for the Disease, they had recourse to superstitious Observances. The Senate ordered the *Duumviri*,

Livy B. 5.
c. 16.

already very old: And consequently, that it is not probable his Mother was young enough to have Children, supposing she did marry *Cornelius*; since this second Marriage must have been solemnized, within fourteen Years last past, because the *Plebeians* had not been permitted to intermarry with the *Patricians* longer than that Time.

40 The different Editions of *Livy* vary very much as to the Names of these *Tribunes*. We have partly restored them from the *Fasti Capitolini*, and partly from some antient Annals. In some Copies of *Livy* we read *Lucius Titinius*, and *Lu-*

cius Racilius, instead of *Lucius Atilius*, and *C. Duilius*. *Livy* likewise reckons one *Lucius Atilius Longus* among these *Military Tribunes*, and says, that he was a *Patrician*: When he at the same time declares, that all the *Tribunes* for this Year were *Plebeians*, except *Marcus Veturius Crassus Cicerninus*. Nor are these Copies more exact, with respect to the other *Tribunes*: So that they displace *Volero Publilius*, and put *Publius Menenius* in his room. *Florus* also fell into the same Mistake, when he changed the Name of *Volero Publilius*, into that of *Valerius Nero*.

who had the Care of the *Sybilline* Books, to consult them, in relation to the present Misfortunes. And the *Duumviri* found, or at least pretended to have found there, a sort of Expiation, never before used in *Rome*. This was ⁴¹ to make magnificent Feasts, for eight Days, and invite a certain Number of the Gods to them: It was then the ⁴² Custom of the *Romans* to eat laying down upon their Beds, or Couches. Three Beds were therefore placed in a Temple, round a plentiful Table, and covered with rich Carpets, and *Apollo*, *Latona*, *Diana*, *Hercules*, *Mercury*, and *Neptune*, were invited thither. The *Duumviri*, and *Pontifices*, supplied at Table the Places of these Deities, who certainly did not come according to Invitation. These publick Ceremonies were imitated in private Houses, and *Rome* was full of Feasts and Entertainments. Every one received his Friends, and Strangers, without Distinction, and the Houses were open to all Comers. Enemies, who had not seen one another for a great while, now conversed freely together, and a Stop was put to all Processes, Disputes, and Animosities. Even the very Prisoners, who were in Chains, partook of the publick Rejoicings. They were taken out of their Prisons, and the *Romans* were afterwards scrupulous of loading those again with Chains, whom the Gods had delivered from them. Whether the *Duumviri* found this effectual Remedy for the epidemical Distempers, in the *Sybilline* Books, is not indeed certain. But it seems natural enough to think, that Joy, and an entire Forgetfulness of all publick and private Misfortunes, should be a good Preservative against those Evils, which are often produced by Fear, and increased by Vexation and Trouble. However, the *Patricians* thought to take Advantage of the present State of Affairs, to recover the chief Stations, from which the *Plebeians* had removed them. They were but little affected with the Success *Rome* had had in the War. It was owing to *Military Tribunes*, chosen out of the Commons. The Nobility were much more sensibly touched with their own Loss, in having been dispossessed of the *Military Tribuneship*, after they had so long kept that and the *Consulship* wholly, and inviolably to themselves. And as therefore the Time of the Election drew nigh, they used all their Arts, to recover again the Monopoly of those first Offices, from which they had fallen. First, They proposed only such Candidates to the People, as were Men of too great Merit, and Character, to be rejected. Then the *Patricians* considering, that the Plague had made the People more superstitious than ever, attacked them on that side. *Your Comitia for these two last Years, said they to them, have drawn down the Curse of the Gods upon us. The first Year, they placed a Plebeian in the Military Tribuneship, the Winter was severe to a Degree, more than natural. And this Year, when there are five Plebeians in that high Office, we are punished with yet more Rigour. The Plague has made both City and Country desolate. And is this at all to be wondered at? How could the Auguries, which of Right belong only to Patricians, favour Assemblies, wholly bent upon depriving us of an Honour, which was never before conferred on any but our selves? Can the Gods suffer the Distinctions and Privileges of Families to be confounded?* By these Means they disposed the People to favour the Nobility.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLIV.
M. VETURI-
US, C. DUL-
LIUS, L. ATI-
NIUS, CN.
GENUCIUS,
M. POMPONI-
US, and V.
PUBLILIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.

§. XV. WHEN the *Centuries* were assembled to choose *Military Tribunes*, the People were awed with the Dignity and Appearance of the Candidates, and all their Minds were full of superstitious Prejudices. They therefore chose none but *Patricians*, who were all Men of great Distinction, and superior Merit. These were *L. Valerius*, *L. Furius*, *M. Valerius*, *Q. Servilius*, *Q. Sulpitius*, and the famous ⁴³ *Camillus*, who was now raised to the *Tribuneship*, the second time. The *Romans* were then so fond of Prodiges, that they took Pleasure in hearing the Accounts of them which were brought to *Rome*, from all Parts. Yet their Credulity did not go so far, as to believe a great Number of them, which had only the Testimony of one single Person to support them. But how could they avert the Evils which were presaged by them? There were now none of those learned Diviners in *Rome*, who were said to know how to draw Prognosticks from remarkable Events, to declare their Signification, to

Year of
R O M E
CCCLV.
L. VALERI-
US, L. FURI-
US, M. VALE-
RIUS, Q. SER-
VILIUS, Q.
SULPITIUS,
and CAMIL-
LUS, Military
Tribunes.

⁴¹ See what we say of the *Lectisternium*, in the second Volume of this History. We shall hereafter have Occasion to mention more than one sort of sacred Feasts, which the *Romans* solemnly kept every Year.

⁴² We speak of this Custom, in the second Volume of this History.

⁴³ The old Editions of *Livy* make this the third Promotion of *Camillus* to the *Tribuneship*, contrary to the Testimony of the ancient Annals; and of *Plutarch*, who says, that *Camillus* was *Tribune* the second Time, when the *Lake of Alba* overflowed.

Year of
ROM E
CCCLV.

L. VALERI-
US, L. FURI-
US, M. VA-
LERIUS, Q.
SERVILIUS,
Q. SULPITI-
US, and CA-
MILLUS, Mili-
tary Tribunes.
*Plut. Life of
Cam.*

*Livy B. 5.
c. 15.
Val. Max.
B. 1. c. 6.*

expiate them, and prevent the dangerous Consequences of them. The perfect Know-
ledge of Divination was thought to have been given only to the *Hebrurians*, and they
were now the Enemies of the *Romans*. In the mean time one Prodigy, which was
better attested than the rest, struck *Rome* with Astonishment. At the Foot of *Alba*
Longa there was 44 a Lake, almost of a round Figure, which Nature had encompassed
on all sides with Rocks, and Hills; and its Waters seldom rose so high as to the Foot
of them. The Summer had been very dry, and the Rivers being almost dried up,
were reduced to very small Currents, in the middle of their Channels. The Foun-
tains were exhausted, and the Marshes without Water. Only the *Lake of Alba*
swelled all on a sudden, and rose to the Tops of the Hills that surrounded it. This
uncommon Accident, though there was nothing but what was natural in it, alarmed
45 the *Romans*, who knew not the Cause of it, and even all *Italy*. But their Con-
cern did not so much proceed from a Fear, lest the Inundation should overflow their
Lands, and spoil them, as from a superstitious Apprehension, that this Prodigy was
a sign of the Anger of the Gods. The Report of it was first spread Abroad by the
Shepherds, who fed their Flocks round the Lake. Then it reached *Rome*, and the
Roman Camp, which lay idle about *Veii*, and attempted nothing considerable. The
Besiegers therefore often talking with one another, about the Affair of the Lake, the
Knowledge of it was, by that Means, conveyed into the besieged City. The Soldi-
ers on both sides, who in long Sieges sometimes become acquainted, talked with one
another from their different Posts, of the sudden Rise of the Lake, and made them-
selves merry with it. But it happened, that an old Soldier among the *Veientes* was
more serious upon the Matter: And being seized with a sudden Fit of Enthusiasm,
he cried out, *Veii shall never be taken, till all the Water is run out of the Lake of*
Alba. This was thought at first a trifling Saying, and spoken at a Venture. But the
Roman who was upon Guard, over against the *Veian*, asked one of his *Hebrurian*
Companions, who this old Man was, who had in an obscure manner declared what
should come to pass. To which he replied, that he was a Diviner, famous for more

44 This Lake, which is now known by the Name of the Lake of *Castel Gandolphe*, is about eight Miles in Circumference, and four hundred and eighty five Foot deep in the deepest Place, according to *Kircher* the Jesuit, who founded it all over. But he excepts the North Part of this Lake, which lies nearest to *Monte Cavo*, or the antient *Mount of Alba*, out of his Account; and says, he could find no Bottom there. He observes likewise, that the Lake was swelled about this Place, by Torrents which ran into it, with Impetuosity, from the Cavities of the Hill. He is of Opinion, that the Waters of the Sea filtrated through the Hill, and passed through imperceptible Passages, into a Reservoir, which they had hollowed themselves, in the Center of this *Monte Cavo*, from whence they afterwards run into the Lake, through unknown Channels, as fast in Proportion, as the Lake it self filled with Water. The Multitude of Springs, Fountains, and Rivulets, which are seen in that Neighbourhood, are owing to the insensible Discharge of the Lake, which now empties it self into a subterraneous Passage, dug through the Hill for that Purpose.

45 Natural Philosophy was an impenetrable Mystery to the *Romans*, in the time of *Camillus*. In these Ages of Ignorance, it was much easier to take natural Effects for Prodigies, than to discover the Causes of them. This sudden Inundation of the *Lake of Alba*, which so much terrified the neighbouring Nations, was really but a very common natural Effect, of which we have an hundred Instances in different Countries. And we shall therefore, in order to account for it, take it for granted, 1. That the Hill of *Alba* formerly vomited out Fire. *Julius Obsequens*, in his *Book of Prodigies*, says, that when *Cneius Papirius*, and *Caius Caccilius* were *Consuls*, the Hill of *Alba* seemed to be all on Fire, in the Night. *Albanus mons nocte ardere visus*. 2. That, according to *Livy*, it rained

Stones in the Neighbourhood of this Hill, that is, the Hill threw out great Heaps of Stones and Ashes, at the Top of it, which the ignorant Shepherds took for a miraculous Rain. And we observe, 3dly, That there is Reason to believe, that this Hill was formerly subject to Earthquakes. Two antient Writers, *Aufidius* and *Domitius*, quoted by the Author of the Book, *De origine gentis Romanæ*, ascribe the overturning of a part of the City of *Alba*, which was swallowed up, and covered with Waters, together with the Palace of King *Alladius*, who himself and his whole Family perished in this manner, to the violent Shocks which moved the Hill. And we prefer the Account of these two Historians before that of *Dion. Hal.* who says, this terrible Catastrophe was occasioned by a Thunder-Storm. Which being supposed, it will then follow, 4thly, That it is very probable, that the Hill of *Alba* formerly contained within it a great Quantity of nitrous and bituminous Matter, the Ebullitions of which produced those surprizing Agitations, which were like those the *Vulcano's* of *Vesuvius* and *Ætna* produce now. Whence we infer, 5thly, That we need look no farther for an Account of the prodigious Inundation of the *Lake of Alba* than to the Violence of subterraneous Winds and Fires. Hence came the falling in of the Earth, to fill up the several hollow Places, through which the Waters used first to make their Way into the *Lake*, out of which they retired again, through other secret Passages. So that these Waters, not finding their usual Passages, but being driven back with Impetuosity, and, as it were, heaped up one upon another in great Abundance, they must necessarily break through all their Bounds, and rise up to the Tops of the Hills. To which we add, 6thly, That if these extraordinary Overflowings have ceased for several Ages, it is natural to conclude, that the Fire of the *Vulcano* is quite spent.

true Predictions than one. The *Roman* was very religious in his Way, and had great Faith in Diviners. And he continued to talk with the Prophet, telling him, he wanted to consult him, about an Accident ⁴⁶ which happened to him, and which he thought a kind of Prodigy, and wanted to have explained. In short, he prevailed upon the old Man to give him a private Meeting without the Lines. They both came to the Place appointed, without Arms, and without any Jealousy of one another. With talking, the *Roman* drew the *Hetrurian* by Degrees to a little Distance from the City. The latter was old, and feeble, the former young, and in full Strength. He therefore caught up his old Man in his Arms, and carried him into the *Roman* Camp. The *Veientes* beheld it with great Concern, but could only exclaim against it. The Diviner was carried before the *Roman* General, who examined him about what he had foretold of the Siege of *Veii*: And his Answers were such, as made the Council of War think it necessary, that he should be carried a Prisoner to *Rome*, and be interrogated by the Senate. When he came before the *Conscrip*t Fathers, he said, *The Gods are angry, the Gods are angry with Veii, since they have forced me to betray the Secrets of my Country. What I said, was the Effect of a sudden Transport, and it would have been a Crime in me to have concealed, what Heaven forced me to discover. We have an old Tradition in our Country, which is written in our prophetick Books, and confirmed by the Art of Divination, that if the Romans, when the Lake of Alba shall swell in an extraordinary Manner, can draw all the Water out of it, with proper Ceremonies, they shall then make themselves Masters of Veii. Till that time, the Gods will continue to protect my Country. And there is one thing especially, which must be taken care of in that Affair; which is, that the Drains which are made to carry off the Water of the Lake, don't convey it into the Sea.* This Answer of the old Man, was, perhaps, a pure Invention of his own, founded upon what he had observed of the State of the City: And the Circumstance of the rising of the Water, might, perhaps, be only added by him to make it the more mysterious. But nevertheless, the *Romans* thought it a Prophecy, which too nearly concerned them to be neglected; though at the same time they did not think proper to believe it, upon his bare Word. The Senate therefore sent a Deputation to *Delphos*, to consult the Oracle there. The Envoys were three Men of very great Distinction; *Cossus Licinius*, *Valerius Potitus*, and *Fabius Ambustus*. These three *Patricians* embarked, while the *Romans* continued to carry on the Siege of *Veii*, though but slowly. All the Advantage the *Roman* Generals gained this Year, was over the *Falisci*, and the *Capenates*. *L. Valerius* laid waste all the Country round *Faleria*; and *Camillus*, who found no Enemies to engage with near *Capena*, carried Fire and Sword wherever he came. He gained fresh Glory every Campaign, and by the Wisdom of his Conduct, many judged what great Things he would be capable of, when he came to fight Battles.

§. XVI. THE Deputies did not return to *Rome* from *Delphos*, till after the Election of new *Military Tribunes*. The choice of the *Centuries* fell upon six *Patricians*, four of whom had already filled this supreme Station more than once. The six were ⁴⁷ *L. Julius*, *L. Furius*, *L. Sergius*, *A. Posthumius*, *A. Manlius*, and *P. Cornelius*. But they did not continue all the Year in their Office; for the Answers of the *Delphian* Oracle were interpreted to their Disadvantage. *Rome* had never yet so many Enemies upon her at once, as now: The *Volsci* were returned to *Anxur*, and besieged it: The *Aequi* on the other hand had invested the Colony, which the *Romans* had planted at *Labicum*. The greatest part of the Forces of the Republick were employed at *Veii*, which they rather blockaded, than besieged: Whilst other Bodies of *Roman* Troops were busy in keeping the *Capenates*, and *Falisci*, within Bounds. And to increase her Difficulties yet more, a new Enemy started up against her, took the Field, and committed Hostilities, even in the *Roman* Territory. This was the *Tar-*

Year of
R O M E
CCCLV.

L. VALERI-
US, L. FURI-
US, M. VA-
LEPIUS, Q.
SERVILIUS,
Q. SULPITI-
US, and CA-
MILLUS, Mil-
itary Tribunes.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLVI.

L. JULIUS,
L. FURIUS,
L. SERGIUS,
A. POSTHU-
MIUS, A.
MANLIUS,
and P. COR-
NELIUS, Mi-
litary Tri-
bunes.

Livy B. 5.
c. 16.

⁴⁶ *Plutarch's* Account of this Conversation is a little different from *Livy's*. He says, the *Roman* Soldier, in order to keep the Prophet the longer in Discourse, desired him to assist him with his Advice, in an Affair which perplexed him. *This is not the only Prodigy which has happened to the Romans*, replied the Soldier to the Diviner, *I have some much more terrible ones to recount to you. And all I desire of you, is to know, whether, in this general Confusion of the Affairs of the Republick, I cannot secure my own*

Affairs, and provide for my own Safety. This Diviner, if we believe *Cicero*, B. 1. de *Divin.* was no inconsiderable Person.

⁴⁷ This was the second *Tribuneship* of *Lucius Julius Iulus*, and *Publius Cornelius Maluginensis*; * *Plut. Life of Cam* the third of *Aulus Manlius Vulso Capitolinus*; the fourth of *Lucius Furius Medullinus*; and the first of *Lucius Sergius Fidenas*, and *Aulus Posthumius Albinus Regillensis*. *Diodorus Siculus* has disfigured the Names of these Magistrates, as usual.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLVI.

L. JULIUS, L.
FURIUS, L.
SERGIUS, A.
POSTHUMIUS,
A. MANLIUS,
and P. COR-
NELIUS, Mili-
tary Tribunes.

quinians, an *Hetrurian* Nation; who thought the *Romans* would either tamely submit to be plundered, rather than engage in a new War, or else oppose their Incursions with such an Handful of Men, as they had no Reason much to fear. But they were mistaken. *A. Posthumius*, and *L. Julius*, were left at *Rome*. They demanded Leave to raise Troops, to disperse these new Enemies. The *Tribunes of the People* retarded their Design for some time, by their Oppositions: But at last they raised a Company of Volunteers, who followed them of their own accord. With this little Army, *A. Posthumius* and *L. Julius* marched privately out of *Rome*, and going a great Way about, through the Lands of *Cære*, they came and fell on the *Tarquinians* all on a sudden, as they were loaded with Spoil, and returning into their own Country. The *Romans* made a terrible Slaughter of these Pillagers, and forced those who escaped to leave their Spoils behind them, that they might fly the faster. Then the victorious Troops gathered all the Booty together, and brought it to *Rome*. The Inhabitants had two Days allowed them to discover what had been taken from their Lands. The rest, which was either not owned, or belonged to the Enemy, was sold to the best Bidder: And all the Money it sold for, was distributed among those brave Volunteers, to whom *Rome* was indebted for this Victory. But in all other Places, where the Republick had Armies, their Success was uncertain. As to the Camp before *Veii* in particular, the *Romans* did not depend so much on succeeding in that Affair, by any human Strength, as by the Assistance of the Gods. This was the Situation of Affairs, when the Deputies returned from ⁴⁸ *Delphos*. And how great was the Surprise, when the Answers of the *Pythian* ⁴⁹ Priestess appeared to be exactly agreeable to the Prediction of the old Man of *Veii*! One of the Historians is of Opinion, that the *Hetrurian* Diviner kept a Correspondence with the Priestess of *Delphos*, and that he made her speak the same Language in *Greece*, which he himself had spoken in *Italy*. But St. *Austin* ascribes all these Pagan ⁵⁰ Prodigies to the Devil. However, it's certain, the Oracle scarce said any Thing more, than what the Diviner declared before. *Romans*, said the *Pythonefs* to the Deputies, *take care how you suffer the Waters of the Lake to overflow, and run towards the Sea. Draw them off by Channels made on Purpose, and let them lose themselves under Ground. Then pursue the Attack of Veii, and be assured, the Fates will make you victorious over a Place, which you have besieged so many Years. Take care to re-establish the neglected Ceremonies of Religion, and to begin those again which have not been regularly performed. And lastly, when the War shall be ended, you shall send a considerable Present to my Temple.* The Priestess might easily enough have foretold the taking of a City, which had been obstinately besieged for ten Years, from the relation the Deputies gave of it, and upon the same Principles, on which the old Man had acted, without the Help of any supernatural Divination. The rest of the Ceremonies that she appointed, so agreeably to what the Diviner had said (which she could not be ignorant of, but might easily have known, either by the Deputies, or their Attendants) amount to no more than mere

Zonar. B. 7.

De Civ. Dei.

⁴⁸ They who are curious to know the Origin and Progress of the Oracle of *Delphos*, which was formerly so famous all over the Heathen World, may have recourse to *Diodorus Siculus's* sixteenth Book, to *Pausanias's Phoc.* and to *Plutarch's* Treatise of the ceasing of Oracles. This Subject will hereafter give Occasion for several historical and critical Notes.

⁴⁹ This Priestess borrowed her Name from the Goddess, who inspired her. It is well known, that fabulous Traditions have given this God the Glory of having killed the Serpent *Python* with his Arrows, and delivered the Earth from a Monster, which spread Desolation every where. Hence, say the Mythologists, *Apollo* was called *Pythius*. But some derive this Name from the Greek Verb *πύθω*, which signifies to enquire, because *Apollo* was consulted, about future Events. Others find the Origin of this Name, in the Greek Verb *πύω*, which signifies to make rotten, or putrefy. They suppose the Serpent *Python* was engendered of the Vapours, and putrid Exhalations, which arose from the Earth after the Deluge. But I should rather be inclined to think, the Word *Python* originally signified, the Spirit which possessed the Priestess, or

the *Pythonefs* her self, at the Time of her Enthusiasm. It is certain, that *Plutarch* in his Treatise of the ceasing of Oracles, and *Hesychius* in his Dictionary, do both render the Word *Python*, by *Ἐνθουσιάζουσα*, or *Ἐνθουσιάζουσα*: And *Suidas* confirms this Interpretation. The *Rabbins* likewise, in their *Talmud*, explain the Hebrew Word, which answers to the Term *Ἐνθουσιάζουσα*, by the Word *Python*. They give this Name to the Spirit, which seized the Diviner, and spoke within him. And some learned Men are of Opinion, that *Python* ought to be derived from the Hebrew Word, which was used to signify a Serpent; which, according to the Principles of Christianity, is no improper Name, for him who produces the Agitations of the false Prophets.

⁵⁰ This Opinion, which is confirmed by a constant Tradition, and by the Authority of all the Fathers of the Church, will always prevail against the Opinion of those, who have ascribed the Fury of the *Pythonefs*, to the malignant Vapours, which came out of the Cave at *Delphos*, and which, according to them, so turned the Brain of this Woman, as to produce those furious frantick Fits, which the Pagans took for a divine Inebriation.

human

human Conjectures. And as to the draining the Waters of the Lake, though it had no relation to the Conquest of *Veii*, yet the artful Priests might add that to the rest, with some superstitious Circumstances, only to make her Prediction appear the more supernatural.

HOWEVER, the *Romans* were surprized at the Agreement between the two Prophecies. They had an implicit Faith in the *Hetrurian* Diviner, and thought him a great Man. *Cornelius* and *Posthumius*, two of the *Military Tribunes*, made him the Minister, to make the Gods propitious, and appoint such Sacrifices, as were proper to prevent the fatal Consequences of this Prodigy. Then the *Romans* sent out Pioneers to make the Canal, which was to carry off the Waters of the Lake, and convey it all over the Fields in Trenches. This fine Work subsists to this Day, and the Water of the Lake *Albano*, which runs along *Castel-Gandolphe* passes through it. The Oracle of *Delphos*, having appointed the neglected Ceremonies of Religion to be renewed, and the defective ones to be reformed; the former of these Answers was interpreted of the Omission of the Sacrifices which ought to have been offered up every Year, in Honour of *Jupiter Latialis*, on the Hill of *Alba*. All the Inhabitants of *Latium* ought to have assembled there, to celebrate what was called, the *Ferie* ⁵¹ *Latinae*, for three Days together. They were therefore renewed. And as to the second Answer, it was discovered, that the Election of the present *Military Tribunes* had been defective, with Regard to the *Auguries*. It was therefore thought proper to rectify these Defects, after having first obliged the six chief Magistrates of *Rome* to lay down their Offices. Accordingly they readily abdicated the *Military Tribuneship*, and an *Interregnum* ensued. Three Presidents governed the Republick, each in his Turn, during the Vacancy. These were *L. Valerius*, *Q. Servilius*, and the famous *Camillus*. During the *Interregnum*, the Ambition of the Candidates for the *Military Tribuneship*, was more active than ever. The *Tribunes of the People* often opposed the calling the *Comitia* for the Election, and never consented to it, till they had got a Promise, that the greatest part of the *Military Tribunes* should be chosen out of the Commoners. During these Troubles at *Rome*, the general Diet of the *Hetrurians* met as usual, near the Temple of *Volturna*. The *Capenates* and *Falisci* there offered a Petition, desiring the whole *Hetrurian* Nation to take Arms, and relieve the *Veientes*: But the Answer of the assembled *Lucumonies* was much the same as they had formerly given. *Since the Veientes undertook the War, without the Consent of the Diet, they are to expect no Assistance from those, whom they would not consult. We will not expose our selves to Danger, to deliver them from it. A Clan of Gauls are come and settled in the Neighbourhood of Hetruria. We have neither any open War, nor settled Peace with them, and we must therefore watch them. Nevertheless, that some Regard may be shewn to Alliances and Blood, we don't forbid any of the Hetrurian Youth enlisting themselves, and marching, if they think fit, to relieve the Veientes.* Upon this News was brought to *Rome*, that a prodigious Army of *Hetrurians* was raising, in order to act against the Republick: And the Fear of it hastened the suspended Elections. The People first nominated ⁵² *Licinius* for a *Military Tribune*, as it were by way of Preliminary. He was the first *Plebeian* who had ever enjoyed this great Dignity, to which he had been raised four Years ago. He was now grown old, and his great Age rendered him very incapable of enduring the Fatigues of a laborious Employment, which he had not asked for. The Nobility made no Opposition to his Promotion. They were

Year of
R O M E
CCCLVI.

L. JULIUS,
L. FURIUS,
L. SERGIUS,
A. POSTHUMIUS, A.
MANLIUS, and
P. CORNELIUS, Military
Tribunes.
Plut. Life of Cam.
Kircher B. 3. Vet. Lat.

Livy B. 5. c. 17.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLVI.
Interregnum.

⁵¹ We have already spoken of these Festivals, which were celebrated by the *Romans* and *Latins* together, in Honour of *Jupiter Latiar*, or *Latialis*, as Guarantee of the Confederacy entered into by the two Nations. Each of the two confederate Cities brought the Offerings required of her. The Flesh of the Bull, which used to be sacrificed on this Occasion, was to be distributed among all the People of both Nations, who were present at the Ceremony, without any Distinction. If any one had been forgotten in the Distribution, or the Ritual had not been exactly observed, the Sacrifice was deemed null, and all was begun again.

⁵² *Livy* says, *Licinius Calvus* was declared *Military Tribune*, by a Majority of the *Prerogative Tribe*, i. e. of the *Tribe*, to whose Lot it fell to vote first. So that the *Roman* People seem to have

then begun to change the Order which *Servius Tullius* had established in the *Comitia by Centuries*. The *Plebeians* could not easily bear, that the great and rich Men in *Rome* should have the greatest Authority in these Assemblies, and choose the chief Magistrates out of the Body of the Nobility only, as they thought fit. It is probable, the Murmurs and Complaints of the Commonalty might occasion this Change. And what confirms us in this Opinion, is, that we see *Plebeians* raised to the highest Employments, at this Time. Now it is not probable, that they could have shared the Honours of the highest Office in the Republick with the *Patricians*, if the *Comitia by Centuries* had preserved the same Form, in which *Servius Tullius* had settled them.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLVI.
Interregnum.
Livy B. 5.
c. 20.

very well satisfied with the Moderation he had shewn, in his first *Military Tribuneship*. But *Licinius* thought himself unable to bear so heavy a Burden alone. Nevertheless, as he was not yet entered upon his Office, he had no Right to ascend *The Tribune*, and harangue the People; and therefore he first asked the President of the *Interregnum's* Leave, and then spoke thus. *It will indeed, Romans, be a good Omen of their future Concord, if you choose only such Men for Military Tribunes, as have already exercised that Office, and whom Use and Experience must have made more knowing: And Concord is absolutely necessary at this Time. But as for me, I am a mere Shadow, of what I formerly was. The weakness of my Body, the dimness of my Sight, and my want of Hearing, plainly shew the Decay of my Spirit, and Courage. Suffer me therefore, to offer you in my room, the Image of that Licinius, whom you formerly chose from among the Plebeians, to be a Military Tribune. This young Man is my Son Licinius, whose Mind and Manners I have formed, and I offer him to the Republick to supply my Place. I entreat you to choose him into the Post you designed for me, and that he may obtain it, I join my Recommendation to his Request.* Accordingly the People granted the Father's Desires for his Son. Young ⁵³ *Licinius* was chosen *Military Tribune*, and five Persons given him for his Collegues, who had already governed the Republick in that Capacity. These were *L. Atinius, P. Mælius, Cn. Genucius, L. Titinius*, and *P. Mænius*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLVII.
LICINIUS, L.
ATINIUS, P.
MÆLIUS, CN.
GENUCIUS,
L. TITINIUS,
and P. MÆNI-
US, Military
Tribunes.

Livy B. 5.
c. 18.

§. XVII. IT is no difficult Matter to guess, why the *Comitia* chose all Commoners for *Military Tribunes*, without mixing any *Patricians* with them, which had never been done before. The Reason was, the *Tribunes of the People* had entirely got the Ascendant. But the Administration of the new Governors was not prosperous. The Siege of *Veii* was still carried on, as the Oracle directed. It is probable, that *P. Mælius* commanded at it, and made but little Progress in it. Young *Licinius* continued in *Rome* to govern the City: *L. Atinius*, and *Cn. Genucius* marched with some Troops to the Territory of the *Capenates*, and *Falisci*, with Design to oppose an Inundation of *Hetrurians*, who were ready to come and attack the Entrenchments of the *Romans*, before *Veii*. But the Boldness of these two *Plebeian* Generals exceeded their Experience in the Conduct of Armies. They were too rashly brave, and imprudently fell into an Ambuscade, which the Enemy had prepared for them. *Genucius* defended himself with Courage, when surrounded on all sides, and was killed in the Action, fighting at the Head of his Troops. A noble End, which in some Measure wiped off the Reproach of his Rashness! As for *Atinius*, he assembled the scattered Remains of the Army, gained an Eminence, and rallied his Troops; But durst not face the victorious Enemy any more in the open Field. The Glory of the *Roman* Arms was indeed obscured by this Action; but otherwise, the Blow was not great. Nevertheless, Fame magnified the Loss of the *Romans*, both in the City, and in the Camp before *Veii*. In the latter, when the Soldiers knew the *Romans* had been beaten by the *Hetrurians*, and that one of their Generals was killed, they were seized with Fear. The Army were ready to disperse themselves immediately, and were not, without Difficulty, kept in the Camp. They imagined, they already saw all the Forces of *Hetruria*, advancing to fall upon the *Roman* Lines. And at *Rome*, the Consternation was yet greater; inasmuch as the Reports of the Action exceeded the Truth. It was publicly said, that the *Roman* Camp was invested by the *Hetrurians*, and that a part of their Army was coming to besiege *Rome*. Upon which the Citizens mounted the Ramparts to defend them, whilst their Wives ran to the Temples to implore the Assistance of the Gods. They entreated them to protect their own Altars, and turn all the Misfortunes of the War upon *Veii*. They put them in mind, that they had expiated their Defects, in point of Religion, and renewed the neglected Ceremonies, as the Oracle directed. By these Alarms, and slight Losses, Heaven prepared the Way for the Election of a Commander, who was to subdue *Veii*.

⁵³ *Livy* tells us, that the *Tribes* were called in their natural Order to give their Suffrages; and that with *Licinius Calvus* they joined *L. Atinius Longus, Publius Mælius Capitolinus* (and not *Quintus Manlius*, as *Diodorus* has it) *Cn. Genucius Aventinensis, L. Titinius*, and *Publius Mænius*. These five *Military Tribunes* now entered upon this

Office the second time. It is therefore probable, that from this time, the *Comitia* by *Centuries* began to change their Form, and that all the *Tribes*, except the *Prerogative Tribe*, followed their natural Order in voting, still preserving at the same time the Order of the *Centuries* in each *Tribe*. See above, *Book VIII*.

§. XVIII. IN short, the *Romans*, in this Consternation, had recourse to their usual Remedy, when great Misfortunes overwhelmed the Republick. They nominated a *Dictator*; which was *Camillus*, the General who was thought destined, to complete the Overthrow of *Veii*. Every thing seemed now ready for the Completion of what the Oracle had foretold. The *Games*, and the Sacrifices of the *Feria Latina*, were renewed. The Waters of the *Lake of Alba* were already drawn off. The *Dictator* had chosen *Cornelius Scipio* for his General of Horse: And the whole Face of the City seemed to be changed under the Government of the new Sovereign. The Courage, the Hopes, and the good Fortune of the *Romans*, seemed to revive all at once: And the *Dictator* omitted no Precaution to secure himself of his Conquest. He begun with inflicting military Punishments upon the Deserters, who had fled from the Camp out of fear; and by that means he put a Stop to all Desertions for the future. Then he ordered new Levies to be raised, which were to be made on a Day appointed. In the mean time he went to inspect the Trenches, which had been thrown up before the besieged Town. His Presence there revived the Courage of the Soldiers, and increased their Confidence. From thence he returned to *Rome*, where the Levies were raised without Opposition. The *Latins* and the *Hernici* came of themselves, and offered to serve the Republick, under the Command of so wise a General. *Rome* accepted the Offer, and the Senate returned them Thanks: And *Camillus* ended his Preparations for War, with an Act of Religion. He made a Vow to the Gods, that if he returned the Conqueror of *Veii*, he would celebrate the Great ⁵⁴ Games to their Honour, and would rebuild the Temple ⁵⁵ of the Goddess *Matuta*, and dedicate it anew. The *Dictator* left *Rome*, followed by the Vows of all the Citizens; and how great soever their Dependence upon him might be, they wished for more than they could hope. However, he began his March, and advanced to the Plains of ⁵⁶ *Nepe*. He there found the *Capenates* and *Falisci*, whose Army was increased with a very great Number of Volunteers, gathered together from all parts of *Hetruria*. But *Camillus* did not delay giving them Battel: The Particulars of which, History has not told us. All we know of it is, That the *Dictator* conducted himself, with all possible Prudence; That Fortune seconded the Valour of the *Roman* Soldiers, and the Wisdom of the General; That the Enemy was beaten and routed; and That their Camp was plundered. But the Booty taken in it, was not all distributed among the Soldiers. The publick Treasury had the best part of it, which was put into the Hands of the *Military Quæstors*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLVII.
CAMILLUS,
Dictator.

Plut. Life of
Camil. and
Livy B. 5.
c. 19.

§. XIX. AFTER this complete Victory, the *Dictator* returned to *Veii*: Where his first Care was to put the Circumvallation in a better Condition. He increased the Number of the little Forts on it; and then forbade his Soldiers fighting, without Leave. This was to prevent their spending their Ardour in Skirmishes, and single Combats, with the Besieged, who often challenged them to fight, between the Walls of the City, and the Entrenchments of the *Romans*. The General thought it better to employ his Troops in useful Labours. *Camillus* had observed, that it would be impossible to take the Place by Assault, or scale the Walls of it. But he considered the Ground, and finding it very proper for Mines, he undertook to open one, and began it at so great a Distance from the Town, that the Enemy could not see the Workmen. His Design was to carry it on under Ground, into the middle of the upper part of the City, which the *Romans* were to enter all on a sudden, through the Passage they were to make: And that the Work might be carried on without Intermission, the General divided his Miners into six Companies, each of which was to take its Turn, of working six Hours. By this means the Work continually advanced, without any Interruption, and without tiring the Men: And as the Pioneers were digging under Ground, Day, and Night, the Mine was soon carried to the Place designed. Then *Camillus*, who was sure of Conquest, wrote to the Senate, to tell them, that the *Romans* would

⁵⁴ The Games of the *Circus*, were called the Great Games, either because the Expence of them was very great, or they were celebrated with great Pomp, or because they were consecrated to the three Great Deities, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*. *Romulus* was the first who instituted them, according to *Dion. Hal.* *Livy* says, *Tarquin the Elder* increased the Splendor of them, and built on Purpose the Great *Circus*, which was afterwards appropriated to them.

⁵⁵ This Temple was built by *Servius Tullius*. See what we say of *Matuta*, in the second Volume of this History.

⁵⁶ This City, which stood in North *Hetruria*, bears the Name of *Nepi* to this Day. *Livy* B. 6. and B. 27. makes it a *Roman* Colony. *Festus* says, it afterwards became a *Municipium*, or *Municipal* City.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLVII.
CAMILIUS,
Dictator.

soon be Masters of this wealthy City, and that the Spoil which would be taken in it, would be more valuable than all the Spoils the Romans had ever got in all the preceding Wars; and to desire the *Conscript Fathers*, to determine how he should dispose of this extraordinary Booty. This the *Dictator* did, to avoid either making himself odious to his Troops on the one Hand, by giving them less of the Spoil than they might expect; or incurring the Hatred of the *Patricians* on the other, by being too liberal in his Presents to his Soldiers. His Letter was read in full Senate, and the Assembly was divided into two Opinions. Young *Licinius* was President, as first *Military Tribune* for the Year; and he desired his Father to give his Opinion first. *Licinius* was of a *Plebeian* Family, and naturally inclined to promote the Interests of the Commons. He therefore was of Opinion, that the Spoils of *Veii* should be divided between the Army, and those Citizens, who should be in the Camp, when the City was taken: So that in this Case, all that would, might go to the Camp from *Rome*, and by that means have their Share of the Plunder. But *Appius Claudius* was of a contrary Opinion. It is well known to what Lengths he carried his Hatred of the *Plebeians*. He remonstrated, that to squander away all the Spoils of the richest City in *Italy*, merely to satisfy the Covetousness of the People, would be an unjust, a mad, and an unheard-of Profuseness. *The publick Treasury*, said he, *is already exhausted by the Wars. The Pay we give our Soldiers, has obliged us to raise Taxes, which are burdensome to all Orders of Men. Why don't we then make the Spoils of Veii a Fund for the Payment of our Troops. This would be of so general a Benefit, that every Roman Family would be sensible of the Advantages of such an Act of Liberality. Is it reasonable, that idle Citizens should go and rob our Army of the Fruits of their Labours, and their Blood? It is well known, that those who are coolest in the Battel, are usually hottest in Pursuit of the Spoil.* To this *Licinius* replied, that the Spoils of *Veii* would be Matter of endless Contention in *Rome*, and would be the Foundation of great Murmurs and Seditions among the People, if this new Scheme of *Appius Claudius* was put in execution. *It would be much better*, added he, *to gain the Affections of the Multitude, by such a Bounty; to comfort them after the many Contributions which have exhausted them; and to let the Soldiers reap the Fruits of the Siege, which they have carried on with perpetual Fatigues. It will be more agreeable to them, to carry Home the little they shall get themselves in the Plunder, than to receive large Presents from other Hands. The Dictator himself would not have referred it to the Senate, to determine what should be done with the Spoils of Veii, had it not been to avoid the Hatred of the People. Why then are not we as fearful of incurring it? Why don't we allot every Man, whatever it shall be his good Fortune to get, in the Plunder of the Town?* And *Licinius* prevailed. This was thought the safest Way, and the most likely to gain the Senate the Good-Will of the People. A Decree was passed, giving Leave to as many as pleased, to go to the Camp, and take their Share of the Booty: So that great Multitudes of People flocked to the *Dictator's* Army; who all armed themselves, and joined in attacking the Walls, as the General commanded. But before they marched out of the Camp, the *Auguries* were consulted. After which the *Dictator* made the following Prayer (according to the Form generally used by the Romans, when they were ready to give the Assault to a besieged City) ⁵⁷ inviting the tutelary Gods of the Place

⁵⁷ This superstitious Practice was a Consequence of the Prejudices the People had imbibed with the Pagan Theology. We have already observed in several Places of this History, that every City and Country had its tutelar Deities: So that when two Nations were at War, the Gods were supposed to become Parties in the Dispute. Each was thought to espouse the Interest of that People, who had put themselves under his Protection. And agreeably to these Principles, *Homer* and *Virgil* frequently bring the Gods into the Battel, and represent them, as striking Terror into the Enemy's Troops. The Romans therefore being prepossessed with the same Notions, made it a Duty of Religion, not only to honour the Gods which protected *Rome*, with a particular kind of Worship, under the Name of *Dii Penates*, but also to make Vows and Prayers to the tutelary Gods of the Enemy's Cities. And

consequently, *Livy* alludes to this Custom, when he says, that the Inhabitants of *Veii* knew not, That their own Diviners, and the Oracle of *Delphos*, had foretold the taking of their City; That some of their Gods had been invited to partake of the Spoil; and That the rest proposed to have new Temples in another Place, since the *Dictator* had pronounced the Form of *Evocation*. This Ceremony had its particular Rites, as we shall observe in the second Volume of this History. The Romans thought this a necessary Precaution, from a Persuasion that they could not take the Gods Prisoners, without being guilty of the Crime of High-Treason against Heaven. It was for this Reason, that the General always prayed them, to desert the besieged City, in the most respectful Terms, before it was brought under a new Dominion. *Servius* adds, in his *Commentary upon the second Book of the*

Place to desert it, and go to *Rome*. O Pythian Apollo, said *Camillus*, accomplish thy Prediction, since it is by thy Inspiration, and under thy Guidance, that I am going to destroy the City of *Veii*! I solemnly vow, to give thee the tenth Part of the Spoil which shall be taken in it. And do Thou, O *Juno*, Queen of the Gods, who residest in *Veii*, follow us to *Rome*, and come and dwell in a City, which shall be devoted to thee! Thou shalt there be placed in a Temple, worthy of thy Majesty! The principal Temple in *Veii* was indeed dedicated to *Juno*, and was placed, according to the Custom of the Antients, in the Upper-City. The *Veientes* were a Greek Colony, who came to *Italy* from *Argos*, where *Juno* was especially worshiped. After these Acts of Religion, *Camillus* commanded to begin the Attack; and as the *Roman* Army was exceeding numerous, the Assault was made on all sides at once. By this means, the *Veientes*, who were busy on the Ramparts, in all parts of the City, had not Time to attend to the Mine which was dug under their City, but were put out of a Condition of repulsing the *Romans*, when they came out of their subterraneous Passage. Their greatest Surprise was, that the *Romans* should so suddenly resolve to attack a Place, in all Parts at once, before which they had languished away their Time for ten Years together. The *Veientes* knew not, say the prophane Historians, that their own Diviners, and the Oracle of *Apollo*, had assigned them over to Destruction. They knew not, that their tutelar Gods had been conjured to leave them by the Dictator. Nor, lastly, had they any Suspicion, that the Enemy was within the Verge of their own City, under Ground, and ready to make themselves a Way into it. In short, the unseen *Romans* opened themselves a Passage, within the Verge of the Temple of *Juno* it self, and if we will give Credit to a Fable, in a very critical instant of Time. It is said, that the Moment the *Romans* came from under Ground, the King of *Veii* was offering Sacrifice to the Goddess. 'Tis added, that the *Aruspex*, after he had consulted the Entrails of the Victim, had answered, that the Victory would fall to that General, who should dissect these Entrails. And 'tis likewise said, in the last Place, that the Moment the *Romans* appeared, they seized the Basons in which

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c. 21.

Plut. Life of
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Livy B. 5.
Ibid.

the *Æneid*, that the fear of committing Sacrilege, first introduced the Use of these *Evocations*. But nevertheless, this Practice seems to have been entirely useless, if we judge of it by a Maxim of the *Roman* Law, mentioned in the *Digest*. B. 36. ff. de Relig. This Maxim was, *That whatever was taken by Force from the Enemy, was thought violated*; and consequently prophane. But *Monsieur de Cocceii*, to whom we are indebted for these Observations, has very judiciously observed in his Work called, *Dissertatio juridica de Evocatione Sacrorum*, that this Rule of the Law was to be understood only of those Cities, which were taken without using any *Evocation*. These indeed, says the same Author, were *ipso facto* prophane. And according to this Sense of this Law, the *Romans* consecrated all the Temples in *Rome* again, after they had reconquered it from the *Gauls*. Add to this, that the Generals of the *Roman* Armies never failed using *Evocations*: So that this Maxim of the *Roman* Law, was so far from making this Ceremony needless, that it seemed to suppose it. Besides, the People took it for granted, that the Moment a Place was conquered, the tutelar Gods deserted their Temples, and delivered up the Besieged to the Mercy of the Enemy. *Virgil* speaks of the taking of *Troy* by the *Greeks*, in this manner,

*Excessere omnes, adytis, arisque relictis
Di, quibus imperium hoc steterat.* ÆN. B. 2.

This deserting of a besieged City by the tutelar Gods, has some relation to what *Josephus* says, B. 1. Of the Wars of the *Jews*; namely, that a little before the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, the Priests heard a great Noise, and with it a Voice, which repeated these Words several times, *Let us go hence*. And *Tacitus* attests the same Thing, Hist. B. 5. when he says, that a miraculous Voice declared, that the Gods were retiring. To which he adds, that they went away the same instant, making an horrible Noise. We cannot therefore but

observe, by the by, that the Pagans had plainly borrowed this Notion of the Gods, and that of tutelar *Genii*, which they assigned to every City, and every particular Person, from the *Jews*. And the People omitted nothing, which might secure to them the Protection of their Gods. We are told by *Quintus Curtius*, that when *Tyre* was besieged, the Inhabitants chained the Statue of *Apollo* to the Altar of *Hercules*, because one of the Citizens had declared, he had dreamed he saw this God go out of the City. *Alexander ab Alexandro* pretends, B. 6. that it was no uncommon Thing to desire the tutelar Gods to give Pledges of their Fidelity. And he adds, that the *Persians*, and *Ægyptians* had no tutelar Gods, for fear of the fatal Consequences of *Evocation*. From all which, the learned *Civilian* above quoted, concludes, 1. That after the taking of a City, the Conquered had no longer any Right to the Temples, and other sacred Places, which were now in the Possession of the Conquerors. 2. That after this, the Gods ceased to be the Protectors of the conquered City, in the same manner, as a Tuition expires with the Death of the Pupil. And 3dly, That the Places made sacred by Religion became prophane, as soon as the Enemy got Possession of them; insomuch, that they were at Liberty to destroy, or alienate them, and apply them to other Uses; and that the Sepulchres themselves were not exempted. But it is true, that if the City returned to its old Masters, they were then reinstated in all their former Rights. *Phillip. Camerarius*, Medit. Histor. Centur. 2. c. 10. pretends, that there are some Footsteps of this *Evocation* in the *Old Testament*. According to him, the Curse which *Balak* King of *Moab* would have had *Balaam* pronounce against the *Israelites*, was nothing else, but a sort of *Evocation*, which this idolatrous King would have had used against the People of God, to rob them of the Protection of the Angel, which was their Conductor.

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Ibid.

the Entrails had been presented to *Juno*, carried them to the *Dictator*, and he cut them in pieces. But the best Historians of Antiquity ⁵⁸ relate this Story, without giving any Credit to it themselves.

As soon as the *Romans* were come out of the Mine, they divided themselves into several Bodies, in order to go upon different Undertakings. Some ran to the Gates, slew the Guard, and opened them. Others came behind the *Veientes*, who were busy in defending themselves on the Ramparts, and fell upon them there. Others set fire to several Quarters of the City, notwithstanding the Showers of Tiles, which the Women and Slaves threw down upon them. The Cries of the *Veientes*, mixed with the confused Voices and Groans of Women and Children, filled the Streets of this great City. The Rampart was cleared in a Moment, and the *Romans* took the Place of the *Veientes*. All the Gates were broken down, and the Enemy entered the City without Obstruction. Yet still the fight continued in several Places within the Walls: Till at length mere Fatigue and Weariness put an end to it, after a great Slaughter. The *Dictator* commanded his Troops by an Herald, not to kill any, who laid down their Arms. Then all who surrendered themselves were received to be disposed of at Discretion, and the Slaughter ceased. Next to this bloody Scene the Plunder of the Houses succeeded. As soon as the General had given Leave for it, every Soldier ran wherever his Greediness of Prey led him. And it is said, that *Camillus* cried out in a Surprise, at the Value and Quantity of the Booty the Soldiers got; *O ye Great Gods! If you in Heaven envy my Fortune, and that of the Roman People, let all the Effects of it fall upon my Head, and* ⁵⁹ *let Rome feel but the least part of them.* When he had ended his Prayer, he turned about to the Right, as was customary, and fell down upon the Ground. Those who were by, were affrighted at his falling; but the *Dictator* rising up immediately, said; *My Prayer has been heard. I have escaped, after this great Prosperity, with a very little Misfortune.* But afterwards it was a received Opinion, that *Camillus's* Banishment, and the taking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*, had been foretold by the Accident which then befel him.

Plut. Life of
Cam. and
Livy B. 5.
Ibid.

Livy, Ibid.

THE next Day, after a Conquest so glorious for the *Romans*, was spent in settling the Division which was to be made of these immense Riches found in *Veii*. The Prisoners of free Condition were sold to the best Bidder: And all the Money arising from thence was put into the publick Treasury. This was the only part of the Spoil from which the Publick received any Benefit: But as the People were insatiable, they murmured at it: Nay, they carried their Ingratitude yet farther. They maliciously sought out the Authors of the Liberality, which had been shewn them: And would acknowledge themselves obliged to none but the Family of the *Licinii*, whose Father first moved for their having a Share in the Spoils of *Veii*. As to the Senate, the People forgot the Decree it had passed in their Favour. And as for the *Dictator*, the *Plebeians* accused him of having referred the Affair of the Distribution of the Spoils to the Determination of the Senate, with no other view but to prevent their growing rich. Thus were the greatest Men then exposed to the Censure and Malice of the Multitude. After *Camillus* had disposed of the Booty which had been taken out of the Houses, he then ordered the Temples to be despoiled, not as a sacrilegious Robber, but with Marks of Piety and Religion. He resolved to have the Statue of *Juno* carried to *Rome* with all possible Decency. In order to this, he chose out of

⁵⁸ *Plutarch* honestly confesses, that such Facts as these ought not to be too readily believed. He dares not warrant the Truth of this: And *Livy* has much the same Opinion of it. He expresses himself thus. *In Things so very antient, I am content, that what is probable, should pass for true. But that is not the Case of Events, which have a miraculous Appearance. They agree well enough with dramatick Performances, but are not reconcileable with the Sincerity of an Historian. I therefore represent them in the same manner, as they are transmitted down to me, without troubling my self about confirming, or confuting them.*

⁵⁹ *Plutarch* gives *Camillus's* Prayer another Sense. According to him, it was this. *O ye Great Gods, if you have any Misfortunes in reserve for us, to ballance this great Prosperity, I beseech you to preserve Rome from them, and let them fall upon*

me only; but in such a manner, as to make me feel only the least part of them. We need not observe to the Reader, that there is a childish Contradiction in it, when thus drawn up: Besides, it expresses a Pusillanimity unworthy of the Great *Camillus*. There are surely no very great Degrees of Virtue necessary to make a Man willing to suffer the most trifling Misfortunes, in order to deliver his Country from the greatest. *Livy* makes him speak in a more heroick, and disinterested manner. It is natural enough to believe, that *Plutarch*, who wrote after *Livy*, misinterpreted this Passage of his History. This is no very extraordinary Mistake for a *Greek* Writer, who frankly confesses, that he had no great Knowledge of the *Latin* Tongue. *Valerius Maximus* makes *Camillus* speak the same Language as *Livy* does.

his Army a Set of well-made young Men, and commanded them to purify themselves by Ablutions, and to cloath themselves in white Habits. To these he committed the Care of carrying the Image of the Goddess to *Rome*, with the Offerings which had always been made her. The young Company entered her Temple with a great Air of Modesty and Veneration. First ⁶⁰ *Camillus* touched the Statue with his Hand, a Liberty not allowed among the *Hetrurians*, but to one single Priest of a particular Family. Then he is said to have asked the Statue, *whether it consented to come to Rome*; and the Statue is said by some, to have made him a Signal; and by others, to have answered him, *That it would go willingly, and not be angry with those who carried it away*. But prophane Authors themselves look upon this as fabulous. However, as the taking of *Veii* was the first Conquest of Importance the Republick had made, it is not to be wondered at, that the *Romans* should adorn their Relations of it, with many wonderful Circumstances. It is more probable, that young Soldiers, full of Vigour, and Spirit, would not be very scrupulous about taking up the Statue of the Goddess, and carrying it away. It was placed in *Rome* upon the Hill *Aventinus*, according to the Vow the Dictator had made concerning it. There it continued a great while in a Temple, which *Camillus* himself dedicated. Thus perished the famous City of *Veii*, which was despoiled at once of its Riches, its Inhabitants, and its Gods. We may judge of the ⁶¹ greatness of it, by the Difficulty the *Romans* had to conquer it. Ten Years were scarce sufficient to reduce it. The Siege was continually carried on Summer and Winter. The *Romans* lost a great deal of Blood before it; nay, their Loss of that kind was greater than that of the *Veientes*: And in a Word, it was taken at last only by Sap; so that it was rather reduced by Artifice, than by Force.

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§. XX. THE Joy of the People of *Rome*, at this new Conquest, was in Proportion to the Length and Difficulty of the Siege. Notwithstanding the Oracles, the Expiations, and the choice of the best General, the Republick did not expect to have been Masters of *Veii* so soon. When the News was brought to *Rome*, the Ladies anticipated the Decree of the Senate, and went to return the Gods Thanks before *Publick Prayers* were ordered to be offered up to them. But the Senate, when they did order them, commanded them to be continued for four Days together, which had never been done before: And upon *Camillus's* Entry, the People gave yet more publick Demonstrations of their Joy. No Conqueror had ever been met by so great a Multitude of People. Men of all Ranks and Conditions in the City went out to meet him. And it must be confessed, that this Great Man suffered his Mind to be elevated a little too much with the Glory of his Victory. Whether it were that he too readily believed the Praises of his Flatterers, or that he was naturally fond of State, it is certain, the Pomp of his Triumph, exceeded the usual Simplicity of the *Romans*, at that Time. His Chariot was, contrary to Custom, drawn by white Horses. He painted his Face with Vermilion, like those of the Gods. Indeed, white Horses were then allowed to none but *Jupiter*, and *the Sun*; and nothing was adorned with Vermilion, but the Statues of the Deities: So that though a signal Victory deserved extraordinary Honours, yet the People could not bear the Conqueror's putting himself, in some Measure, upon a Level with the Gods. They not only thought this Appearance of his immodest; but believed it to be affecting, more than became any Man; and therefore condemned it as an irreligious Act in *Camillus*. So that though the *Romans* took Pleasure in the Magnificence of the Triumph, they blamed the indecent Pomp of the triumphing Victor. However, the Statue of *Juno*, which had been brought from *Veii*, must prove an eternal Monument of his Glory. *Camillus* had already placed it upon the Hill *Aventinus*. Then he drew the Plan of the Temple, in which it was to stand; and in discharge of his Vow, dedicated another Temple, which he had built in Honour to the Goddess *Matuta*. And after a Dictatorship, thus signalized

*Pliny B. 33.
c. 7.*

*Livy B. 5.
c. 22.*

⁶⁰ *Plutarch* tells us, he borrowed this Account from *Livy*. Yet the latter does not say, that *Camillus* touched the Statue himself; on the contrary, he declares, that only the young Men abovementioned were commissioned to do it: So that *Plutarch* has falsely charged *Livy* with one Circumstance, which is not to be found in his History.

⁶¹ *Florus* tells us, that there were scarce any

Footsteps left of the antient Grandeur of this City, in his time. We have already observed, that *Cluverius* places this antient City in the Neighbourhood of *Scrofano*: Other Geographers think it stood near *Formello*. And *Holstenius* pretends to have demonstrated, that it was situated upon an Hill, in the Neighbourhood of *Osteria del Storto*.

Year of by the gaining a Battel, and an important Conquest, *Camillus* laid down an Employ-
R O M E ment, to which we shall hereafter see him advanced, more than once, in great Emer-
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 Dictator.
Livy B. 5.
 c. 25.

§. XXI. *CAMILLUS* had gained too great a Superiority over the rest of the
Romans, not to be envied. The Hatred of the People broke out against him, almost
 as soon as he had abdicated the *Dictatorship*. We have already observed, that before
 he attempted to give the Assault to *Veii*, he made a Vow, to send a tenth Part of the
 Spoils of the conquered City, to the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*. But the *Dictator*
 forgot his Promise, and forgot to set apart the Share he had vowed, when he divided
 the Plunder. The *Pontifices* therefore declared, after his Abdication, that the People were
 obliged to return part of the Booty, every one had taken at *Veii*, in order to discharge
 this Vow. Accordingly the Senate made a Decree, that every Family should consci-
 entiously make an Estimate of the Value of the Spoils it had received, and pay
 back a tenth part of it into the publick Treasury. The *Romans* resolved to purchase
 a Gold Vase with it, which would be a present worthy of the God, and of the Re-
 publick. But the Execution of the Decree caused a great deal of murmuring, and
 met with many Difficulties. It was necessary to administer an Oath to every particu-
 lar Person, that he honestly returned the tenth Part of what he had received. Some
 excused themselves, under Pretence, that they had already spent all their Share; and
 Violence was therefore used with them. But the Odium of all these Exactions, and
 all this ill Usage, fell upon *Camillus*. He was suspected of having feigned the Vow
 (which he had not at first declared) on Purpose to embarrass the People, and deprive
 them of part of their Profits: And the Excuse *Camillus* made for himself, was thought
 unworthy of him. The People were not satisfied with his saying, that he had forgot-
 ten the Vow he had made to *Apollo*, at the Time of the Distribution of the Spoils.
 However, it was proposed to buy such a Vase of Gold, with the Produce of what
 was brought to the *Quæstors*, as would shew *Greece* the Magnificence of the *Roman*
 People. But it happened unfortunately, that there was then but very little Gold in the
 City. None had yet been coined, any more than Silver. The *Romans* very rarely
 made use of this exceeding scarce Metal, but to make fine Toys. What they had of
 it was almost entirely in the Hands of the *Roman Ladies*. They therefore assembled,
 and had the Courage to devote unanimously what Gold they had, to their Religion,
 and the Honour of their Country. Their Jewels were melted down, and turned into
 a Vase with two Handles, ⁶² which weighed eight *Talents*. The Republick was not
 ungrateful to them for their Generosity: It granted them two Favours in return for it.
 The first ⁶³ was, that Funeral Orations should be made for illustrious Women, as they
 were for great Men. The second, that they might ride ⁶⁴ in Chariots at the publick
Games, and Sacrifices. Nothing now remained, but to present the Offering to *Apollo*.
 To do this, the Senate sent a Deputation of three Senators to *Delphos*, in a Galley mag-
 nificently equipped; but they met with a bad Accident in the Way. Being driven
 up and down by a Tempest, off the ⁶⁵ *Æolian Islands*, they were pursued by some
 Vessels of *Lipara*, which took the *Romans* for Pirates. Their Vessel was taken, and
 towed to the Island of *Lipara*, where they were at first treated as Slaves, and their
 Effects

Livy B. 5.
Ibid. and Ser-
vius upon Vir-
gil.

Plut. Life of
Cam.

⁶² Among the *Romans*, the *Talent*, as a Weight, weighed a hundred twenty five Pounds, as we have already observed: So that a Vessel of Gold of eight *Talents*, must have weighed a thousand Pounds.

⁶³ *Livy* does not say, that the Honour of Funeral Orations was granted to the *Roman Ladies* from this time. He makes this Privilege the grateful Consequence of the Present they made the Republick of their Jewels, in order to enable it to perform the Conditions of the Treaty, concluded between the *Romans* and the *Gauls*, when the latter raised the Siege of *Rome*. *Livy* seems also to imply, that the *Roman Ladies* were paid for these Jewels, *in Specie*. *Pondere ab singulis auri accepto, æstimatoque, ut pecuniæ solverentur.*

⁶⁴ *Livy* gives these Chariots the Name of *Pilenta*. By all that the antient Authors tells us of them, it appears, that they were covered Carriages, and hung almost like our Coaches. *Virgil* gives

us this Idea of them, in the eighth Book of the *Æneid*,

—*Cassæ ducebant sacra per urbem.*
Pilentis matres in mollibus.—

The Historian adds, that the *Roman Ladies* had the Privilege of being carried, when they pleased, in another sort of Chariots, called *Carpenta*. These were more open than the former, and were pretty much like our Waggons. But in Truth, Antiquity has not clearly told us, what Difference there was between the *Pilentum*, and the *Carpentum*. The Historians often use these Words synonymously.

⁶⁵ The *Æolian Islands* lie between *Italy* and *Sicily*. They took their Name from *Æolus*, who was thought to have been Lord of them; and from the God *Vulcan*, who was thought the tutelar Deity of these Islands, which vomited out Flames, from time to time, like Mount *Ætna*. For this Reason

Effects were sold to the best Bidder. But the *Roman* Deputies found Favour with the chief Lord of the Island, whose Name was *Timasitheus*. He was a Man of Probity, and his Inclinations were truly *Roman*: He respected the Character of the Ambassadors, and the Present they were carrying to *Apollo*. And the Multitude were soon brought to think as their chief Magistrate did, who, not content with releasing the Captives, gave them a Guard to conduct them safe to *Delphos*. The Deputies presented their Offering there, and returned to *Rome*, well satisfied with the Behaviour of *Timasitheus*. The Republick looked upon him as their Friend, sent Presents to him, and mutual Acts of Hospitality passed between them.

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CAMILLUS,
Dictator.

§. XXII. AFTER the glorious Year was ended, which gained *Camillus* both a great deal of Esteem, and of Jealousy; the *Centuries* chose six new *Military Tribunes*. Their Names were *P. Cornelius Cossus*, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, *M. 66 Valerius*, *Cæso Fabius*, *L. Furius*, and *Q. Servilius*: It is easy to know by their Names, that they were all *Patricians*. Nothing was talked of in *Rome*, in their Time, but a Distribution of Lands. The *Æqui* and *Volsci* came and desired a Peace with the *Romans*, as soon as the latter had made themselves Masters of *Veii*. And the Republick granted them their Request, though not so much out of Regard for these unquiet Nations, as out of Dislike to a troublesome War, which had lasted a long Time already. Nevertheless the Senate thought proper to plant a Colony of three thousand *Romans* in their Country, to keep them in their Duty. Three Commissioners were already named, to make a Distribution of the Lands among the new Inhabitants. Every *Roman* was to have 67 three Acres and a half. By this Means the *Romans* would get rid of a Multitude of People, who might have raised and kept up Seditions in *Rome*. But when they came to enter their Names, in order to form the Colony, then the Unwillingness of the *Romans*, to leave their City, appeared. They despised the Offers which were made them of a Country so far off, and hoped to have a Share in the Distribution of the Lands of *Veii*, which were nearer than those of the *Volsci*, and more fruitful than those of the *Roman* Territory. *Why*, said they, *must we go, and be confined to a melancholy and unwholsome Country, which is offered us for no other Reason, but to deprive us of the Hopes of a better Dwelling? Veii, both for its Situation, and the Beauty of its Buildings, is preferable to Rome: It is there that we desire we may fix our Habitation.* From that time indeed some Proposals were made, about the Removal of some of the People, from *Rome* to *Veii*; which Proposals were afterwards more attentively considered, and with a more sincere Design of putting them in Practice. It also from that time became Matter of Deliberation, whether all the *Romans* should not be divided into two Parts, and one half of both Senate and People be sent to *Veii*; that so they might have two Capitals, though they still continued to be one and the same Republick. *Sicinnius*, a Tribune of the People, proposed to make a Law for that Purpose. But the chief of the Nobility opposed it: And they had gained over some Tribunes of the People to them. *We will rather die*, said they, *in the sight of our Fellow Citizens, than consent to so unreasonable a Law. If the Republick is already disturbed with so many Dissentions, when within the Compass of one City, what will become of it, when its Authority shall be equally divided between two? Shall we suffer the victorious City to be depopulated, and make Veii a more flourishing Place, than it was before it was taken? Let those go from hence that will; for our Parts, nothing shall ever force us to leave our native Country! As many of you as are*

Year of
R O M E
CCCLVIII.
P. CORNELIUS
COSSUS,
P. CORNELIUS
SCIPIO,
M. VALESIUS,
CÆSO FABIVS,
L. FURIUS,
and Q. SERVILIUS,
Military Tribunes.

Reason they were called *Hephestiades* (i. e. *Islands burning like Fire*) by the *Greeks*, and the *Islands of Vulcan*, by the *Latins*. Some call them *Plotæ* (or *sailing Islands*) either because one of them moved about, as *Delos* did, according to *Eustathius* on the tenth Book of the *Odyssey*; or because Vessels took a Circuit when they sailed near these Islands. *Strabo*, *Diodorus*, *Mela*, and *Pliny*, reckon up seven of them, namely, *Lipara*, or *Lipari*, which is said to have had its Name from one *Liparus*, the Son of *Ansjun*, who reigned in this Island; *Termeffa*, called formerly *Hiera*, and *Vulcania*, and now *Volcano*; *Strongyle*, or *Strongoli*, or *Stromboli*; *Enonymos*, or *Isca Bianca*; *Didyme*, or *Salini*; *Ericusa*, or according to others, *Ericodes*, now *Alicur*; and *Phenicusa*, or *Phenicodes*, which is now called *Felicur*. *Ptolomy* reckons up fifteen of

them; but it is evident, he includes in that Number several other little Islands, which are too far distant from the *Æolian*, to be thought a part of them. *Lipari* is the most considerable of them all. The *Roman* History will often give us occasion to speak more particularly of these Islands.

66 This was the second Tribuneship of *Marcus Valerius Maximus*; the third of *Cæso Fabius Ambustus*, and *Quintus Servilius Priscus Fidenas*; and the fifth of *Lucius Furius Medullinus*. *Diodorus* of *Sicily* has omitted or mutilated the Names and Surnames of these *Military Tribunes*.

67 In *Livy* we read *terna jugera & septunces*. that is, three Acres, and seven parts of an Acre. We have already observed, that the *Romans* usually divided any Integer into twelve Parts, which were called *Unciæ*.

inclined

Year of
R O M E
CCCLVIII.

P. CORNELI-
US COSSUS,
P. CORNELI-
US SCIPIO,
M. VALERI-
US, CÆSO FA-
BIUS, L. FU-
RIUS, and Q.
SERVILIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.

inclined to do it, follow your Sicinnius, this new Founder of a new Rome! We will never desert that, which was founded by Romulus, the Son of a God. And these Oppositions of the Senate, and the Nobility, raised very great Commotions in Rome. The Sedition had very like to have ended in a Battel: The People took up Arms, and were ready to shed Blood; but the most venerable Senators presented themselves before them, and offered to receive their Blows. *Strike, cried they, stab us.* And then the Respect of the People for them, prevailed over their Resentments. They were ashamed to fall upon old Men, whose Dignity and Merits made them more venerable, than their Age. And during this Madness of the People, Camillus was heard to say, in all Places, *That he was not at all surprized at this sudden Extravagance, which had seized the Minds of the Commons. This mad Way of thinking is judicial. The Plebeians refused to perform the Vow I had made. The Conquest was unquestionable. But has my Promise been performed? The People seem to me, rather to have given Apollo an Alms, than offered him the tenth Part of their Spoil. They complain heavily of those few Moveables, which they were forced to return; but shew no Gratitude for the vast Tract of Ground I conquered for them.* But these Discourses of Camillus, and the Harangues of the Tribunes of the People only exasperated the Populace against him. This Dictator, said they, *has almost reduced the Spoils of a wealthy City to nothing. He sold the Inhabitants at the dearest rate, for the Benefit of the publick Treasury; and has, by his pretended Vows, taken from us almost all the Fruits of our Labours.* Thus spake they of Camillus, and the Senators, when absent; but as soon as they appeared, the most furious were cautious of what they did, and held their Peace.

Livy B. 5.
c. 24.

THUS were the Romans embroiled at Home; but their Arms were victorious Abroad. Two of the Military Tribunes, Fabius and Furius, had continued at Rome to govern it. Two others, Servilius and Valerius, were entered into the Country of the Capenates: And lastly, the two Cornelii had spread their Troops all over the Lands of the Falisci. But these Generals did not concern themselves about surprizing, or besieging Towns: They contented themselves with laying the Countries waste. Their Soldiers plundered the Farms, carried away all the Instruments of Husbandry they met with, and left neither Houses, nor Fruit-trees, standing. This severe Treatment forced the Capenates to beg Quarter, and submit to the Romans: So that of all the Wars the Republick was engaged in, before the taking of Veii, the only one now left subsisting, was that with the Falisci. Thus did the smallest State in Italy begin to enlarge it self so much, by the Valour and Exploits of one single Man, as to become formidable to all the Nations round about it.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLIX.

CAMILLUS,
L. FURIUS,
P. CORNELI-
US, C. ÆMI-
LIUS, SP.
POSTHUMIUS,
and L. VALE-
RIUS, Military
Tribunes.

Livy B. 5.
c. 26.

§. XXIII. NOTWITHSTANDING the Hatred of the Commons, and the Opposition Camillus had made to a Division of the Senate, he was the next Year chosen Military Tribune, the third time. When the Elections came on, the Nobility used all their Interest to get as many of those Patricians chosen as possible, whom they knew to be against removing a part of the Senate, and People, to Veii; and gained their Point. L. Furius, and P. Cornelius, were continued in their Office; and C. Æmilius, Sp. Posthumius, and L. Valerius, were made their Collegues. On the other hand, the Plebeians continued that L. Sicinnius, in his Office of Tribune of the People, who was so zealous for the Law, for the removal of half the Republick to Veii. But the Patrician Party likewise got those of the College of Tribunes continued in their Employments, who had opposed that Law, that they might make Head against Sicinnius: So that every thing seemed ready for beginning an intestine War between some of the Tribunes of the People and their Collegues, and between the Patricians and the Plebeians. However, Sicinnius kept within Bounds, as long as Camillus continued in Rome. His Presence was formidable to him; and the Delays of the Tribune of the People took off the Edge of the Inclinations of the Commons, to raise Disturbances: So that when Camillus set out for the War, he left the City in a pretty peaceable Condition. His Commission was to go and subdue the Falisci; and he carried a numerous Army with him for that Purpose. From that time he formed a Design of beginning the Siege of Falerii, the Capital of the Country, and of protracting it to a great Length, in order to find a mutinous Populace Employment, for a great while, and at a great Distance from Rome. He applied this Aphorism in Physick to Politics, that the pccant Humours which are in the Body, must be drawn out. When he entered into the Country of the Falisci, he found no Army in the Field to oppose him.

him. All the Forces of that Nation were shut up within the Walls of *Falerii*. In order therefore to bring the Enemy to a Battel, the *Romans* laid waste the Country round the Place, and burned the Villages: Till at length the burning of the Houses, and the Ravages committed in the Country, forced the *Falisci* to march out of their City; but they would venture no farther than a thousand Paces from their Walls. They chose a Place to encamp upon, which they thought strong enough by Nature, and neglected to fortify themselves in it. And indeed it seemed inaccessible; all the Ways that led to it, were either steep, or rough, or narrow. Nevertheless *Camillus* found Means to attack it. He had taken some Prisoners in the Country: And one of these he chose to be his Guide. After he had left his first Camp in the dead of the Night, he, by break of Day, gained an Eminence, which a little overlooked the Enemy: And there he resolved to encamp. In order to establish himself in this Post, he divided his Workmen into three Bodies, and kept the greatest part of his Army under Arms, to cover the Men, who were throwing up the Entrenchments. However, the Enemy soon came and fell upon the *Romans* in the midst of their Work. But *Camillus* received them with such Resolution, that he put them to flight: And the Fright of the Fugitives was so great, that though their Camp was near, they passed by it, in order to get into the City. But before they could get thither, a great Number of them were killed, and many made Prisoners. The Camp was taken, and the Spoils which were found in it, put into the *Quæstors* Hands, for the Use of the Publick. The Soldiers murmured at this, but in vain. They respected the Orders of their General, though they hated them, because they admired his Valour. *Camillus* may indeed be said to have, in some Measure, rectified that insatiable desire of Plunder, which had hitherto been the chief Motive of their Bravery: Since his Troops now received Pay, he taught them to conquer upon nobler Motives.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLIX.
CAMILLUS,
L. FURIUS,
P. CORNELI-
US, C. ÆMI-
LIUS, SP.
POSTHUMIUS,
and L. VALE-
RIUS, Military
Tribunes.

§. XXIV. AFTER gaining this Victory, the General began the Siege of *Falerii*: But he had no intent to pursue it vigorously. He invested the City, and surrounded it with Lines, and little Forts; but at so great a Distance from the Walls, that there was much room left for the Besieged to take the Air in, without Danger. Nevertheless, they made some Sallies, but without Success. At length the Inhabitants of *Falerii* made so light of the Siege, that they all, except those who guarded the Ramparts, walked about the City in their usual Dress, and laid aside their military Habits: Besides, *Falerii* was plentifully stored with all sorts of Provisions. There was greater Plenty of Corn in the City, than in the *Roman* Camp: So that both the Besieged and the Besiegers, seemed wholly given up to Indolence, the former going on without any fear of being taken, the latter without being in haste to make themselves Masters of the Place. By the manner in which the General proceeded, it seemed probable that the Siege of *Falerii* would take up more time, than that of *Veii* had done. But an Accident gave *Camillus* an Opportunity to shew, that he was as capable of overcoming his Enemies by his Generosity, and Probity, as by his Sword. The *Falisci* had brought with them from *Greece*, the Custom of committing all their Children to the Care of one Man, who was to instruct them in all sorts of polite Learning, to take them out a walking with him, and to give them other Exercises proper for their Age. The Design of the *Greeks* in this, was to accustom their Children to Society, from their most tender Years, that so they might improve those Acquaintances, and Friendships, when they advanced in Age, which they contracted in their Youth. These Children therefore used often to walk with their Master, without the Walls of the City, before the Siege. And their Fears of an Enemy, which attacked them so slightly, were not great enough to make them discontinue that Exercise afterwards: And this School-master proved a Traitor to the *Falisci*. He at first led the Youth, which were committed to his Care, only along the Walls: Then he carried them a little farther. Sometimes he designedly lengthened their Walk, and prolonged their Sports: Till at length, when a favourable Opportunity offered, he led them through the Guards of the *Roman* Camp, and brought them quite to the General's Tent. These were the Children of the best Families in the City: And when their treacherous Leader came into *Camillus's* Presence, he had the Impudence to address himself to him thus. *With the young Nobility I bring you, I deliver the Place you besiege into your Hands. These Children were committed to my Care, and Tuition: But I prefer the Friendship of Rome, to my Employment at Falerii.* *Camillus* was struck with Horror, at these Words: And replied, *Wretch, didst thou then think that thou shouldest here find a General, who*

Plut. Life
of Cam.

Livy B. 5.
Ibid.

Plut. Life of
Cam.
Livy B. 5.
c. 27.

Plut. and Liv.
B. 5.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLIX.
CAMILLUS,
L. FURIUS,
P. CORNELI-
US, C. ÆMILI-
US, SP. POST-
HUMIUS, and
L. VALERIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.

was as great a Villain as thy self? What a detestable Present dost thou come to make me! I am not indeed bound to the Falisci, by the Ties of Friendship; but the common Bonds of Society and Humanity are indissoluble. War has its Laws, which ought to be observed; Injustice in War is as criminal, as Cowardice is shameful. We scorn to make War with Children, which are spared, even in the sacking of Towns. Our Design is only to act against Men, who without any Offence on our side, took up Arms against us, and came to relieve Veii: And as I conquered Veii, so I would subdue them, like a Roman. After this, he ordered his *Liētors* to strip the Traitor; which done, they tied his Hands behind him, and furnished the Youth with Whips, and Rods. In this Condition his own Boys drove him back again, and continued whipping him all the Way, from the *Roman* Camp to the City. In the mean time, News was brought to the *Falisci* of the Treachery. The Mothers therefore ran to the Ramparts in Tears, not knowing what was become of their Children: But they were transported to see them returning, so much exasperated against their Master. As soon as they were entered the Gates, the City-Council assembled: And then 'twas very visible, what an Alteration *Camillus's* Probity had made in all their Minds. A little before, the *Falisci* had protested, that they would rather undergo the Fate of *Veii*, than imitate the Cowardice of the *Capenates*. But now all the People demanded, that a Peace should be made with the *Romans*. Nothing was talked of in their *Forum*, or Council-House, but the Equity and Probity of the *Roman* General. The Youth extolled him, and called him their Father, and their God: So that a Deputation was ordered to be sent to *Camillus*, to treat about the Surrendry of *Falerii*. But the General, out of Modesty, sent the Deputies to *Rome*: When they were there, and admitted into the Senate, they made a Speech to this Effect. *Rome, Conscript Fathers, has just now gained a Victory over us, which can never be shameful to us, either in the sight of Men, or Gods. We submit to you, out of a Persuasion, that we cannot live more happily, than under the Laws of a Republick, in which Justice and Probity reign. The Romans, and Falisci, are this Day giving two great Examples to Posterity: You, in preferring Justice to Victory: We, in rather yielding to the Charms of Virtue, than the Force of Arms. We surrender our selves into your Hands: Command the Falisci to lay down their Arms, to give you Hostages, and to receive a Roman Garrison, and we will obey, and open our Gates. We shall never repent of subjecting our selves to your Government; nor shall you ever have Reason to complain of our being unfaithful to you.* The Senate heard this Discourse of the Deputies with Pleasure; but did *Camillus* the Honour of leaving to him the Terms of the Treaty, which was to be made with the *Falisci*, not as with a conquered People, but as with a Nation, which voluntarily subjected it self to the Dominion of the Republick. He therefore entered into a Treaty of Alliance with them, and demanded nothing of them, but the Expences of the present Campaign. Nevertheless, the Conqueror himself had Reason to repent of his having made so quick a Conquest. *Camillus* led back his Army to *Rome*, where his Soldiers increased the Number of his Enemies. They, not content with Glory, had promised themselves great Riches, from the Plunder of *Falerii*. They thought *Camillus* had granted the *Falisci* better Terms than they deserved. The Army therefore looked on their General, as an Enemy to the People, and as a Man, who had little Inclination to promote the Interests of his Soldiers: So that the Hatred of the Multitude to this Hero, increased as fast as his Reputation: And we shall soon see the Rage of the People against him, break out into a violent Persecution. Nevertheless, *Camillus* entered *Rome* with more Glory, when he returned from *Falerii*, than when he appeared in Triumph, in his Chariot drawn by white Horses. His Virtue, and his Probity, had crowned him with greater Honour, than he could derive from the Pomp of a Triumph.

Plut. Life of
Cam.

Livy B. 5.
c. 28.

§. XXV. WHILST *Camillus* was thus bringing the *Falisci*, under the Dominion of the *Romans*, two of his Collegues march'd, with some Troops, to suppress the Insolence of the *Æqui*. It is probable, this unquiet People broke the Peace they themselves had desired of the *Romans*, when they saw them busy before *Falerii*. *C. Æmilius*, and *Sp. Posthumius*, united their Forces; went to carry on the War jointly; and succeeded in all their Attempts, till they were divided again. They defeated the Enemy in a pitched Battel; but after the Victory, they separated. *Æmilius* continued at *Verrugo*, to guard it, whilst *Posthumius* made Incursions into the Enemy's Country, and ravaged it. But as he was returning from his Expedition, and his Army marching without

without Precaution, or Order, it was suddenly attacked by the *Æqui*, and routed. The *Romans* however, whose sudden Fear had dispersed them, soon gained some Eminences, on which their General rallied, and encamped them. And when they were safe, and recovered from their Fright, *Posthumius* made a Speech to them, and reproached them with their Fearfulness. *Is it possible*, said he to them, *that the Æqui should see the Romans turn their Backs? Have we lost the Custom of putting them to the Rout, as oft as we attack them?* At which Words, the Army cried out, that they deserved the General's Reproof, but would behave themselves better for the future. *Only lead us to the Enemy*, said the *Legionary* Soldiers, *and we will oblige ourselves, under the severest Penalties, to cut them in pieces before Night.* The *Æqui* continued in the Plain, below the Eminences, upon which the *Romans* were posted. Their General therefore took Advantage of their Ardor, ordered them to refresh themselves, and commanded them to be ready to march at the fourth Watch. It was not Day when they began their march, but the Moon shone bright. The *Æqui* had made a Motion, and posted themselves in the Road to *Verrugo*, to intercept the *Romans* in their Passage, if they had attempted to retire thither in the Night. The latter began the Attack by Moon-Light. But this Night-Engagement was almost as unsuccessful, as the Fight had been the Day before. The Shouts of the Combatants was heard as far as *Verrugo*; where it was believed that *Posthumius's* Camp was besieged. Then the Troops *Æmilius* commanded in that City took a Fright, notwithstanding all their General could say, and after they had rambled about the Fields for some time, fled to *Tusculum* for Refuge. From thence a Report was carried to *Rome*, that *Posthumius's* Army was defeated, and the General himself killed. The *Romans*, who were afraid of an Ambuscade, had indeed given Way in their Engagement in the Night, but as soon as it was Day they recovered their Fright, and stood their Ground. Then *Posthumius* rode through all the Ranks, and put his Soldiers in mind of their Promise. Their Courage revived, and their Ardor was so great, that the *Æqui* could no longer stand before them. They fell upon the Enemy, and cut them in pieces, rather with the Fury of Madmen, than with the Ardor which true Courage inspires: So that while *Posthumius* was gaining a Victory, *Rome* was alarmed with the News of his being lost. But the People were undeceived, as to that false News brought from *Tusculum*, when they saw a Courier arrive, with a ⁶⁸ Letter crowned with Laurel, which brought the Senate an Account of the Defeat of the *Æqui*, and the Victory of the *Romans*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLIX.
CAMILIUS,
L. FURIUS,
P. CORNELI-
US, C. ÆMI-
LIUS, SP.
POSTHUMIUS,
and L. VALE-
RIUS, Military
Tribunes.

§. XXVI. THUS the Arms of the Republick prospered every where Abroad; but the different Interests of the two Parties, of the Nobility and *Plebeians*, raised new Troubles at Home. When the time came for electing *Tribunes of the People*, the Commons endeavoured to keep those old ones in their Office, who had proposed the Law, about going to *Veii*, and removing half of the Senate thither. The *Patricians* on the other hand demanded, that those other *Tribunes* should also be re-elected, who had opposed this Law. The two Persons, who made the greatest Opposition to the Attempts of their Collegues, were *A. Virginius*, and *Q. Pomponius*, both *Plebeians*, but zealously affected to the Nobility. However, the *Tribes*, when assembled, did not comply with the Inclinations of the *Patricians*. They chose *Sicinnius* the Author and Promoter of the Law, into the Office of *Tribune of the People*, a third time: But joined none of those with him, who had opposed the Law. This Proceeding of the People being displeasing to the Senate; they, in their Turn, resolved to revive the *Consulate*, which had now been abolished fifteen Years. This kind of Government was not agreeable to the People; they liked better to be governed by four, or six *Military Tribunes*. The more Hands the sovereign Power was lodged in, the more Liberty, and the more Refuges, in case of Grievances, the Commons had. To vex them therefore, the *Conscript Fathers* ordered the *Comitia* to be assembled by *Centuries*, for the Election of supreme Magistrates. Every body knows the Nobility had most Power in these *Comitia*: So that *L. Lucretius Flavius*, and *Severus Sulpitius Camerinus*, were chosen into the revived Office of *Consuls*. It was very natural indeed for the *Patri-*

Plut. Life of
Cam.
Year of
R O M E
CCCLX.
L. LUCRETI-
US FLAVUS,
and SEV. SUL-
PITIUS CA-
MERINUS,
Consuls.

⁶⁸ A victorious General never failed of informing the Senate of the happy Success of his Expedition. He wrote Letters to the Senate, which were crowned with Laurel, in Token of the Vic-

tory he had gained. These Letters were presented by the General's *Lictors*. They themselves also, and their *Fasces*, were crowned with Laurel, on these Occasions.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLX.

L. LUCRETI-
US FLAVUS,
and SEV. SUL-
PITIUS CAME-
RINUS, Con-
suls.
Plut. Ibid.

cians to have got *Camillus* into one of these Places. He was the first Man in the Republick, and the best able to make Head against the *Tribunes of the People*. But *Camillus* himself always opposed his being elected *Consul*. He was afraid of offending the People, who were already but too much enraged against him: So that he enjoyed all the great Offices in the Republick but the *Consulship*.

UNDER the new Administration, *Sicinnius* the *Tribune* revived his Intrigues, for passing the Law, to remove a part of the People and Senate to *Veii*, with more Zeal than ever. He had now no Opponents in his College, and he therefore pretended to carry it with an high Hand. Nevertheless, the *Consuls* made all the Opposition to it they could: And whilst the Attention of the *Romans* was wholly taken up with this great Affair, a sudden War interrupted the Progress of it. *Vitellia* 59 was a City in the Territory of the *Æqui*, in which the Republick had planted a *Roman* Colony to defend it: But it was betrayed, and surprized in the Night. The *Æqui* made themselves Masters of the Place, without spilling much Blood. The Garrison escaped by that part of the City, which the Enemy had not yet reached, and fled to *Rome* for Refuge. It fell to *Consul Lucretius's* Lot, to go and revenge this Insult of the *Æqui*. Accordingly he hastened thither, defeated the Enemy in a pitched Battel, and returned to the City. But upon his return, he found he had a new sort of War to maintain there. *A. Virginus*, and *Q. Pomponius*, the two *Tribunes of the People* for the last Year, who had distinguished themselves by their Opposition to the Law, and their Attachment to the Nobility, had been cited to appear before the *Tribes*. The *Consuls* were obliged in Honour to protect them, and the Senate approved it. Their Lives had been blameless, their Offices executed without any Reproach, and nothing could be laid to their Charge, but their being devoted to the *Patricians*, and having opposed *Sicinnius's* Law. But though accused upon an Article, which so little deserved Reproof, they were nevertheless condemned; the Hatred of the People prevailed over the Interest of the Senate: And they were fined ten thousand *Asses* of Brass. The whole Senate was offended at this Sentence of the People; but no body expressed more Resentment at it than the brave *Camillus*. Surely, said he, *the Commons did not rightly understand their own Interest, since they have declared themselves against their own Protectors. They have destroyed the Authority of their own Tribunes, by taking away their Power of protesting against one another's Proceedings. Their Design in it, was to oblige the Nobles to submit to any Insults the Tribunes should have Insolence enough to offer them: But they are mistaken. If we cannot reduce them, by raising Divisions among themselves, we shall find other Means to suppress their Audaciousness.* *Camillus*, without doubt, hinted at the *Dictatorship*, which would put a Check to the Enterprizes of the *Tribunes*: And he did not conceal his Sentiments, but declared them in all Places. In the Senate especially, he never ceased declaiming against *Sicinnius's* Law, and advising the *Conscript Fathers*, to be resolute in opposing the Removal of part of the People and Senate to *Veii*. The Day draws nigh, said he, when the People are to assemble by *Tribes*, to determine this important Affair. If you will hearken to me, you shall appear in the *Comitium*, like Men ready to defend their Temples, their Altars, their Household-Gods, and their Country. I don't say this with any view to my own private Interest. If I thought my self at Liberty to promote my own Glory, at the Expence of my Country's Honour, what could flatter my Ambition more, than to see a City, which I have conquered, inhabited by illustrious Romans! I would go thither my self, where I should have continually before my Eyes, a lasting Monument of my Victory; a City, the Representation of which was carried in my Triumph. But what am I saying? What has my personal Interest to do here? Romans, it would be fatal to you to repeople a City, whose Gods have deserted it. It would be shameful for you to prefer a conquered Territory to your own victorious Country. Thus spake *Camillus*: And both the old Senators, and young *Patricians*, yielded to the Reasonings of a Man, whose Merit made him respected. These were the Dispositions of the Nobility, when *Sicinnius* assembled the *Tribes*, to report his Law to them. Then the *Patricians* made use of Solicitation, which they thought

69 Some modern Geographers guess that *Vitellia* stood near the *Lavican* Way, in the Neighbourhood of *Rocca Priora*, or *S. Silvestro*. It is not known when the *Romans* sent a Colony to this

City. *Panvini* thinks it was in the Year of *Rome* 295, to keep the *Æqui* in awe, after the *Dictator Quinctius Cincinnatus* had triumphed over that Nation.

would be more prevalent, than Force. They came to the *Comitia* in great Numbers, and mixed among the People, who were already divided into *Tribes*, to vote. They took Pains to persuade, and gain them over, by Tears, their Friends, their Clients, and their Neighbours. *Will you abandon*, said they to them, *this dear Country, for which you and your Ancestors have spilt so much Blood?* Then shewing them the *Capitol*, the Temple of *Vesta*, and the other Sanctuaries which surrounded the *Forum*, *Can you resolve*, added they, *to go into a voluntary Banishment, in an Enemy's Country, far from these Monuments of the Piety of your Ancestors?* O Rome, if thou must be deserted, by thy Citizens, it had been better for thee, never to have conquered *Veii*! These Reasonings, which were full of Sentiments of Piety, had their desired Effect upon the People. They proceeded to a Determination, and the Law was rejected; but by a Majority of only one *Tribe*. Then the Nobility triumphed: They were so well pleased with the People, that the Senate, at the Request of the *Consuls*, made a Decree the next Morning, whereby they assigned seven Acres of the Land belonging to *Veii*, not only to every Father of a Family, but to every single Person, of free Condition. *This*, said they, *is to encourage them to endeavour to increase the Number of their Children, and to enable them to bring them up.* Doubtless, if the Law had passed, there had been an end of the *Roman Republick*. The Division of it would have been its Ruin, and it never would have arrived at that height of Grandeur, which we shall see it attain.

§. XXVII. THE People, delighted with the Liberality of the Senate, made no Opposition to the Election of *Consuls*. The *Centuries* raised *L. Valerius* 7^o *Potitus*, and *M. Manlius Capitolinus* to this supreme Dignity. The latter already bore the Surname of *Capitolinus*, which was hereditary in his Family, before that one *Manlius* had saved the *Capitol*. The *Manlii* had always dwelt upon the Hill *Capitolinus*. From thence the Deliverer of *Rome* had an Opportunity of driving the *Gauls* out of the City; but his Predecessors had before taken the Surname of *Capitolinus*, which was not a Title of Honour till his time. The *Consuls* began their Year with performing one of the Vows which *Camillus* had formerly made, before he set out for *Veii*. The *Dictator* had promised to celebrate the *Great Games*. There were two sorts of these *Games* at *Rome*; One sort were celebrated every Year, in the Month of 7¹ *September*, in Honour to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*: The other sort were called *Votive*, or *Extraordinary*; and were celebrated in Honour to *Jupiter* only; and had no fixed Day appointed for them. These *Games* raised indeed the Glory of *Camillus*, but they did not lessen the Hatred of the People to him. Then this Great Man himself dedicated the Temple of *Juno*, upon the Hill *Aventinus*. The *Roman Ladies* came thither in Crowds, and shewed their Affection, both for the Goddess, and the Consecrator. After this, the *Romans* thought of nothing but War. The *Æqui* were encamped near the *Algidus*, as formerly; and the two *Consuls* went together to give them Battel. But these proud Enemies of *Rome* could not stand before the *Consular Army*. Being conquered, in a manner before they began to fight, they gave the *Romans* no other Trouble, but that of cutting them in pieces: And if we believe one single Historian, the Honours of a Triumph were granted *Valerius*, for having pursued the Fugitives a little longer than ordinary: Whereas, *Manlius* had only an *Ovation*, because he had left the Battel sooner. But neither do the *Fasti Capitolini*, nor any antient Writer, mention this Triumph; and it is unanimously agreed, that this War was thought of small Importance.

IN Proportion, as the Republick enlarged its Dominion, so fast did it draw upon it self new Enemies, which were before unknown. The *Volsinii* were one of the twelve Nations, of which the *Hetrurian State* consisted: And they, (doubtless, out of fear that they should in their Turn be invaded by the Conquerors of *Veii*, and *Falerii*.) declared themselves the Enemies of *Rome*, and committed Hostilities in the Countries which were

70 *Lucius Valerius Potitus* was the Son of another *Lucius Valerius*, who had been *Military Tribune* five Times. *Diodorus Siculus* gives his Colleague *Marcus Manlius* the *Prænomen* of *Aulus*. *Dion. Hal. B. 1.* calls him *Titus*. *Cassiodorus* and *Livy* call him *Marcus*. This was the same Man, says *Livy*, who deserved the Surname of *Capitolinus* for having defended the *Capitol*; when he was waked by the cackling of the Geese, and threw down a *Gaul* from the Top of the *Tarpeian Rock*.

But it is nevertheless certain, that the Name of *Capitolinus* was common in the *Manlian Family*, before *Manlius* did this. All then that *Livy* means, is, that this *Roman* gave a new Lustre to his Surname, by saving the *Capitol*.

71 In the old *Roman Calendar*, nine successive Days are marked for the Celebration of these *Games*, which are from the Eve of the *Nones of April*, to the Day before the *Ides*, inclusively; i. e. from the fourth to the thirteenth of that Month.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLX.

L. LUCRETIVS FLAVUS, and SEV. SULPITIUS CAMERINUS, Consuls.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXI.

L. VALERIUS POTITUS, and M. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS, Consuls, *Fast. Capit. under the Year 361.*

Cic. in Ver. 2.

Dion. Hal.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXI.

L. VALERIUS
POTITUS, and
M. MANLIUS
CAPITOLI-
NUS, Consuls.

Pliny B. 33.
c. 1.

Interregnum.
CAMILLUS,
&c.

under the Dominion of the *Romans*. The 72 *Salpinates* also had joined them. These People inhabited a Country, the Situation of which is not exactly known; but they seem to have been placed between *Volturnum* and *Clusium*, in *Hetruria*. The Republick was not used to let Aggressors escape unpunished. Nevertheless, she contented her self for the present with declaring War against these, and deferred the punishing them, till a more favourable Opportunity offered. The great Heats and Drought had then produced a Scarcity, and some Diseases, in the *Roman* Territory. *Rome* therefore laid aside her Arms for the present, and suspended her Revenge. The contagious Distemper had indeed spread it self in the City: And one of the two *Censors*, named *C. Julius*, was seized, and carried off by it, before his Office expired. One *M. Cornelius* was substituted in his stead; and afterwards this was thought a fatal Proceeding to the Republick, because the taking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*, happened in the time that *Cornelius* was *Censor*. After that Time therefore, the *Romans* made a Regulation, which was the Effect of their Superstition, and was this; that whenever either of the *Censors* should die, before the five Years of his Office were expired, no Body should be chosen into his Place, and that the Survivor should be obliged to resign. It is uncertain, whether the *Roman Lustrum* and the *Census*, which was made this Year, preceded the Death of the *Censor Julius*, or happened in the Time that *Cornelius* was made Collegue to the other *Censor*, *M. Papirius*; but it is certain, that by the Account then taken of the Citizens, who were able to bear Arms, their Number amounted to 152583. Which may make it the less surprizing, that so great Armies were raised, within the Compass of *Rome* it self.

THE Sickness spread in the City, and the two *Consuls* were seized with it. As therefore they were no longer in a Condition to exercise their Offices, and as this Accident had also made it believed, that they had been inauspiciously chosen, the Senate ordered them to resign. Upon this an *Interregnum* ensued: During which the Republick was governed by three Presidents, who succeeded each other in their Turns for some Days. The first was *Camillus*, the second *Cornelius Scipio*, the third one *Valerius Potitus*, but not the *Consul*. The latter renewed the *Auguries* for the electing of six *Military Tribunes*, to govern the State instead of the two *Consuls*. The *Romans* then re-established this sort of Government, that in case the Contagion lasted, and some of the supreme Magistrates were infected, there should be others to take care of the Welfare of the Publick. Besides, the Plague was not at that time the greatest Scourge the *Romans* had Reason to fear: They were threatened with a War, which had like to have utterly destroyed them, and was much more terrible than any, in which they had yet been engaged. The taking of *Veii* indeed, gave the *Romans* a Taste for Conquests, and was an Introduction to a long Series of them. Their Troops, since their receiving Pay, were become more obedient to their Commanders, who kept them in the Field, Summer and Winter. They had never had a General more capable of undertaking and executing great Designs, than *Camillus*. Their Frontiers were now extended above fifty Miles beyond the *Tyber*; and the People seemed to be in a settled Tranquillity, and perfectly reconciled to the Senate. But the *Gauls* came, and interrupted this Prosperity. A memorable Event! which we now come to relate.

72 *Cluverius* thinks the Country of the *Salpinates* lay beyond the Canton of the *Volturni*; and his Reason for it is, that the *Romans* made War first upon the latter,



The End of the First Volume.

FASTI

FASTI CONSULARES:

O R

A Chronological Table, &c.

WE think it necessary to add to the end of this Volume, a Chronological Table of the Kings, Consuls, Tribunes of the People, Quæstors, Ædiles, Censors, Triumphs, and Lustra, recorded in Antiquity, from Romulus, to the Year of Rome 361. with which this first part of our Roman History concludes. The Reader will reap these two considerable Advantages from it. 1. This Chronological Table will shew him the Succession and Names of the Magistrates, at one view, without his being obliged to have recourse to the Body of the History. And 2dly, He will here find several inferior Magistrates, whose Names are omitted by the Historians, and mentioned only in the Fasti Capitolini : So that this Table will be a sort of Supplement, containing what is wanting in the antient Memoirs. Our only Concern is, that we cannot present him with these valuable Monuments entire ; since we have only the Fragments of them transmitted to us. We shall observe the same Method in the succeeding Volumes.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

KINGS OF ROME.



KINGS OF ROME.

Year	
1.	ROMULUS. He triumphs over the <i>Caninenses</i> , <i>Crustumini</i> , and <i>Antemnates</i> .
5.	He makes himself a Trophy of the Spoils he took from King <i>Acron</i> , whom he killed with his own Hand.
16.	He triumphs over the <i>Camerini</i> .
17.	He triumphs over the <i>Veientes</i> , and <i>Fidenates</i> .
38.	INTERREGNUM.
40.	NUMA POMPILIUS.
83.	TULLUS HOSTILIUS.
87.	He triumphs over the <i>Albans</i> .
91.	He triumphs over the <i>Sabines</i> .
114.	ANCUS MARCIUS.
115.	He triumphs over the <i>Veientes</i> .
120.	He triumphs over the <i>Sabines</i> .
139.	TARQUIN THE FIRST.
150.	He triumphs over the <i>Latins</i> .
160.	He triumphs over the <i>Hetrurians</i> .
171.	He triumphs over the <i>Sabines</i> .
176.	SERVIUS TULLIUS.
182.	He triumphs over the <i>Hetrurians</i> .
186.	He triumphs over the <i>Hetrurians</i> a second time.

Year	
200.	He establishes the <i>Census</i> , and <i>Lustrum</i> , of which there were four in his Reign.
220.	TARQUIN THE PROUD.
227.	He triumphs over the <i>Volsci</i> .
228.	He triumphs over the <i>Sabines</i> .
243.	He is dethroned, and driven from Rome.

CONSULS.

1. Consulship,	L. JUNIUS BRUTUS.
Year 244.	L. TARQUINIUS COLLATINUS.
	PUBLIUS VALERIUS POPLICOLA, is substituted in the room of L. TARQUINIUS, who abdicates.
	SPURIUS LUCRETIVUS TRICIPITINUS, fills BRUTUS's Place, who was killed before his Office expired.
	HORATIUS PULVILLUS is chosen in the room of SPURIUS, who died in his Office.
	PUBLIUS VALERIUS POPLICOLA triumphs over the <i>Veientes</i> and <i>Tarquinians</i> .

Quæstors.

Quæstors. P. VETURIUS GEMINUS.
M. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.

2. *Consulship*, P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a
Year 245. second time.
TITUS LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS.

THE FIFTH LUTRUM.

Quæstors. Q. CLOELIUS SICULUS.
A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.

3. *Consulship*, P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a
Year 246. third time.
M. HORATIUS PULVILLUS,
a second time.

Quæstors. T. ÆBUTIUS ELVA.
A. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGIL-
LENSIS.

4. *Consulship*, SPURIUS LARTIUS FLA-
Year 247. VUS.
T. HERMINIUS AQUILINUS.

Quæstors. M. TULLIUS LONGUS.
T. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS.

5. *Consulship*, M. VALERIUS.
Year 248. P. POSTHUMIUS TUBER-
TUS.
MARCUS VALERIUS, and
PUBLIUS POSTHUMIUS tri-
umph over the *Sabines*.

Quæstors. T. LARTIUS FLAVUS.
SER. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS.

6. *Consulship*, P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a
Year 249. fourth time.
T. LUCRETIUS TRICIPITI-
NUS, a second time.
VALERIUS triumphs over the
Sabines and *Veientes*.

Quæstors. P. SERVILIUS PRISCUS.
A. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS CÆ-
LIMONTANUS.

7. *Consulship*, P. POSTHUMIUS TUBER-
Year 250. TUS, a second time.
AGRIPPA MENENIUS LANA-
TUS, who triumphs over the
Sabines.
POSTHUMIUS receives only the
Honours of an *Ovation*.

Quæstors. T. VETURIUS GEMINUS.
POSTHUMIUS COMINIUS AURUN-
CUS.

8. *Consulship*, OPITER VIRGINIUS TRI-
Year 251. COSTUS.
SPURIUS CASSIUS VISCEL-
LINUS, who triumphs over the
Sabines.

Quæstors. P. SERVILIUS PRISCUS.
T. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.

9. *Consulship*, POSTHUMUS COMINIUS
Year 252. AURUNCUS.
T. LARTIUS FLAVUS.

THE SIXTH LUTRUM.

Quæstors. P. MINUGIUS AUGURINUS.
Q. SULPITIUS CAMERINUS COR-
NUTUS.

10. *Consulship*, SER. SULPITIUS CAMERI-
Year 253. NUS.
M. TULLIUS LONGUS, who
dies in his *Consulship*.

Quæstors. C. JULIUS IULUS.
M. VALERIUS VOLVUSUS.

11. *Consulship*, P. VETURIUS GEMINUS.
Year 254. T. ÆBUTIUS ELVA.

Quæstors. RUFUS MAMERCINUS RUTILUS,
SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.

12. *Consulship*, T. LARTIUS FLAVUS, a se-
Year 255. cond time.
Q. CLOELIUS SICULUS.

Dictator. T. LARTIUS FLAVUS.

Gen. of Horse. SP. CASSIUS VISCCELLINUS.

Quæstors. M. CLAUDIUS CRASSINUS RE-
GILLENIS.
L. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.

13. *Consulship*, A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATI-
Year 256. NUS.
M. MINUCIUS AUGURI-
NUS.

Quæstors. C. AQUILIUS TUSCUS.
VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS RUTI-
LUS.

14. *Consulship*.

14. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 257.</i>	A. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENSIS. TITUS VIRGINIUS TRI- COSTUS.	<i>Tribunes of the</i> <i>People.</i>	SP. ICILIUS RUGA. C. LICINIUS CALVUS.
<i>Dictator,</i>	A. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENSIS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	L. SICINNIUS BELLUTUS. L. JUNIUS BRUTUS BUBULCUS.
<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	T. ÆBUTIUS ELVA. A. POSTHUMIUS triumphs over the <i>Latins</i> .	<i>Quæstors.</i>	C. JULIUS IULUS. SP. FURIUS FUSUS.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	T. SICINIUS SABINUS. Q. FABIVS VIBULANUS.	19. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 262.</i>	M. MINUCIUS AUGURI- NUS, a second time. A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATI- NUS, a second time.
15. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 258.</i>	APPIUS CLAUDIUS SABI- NUS REGILLENSIS. P. SERVILIUS PRISCUS.	<i>Tribunes of the</i> <i>People.</i>	L. SICINNIUS BELLUTUS. M. DECIUS MUS.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	SER. CORNELIUS MALUGI- NENSIS. L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	SP. ICILIUS RUGA. L. JUNIUS BRUTUS.
16. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 259.</i>	A. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS CÆLIMONTANUS. T. VETURIUS GEMINUS CICURINUS.	<i>Quæstors.</i>	CN. MANLIUS CINCINNATUS. MARC. HORATIUS PULVILLUS.
<i>Dictator.</i>	MANIUS VALERIUS.	20. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 263.</i>	Q. SULPICIUS CAMERI- NUS. SP. LARTIUS FLAVUS, a second time.
<i>Gen. of Horse,</i>	Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS. MANIUS VALERIUS tri- umphs over the <i>Sabines</i> .	<i>Tribunes of the</i> <i>People.</i>	P. MÆNIUS. L. ALBINIUS.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	C. MINUTIUS AUGURINUS. SEX. FURIUS FUSUS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	C. SICINNIUS BELLUTUS. P. LICINIUS CALVUS.
17. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 260.</i>	SP. CASSIUS VISCELLI- NUS, a second time. POSTHUMUS COMINIUS AURUNCUS, a second time.	<i>Quæstors.</i>	T. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS RU- TILUS. C. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS AHALA.
THE SEVENTH LUSTRUM.			
<i>Tribunes of the</i> <i>People.</i>	L. SICINNIUS BELLUTUS. L. JUNIUS BRUTUS BUBULCUS.	<i>Tribunes of the</i> <i>People.</i>	C. SICINNIUS BELLUTUS. L. ICILIUS RUGA.
<i>Plebeian Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	C. MUCIUS CORDUS SCÆVOLA. Q. MUCIUS CORDUS SCÆ- VOLA.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	C. ICILIUS RUGA. C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA. M. FABIVS VIBULANUS.	<i>Quæstors.</i>	C. CORNELIUS LENTULUS. C. HORATIUS PULVILLUS ES- QUILINUS.
18. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 261.</i>	T. GEGANIUS MACERI- NUS. P. MINUCIUS AUGURI- NUS.	21. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 264.</i>	C. JULIUS IULUS. P. PINARIUS RUFUS MA- MERCINUS.
		<i>Tribunes of the</i> <i>People.</i>	C. SICINNIUS BELLUTUS. L. ICILIUS RUGA.
		<i>Ædiles.</i>	C. ICILIUS RUGA. C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS.
		<i>Quæstors.</i>	C. CORNELIUS LENTULUS. C. HORATIUS PULVILLUS ES- QUILINUS.
		22. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 265.</i>	SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS. SEX. FURIUS FUSUS.
		<i>Tribunes of the</i> <i>People.</i>	M. PLÆTORIUS. P. LICINIUS CALVUS.
		<i>Ædiles.</i>	L. SICINNIUS BELLUTUS. C. LICINIUS CALVUS.

<i>Quæstors.</i>	T. MENENIUS LANATUS. A. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS RUTILIUS.	<i>Quæstors.</i>	A. MANLIUS VULSO. VOPISCUS JULIUS IULUS.
23. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 266.</i>	C. AQUILIUS TUSCUS. T. SICINIUS SABINUS, who triumphs over the <i>Volsci</i> . AQUILIUS defeats the <i>Hernici</i> , and has only the Honour of an <i>Ovation</i> .	27. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 270.</i>	M. FABIVS VIBULANUS. L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA POTITUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. ALBINIUS. P. LICINIUS CALVUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. MÆNIUS. P. LICINIUS CALVUS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	L. ICILIUS RUGA. C. ICILIUS RUGA.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	C. LICINIUS CALVUS. M. TARQUITIUS LAURENTINUS.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	SP. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS. Q. SEXTIUS CAPITOLINUS.	<i>Quæstors.</i>	P. FURIUS FUSUS. APP. CLAUDIUS SABINUS REGILLENSIS.
24. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 267.</i>	SP. CASSIUS VISCELLINUS, a third time. PROCULUS VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS RUTILUS. SP. CASSIUS triumphs over the <i>Volsci</i> and <i>Hernici</i> .	28. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 271.</i>	C. JULIUS IULUS. Q. FABIVS VIBULANUS, a second time.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. RABULEIUS. M. SILIUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. ALBINIUS. P. TARQUITIUS LAURENTINUS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS. M. PLÆTORIUS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	C. RABULEIUS. C. MÆNIUS.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS. L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS FUSUS.	<i>Quæstors.</i>	L. PINARIUS RUFUS MAMERCINUS. T. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
25. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 268.</i>	Q. FABIVS VIBULANUS. SER. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS COSSUS.	29. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 272.</i>	K. FABIVS VIBULANUS, a second time. SP. FURIUS FUSUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA. M. TARQUITIUS LAURENTINUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	SP. ICILIUS RUGA. L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	C. LICINIUS CALVUS. C. RABULEIUS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	M. TITINIUS. P. DECIUS MUS.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	K. FABIVS VIBULANUS. L. VALERIUS POTITUS.	<i>Quæstors.</i>	A. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS CALIMONTANUS. Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS.
26. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 269.</i>	L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS. K. FABIVS VIBULANUS.	30. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 273.</i>	CN. MANLIUS CINCINNATUS. M. FABIVS VIBULANUS, a second time.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	M. TITINIUS. C. SICINNIUS BELLUTUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	TI. PONTIFICIUS. C. RABULEIUS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	L. ALBINIUS. M. SILIUS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	L. ALBINUS. P. TARQUITIUS LAURENTINUS.
		<i>Quæstors.</i>	T. NUMICIUS PRISCUS. M. VOLUMNIUS AMINCIUS.
			31. <i>Consulship,</i>

31. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 274.</i>	K. FABIVS VIBVLANVS, a third time. T. VIRGINIVS TRICOSTVS RUTILVS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	M. DECIVS MVS. P. MUCIVS SCÆVOLÆ.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. JUNIVS BVBVLCVS. C. ICILIVS RUGA.	<i>Quæstors.</i>	SP. FURIVS MEDVLLINVS FV- SUS. M. PAPIRIVS MUGILLANVS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	SP. ICILIVS RUGA. M. DECIVS MVS.	35. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 278.</i>	P. VALERIVS POPLICOLA. C. NAVTIVS RUTILVS. VALERIVS triumphs over the <i>Veientes and Sabines.</i>
<i>Quæstors.</i>	M. MINVCIVS AVGVRI NVS. P. MINVCIVS AVGVRI NVS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. CÆDICIVS. T. STATIVS.
32. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 275.</i>	L. ÆMILIVS MAMERCIVS, a second time. CAIVS SERVILIVS STRVC- TUS AHALA, who did not finish the Year, but abdicated, or died before it ended. C. CORNELIVS COSSVS was put in his room.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	L. FLAVVLEIVS. Q. MUCIVS SCÆVOLÆ.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	P. DECIVS MVS. M. FLAVVLEIVS.	<i>Quæstors.</i>	C. FOSSI VS FLACCINATOR. Q. MUCIVS SCÆVOLÆ.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	T. PONTIFICIVS. L. GENVCI VS AVENTINENSIS.	36. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 279.</i>	L. FURIVS MEDVLLINVS FVSUS. A. MANLIVS VVLSO.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	L. VOLUMNI VS AMINTINVS. M. TULLIVS LONGVS.	THE EIGHTH LSTRVM. MANLIVS conquers the <i>Ve-</i> <i>ientes</i> , and receives the Ho- nours of an <i>Ovation</i> .	
<i>Proconsuls.</i>	K. FABIVS VIBVLANVS. SP. FURIVS FVSUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	K. ATINI VS LONGVS. Q. MUCIVS SCÆVOLÆ.
33. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 276.</i>	C. HORATI VS PVLVIL- LVS. T. MENENIVS LANATVS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	T. PONTIFICIVS. Q. CONSIDIVS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. RABVLEIVS. L. FLAVVLEIVS.	<i>Quæstors.</i>	A. POSTHVMI VS ALBVS REGIL- LENSIS. L. ÆBVTIVS ELVA.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	M. FLAVVLEIVS. C. ICILIVS RUGA.	37. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 280.</i>	L. ÆMILIVS MAMERCIVS, a third time. VOPISCVS JULIVS IIV- LVS.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	T. ÆBVTIVS ELVA. SP. POSTHVMI VS ALBVS RE- GILLENSIS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	CN. GENVCI VS. C. ICILIVS RUGA.
<i>Proconsul.</i>	K. FABIVS VIBVLANVS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	T. GENVCI VS AVENTINENSIS. L. CÆDICIVS.
34. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 277.</i>	A. VIRGINIVS TRICOSTVS RUTILVS. P. SERVILIVS, STRVC- TUS.	<i>Quæstors.</i>	P. SERVILIVS PRISCVS. L. LVCRETIVS TRICIPITINVS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	T. GENVCI VS AVENTINENSIS. Q. CONSIDIVS.	38. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 281.</i>	L. PINARI VS RVFVS MA- MERCINVS. P. FURIVS FVSUS.

Tribunes

<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	VOLERO PUBLILIUS PHILO. C. LÆTORIUS.	42. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 285.</i>	T. QUINCTIUS BARBATU CAPITOLINUS, a second time. Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS. T. QUINCTIUS triumphs o ver the <i>Volsci</i> , and <i>Antiates</i> .
<i>Ædiles.</i>	Q. CONSIDIUS. T. STATIUS.		
<i>Quæstors.</i>	T. VETURIUS GEMINUS CI- CURINUS. P. VOLUMNIUS AMINTINUS GALLUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. PONTIFICIUS. C. CONSIDIUS. L. ROMULEIUS. L. TITINIUS. M. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
39. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 282.</i>	AP. CLAUDIUS SABINUS REGILLENSIS. T. QUINCTIUS BARBA- TUS CAPITOLINUS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	C. SICINNIUS BELLUTUS. M. DUILIUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	VOLERO PUBLILIUS PHILO. C. LÆTORIUS.	<i>Quæstors.</i>	Q. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS. SP. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS CÆLIMONTANUS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA. K. ATINIUS LONGUS.	43. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 286.</i>	TI. ÆMILIUS MAMERCI- NUS, a second time. Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	SER. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS. C. CLAUDIUS SABINUS REGIL- LENSIS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. DUILIUS. C. MÆVIUS. T. STATIUS. M. DECIUS. L. CÆDICIUS.
40. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 283.</i>	L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, POTITUS, a second time. T. ÆMILIUS MAMERCI- NUS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	L. NUMITORIUS. SP. ICILIUS RUGA.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. SICINNIUS BELLUTUS. L. NUMITORIUS. M. DUILIUS. L. MÆCILIUS. SP. ICILIUS RUGA.	<i>Quæstors.</i>	T. ROMILIUS ROCUS VATI- CANUS. C. VETURIUS CICURINUS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	L. CÆDICIUS. T. STATIUS.	44. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 287.</i>	SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENSIS. Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS, a second time.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	L. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS. L. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	VOLERO PUBLILIUS PHILO. M. POMPILIUS. M. MANILIUS. C. SICINNIUS BELLUTUS. P. SILIUS.
41. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 284.</i>	A. VIRGINIUS TRICOS- TUS CÆLIMONTANUS. T. NUMICIUS PRISCUS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	L. MÆCILIUS. CN. APRONIUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	CN. APRONIUS. P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA. K. ATINIUS LONGUS. M. DECIUS. C. MÆNIUS.	<i>Quæstors.</i>	A. ÆTERNIUS FONTINALIS. SEX. QUINTILIUS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	VOLERO PUBLILIUS PHILO. C. LÆTORIUS.	45. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 288.</i>	Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS, a second time. T. QUINCTIUS BARBATUS CAPITOLINUS, a third time.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	L. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS. C. HORATIUS PULVILLUS.		

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THE NINTH LUSTRUM.

<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	Q. DECIUS MUS. M. METILIUS. P. LÆTORIUS. M. PONTIFICIUS. M. CONSIDIUS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	C. PONTIFICIUS. L. TITINIUS.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	SP. TARPEIUS MONTANUS CA- PITOLINUS. P. HORATIUS TERGEMINUS.
46. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 289.</i>	A. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENSIS. SP. FURIUS MEDULLINUS FUSUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS. L. CÆDICIIUS. L. MÆNIUS. CN. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS. M. CÆDICIIUS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	M. POMPILIUS. C. DUILIUS.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	I. SESTIUS CAPITOLINUS. T. MENENIUS LANATUS.
<i>Proconsul.</i>	Q. QUINCTIUS BARBATUS CA- PITOLINUS.
47. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 290.</i>	P. SERVILIUS PRISCUS. L. ÆBUTIUS ELVA. Both die before the Year of their <i>Consulship</i> ends.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. LICINIUS. C. VOLSCIUS. C. JUNIUS BRUTUS BUBULCUS. M. SELLIIUS. P. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	M. METILIUS. M. PONTIFICIUS.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	AP. CLAUDIUS SABINUS RE- GILLENSIS. SP. VETURIUS CRASSUS CI- CURINUS.
48. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 291.</i>	L. LUCRETIUS TRICIPI- TINUS, who triumphs over the <i>Volsci</i> , and <i>Æqui</i> . T. VETURIUS GEMINUS CICURINUS, who receives the Honours of an <i>Ovation</i> .

<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	SEX. TITIUS. C. TERENTIUS ARSA. M. DECIUS MUS. C. FESCENNIUS. M. CONSIDIUS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	L. MÆNIUS. CN. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	T. GENUCIUS AUGURINUS. M. CORNELIUS MALUGINEN- SIS.
49. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 292.</i>	P. VOLUMNIUS AMINTI- NUS GALLUS. SER. SULPICIUS CAME- RINUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	A. VIRGINIUS. M. VOLSCIUS FICTOR. C. NUMITORIUS. L. MÆCILIUS. L. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	C. TERENTIUS ARSA. M. SELLIIUS.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	M. ANTONIUS MERENDA. M. SERGIUS.
50. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 293.</i>	M. VALERIUS POPLICO- LA, a second time. C. CLAUDIUS SABINUS REGILLENSIS. VALERIUS dies in his Office. L. QUINCTIUS CINCIN- NATUS, succeeds him.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	A. VIRGINIUS. M. VOLSCIUS FICTOR. C. NUMITORIUS. L. SICINIUS BELLUTUS. L. MÆCILIUS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	SEX. TITIUS. M. DECIUS MUS.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	M. HORATIUS BARBATUS. LAR. HERMINIUS AQUILINUS.
51. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 294.</i>	Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS, a third time. L. CORNELIUS MALUGI- NENSIS COSSUS. The former triumphs over the <i>Æqui</i> and <i>Volsci</i> . The lat- ter over the <i>Volsci</i> and <i>An- tiates</i> .

THE TENTH LUSTRUM.

SECULAR GAMES.

<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	A. VIRGINIUS. M. VOLSCIUS FICTOR. C. NUMITORIUS. L. MÆCILIUS. L. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. ICILIUS RUGA. L. ALLIENIUS. K. DUILIUS. Q. PÆTELIUS LIBO VISOLUS. M. OPPIUS. SEX. MANILIUS. C. FULCINIUS. L. ROSCIUS. SP. ANTIUS. P. LICINIUS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	M. CONSIDIUS. C. FESCENNIUS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	M. CLAUDIUS CICERO. M' MARCIUS RUTILUS.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	A. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS COSSUS. C. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS A- HALA.	<i>Quæstors.</i>	C. JULIUS IULUS. FURIUS FUSUS.
52. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 295.</i>	C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS, a second time. L. MINUCIUS AUGURI- NUS, who is forced to ab- dicate.	55. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 298.</i>	T. ROMILIUS ROCUS VA- TICANUS. C. VETURIUS CICURI- NUS.
<i>Dictator.</i>	L. QUINCTIUS CINCIN- NATUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. ICILIUS RUGA. L. ALLIENIUS. Q. PÆTELIUS. P. LICINIUS. SP. ANTIUS. M. OPPIUS. L. ROSCIUS. K. DUILIUS. C. FULCINIUS. SEX. MANILIUS.
<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	L. TARQUINIUS FLACCUS. QUINCTIUS triumphs over the <i>Æqui</i> .	<i>Ædiles.</i>	M. SILIUS. C. POMPILIUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	A. VIRGINIUS. M. VOLSCIUS. C. NUMITORIUS. L. SICINIUS BELLUTUS. L. MÆCILIUS.	<i>Quæstors.</i>	M. GENUCIUS AUGURINUS. A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	C. VOLSCIUS. P. PUBLILIUS PHILO.	56. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 299.</i>	SP. TARPEIUS MONTA- NUS CAPITOLINUS. A. ÆTERNIUS FONTINA- LIS.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS. T. QUINCTIUS BARBATUS CA- PITOLINUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. SICINIUS DENTATUS. C. CLAUDIUS CICERO. SP. OPPIUS CORNICEN. SEX. TITIUS. T. ALBINUS. M. TITINIUS. L. MAMILIUS VITULUS. M' MARCIUS RUTILIUS. M. CLAUDIUS CICERO. M. TARQUITIUS LAURENTI- NUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	A. VIRGINIUS. M. VOLSCIUS. C. NUMITORIUS. L. MÆCILIUS. L. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	L. ALLIENIUS. A. VIRGINIUS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	SEX. TITIUS. C. JUNIUS BRUTUS BUBULCUS.	<i>Quæstors.</i>	
<i>Quæstors.</i>	M. FABIUS VIBULANUS. M. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.		
54. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 297.</i>	M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS. SP. VIRGINIUS TRICOS- TUS CAPITOLINUS.		

<i>Quæstors.</i>	L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA POTITUS. C. CURTIUS PHILO.	C. JULIUS IULUS. A. MANLIUS VULSO. SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENsis. P. SESTIUS CAPITOLINUS. SER. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS. T. ROMILIUS ROCUS VATICANUS. P. HORATIUS TERGEMINUS.
57. <i>Consulship, Year 300.</i>	SEX. QUINTILIUS, who dies before his <i>Consulship</i> expires. P. HORATIUS TERGEMINUS.	
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. APRONIUS. C. MEMMIUS. C. MÆLIUS. C. MÆNIUS. P. FURIUS. Q. ROMULEIUS. M. SILIUS. L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA. M. TERENTIUS ARSA. N. OTACILIUS.	2. <i>Decemvirate, Year 303.</i> APPIUS CLAUDIUS CRASSINUS, a second time. Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS. M. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS. T. ANTONIUS MERENDA. M. SERGIUS. Q. PÆTELIUS LIBO VISOLUS. L. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS. M' RABULEIUS. K. DUILIUS. SP. OPPIUS CORNICEN.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	L. ICILIUS RUGA. Q. PÆTELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.	
<i>Quæstors.</i>	L. ATILIUS LONGUS. L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.	3. <i>Decemvirate, Year 304.</i> APPIUS CLAUDIUS CRASSINUS, a third time, with the same Collegues as in the second <i>Decemvirate</i> . Being forced to give Place to new <i>Consuls</i> , they abdicated,
58. <i>Consulship, Year 301.</i>	P. SESTIUS CAPITOLINUS. T. MENENIUS LANATUS.	
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	SEX. TITIUS. C. FULINIUS. L. FULCINIUS. P. TARQUITIUS LAURENTINUS. T. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS. M. OPPIUS. M. JUVENTIUS. C. POMPILIUS. C. SEXTIUS. C. RABULEIUS.	60. <i>Consulship, Year 304.</i> L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA POTITUS. He triumphs over the <i>Æqui</i> . M. HORATIUS BARBATUS. He triumphs over the <i>Sabines</i> .
<i>Ædiles.</i>	K. DUILIUS. SP. OPPIUS CORNICEN.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i> M. VIRGINIUS. L. ICILIUS RUGA. P. NUMITORIUS. M. DUILIUS. C. SICINIUS BELLUTUS. M. TITINIUS. C. APRONIUS. C. OPPIUS. M. POMPONIUS. P. VILLIUS.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	L. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS. M' RABULEIUS.	<i>Ædiles.</i> C. CLAUDIUS CICERO. M. TITINIUS.
59. <i>Consulship, Year 302.</i>	AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSINUS. T. GENUCIUS AUGURINUS. They abdicated the <i>Consulship</i> to make Way for the <i>Decemviri</i> .	<i>Quæstors.</i> AGRIPPA MENENIUS LANATUS. L. JULIUS IULUS.
1. <i>Decemvirate, Year 302.</i>	AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSINUS. T. GENUCIUS AUGURINUS. SP. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS.	61. <i>Consulship, Year 305.</i> LAR. HERMINIUS AQUILINUS. T. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS CÆLIMONTANUS.

Tribunes

THE TENTH LUSTRUM.

SECULAR GAMES.

Tribunes of the People. A. VIRGINIUS.
M. VOLSCIUS FICTOR.
C. NUMITORIUS.
L. MÆCILIUS.
L. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.

Ædiles. M. CONSIDIUS.
C. FESCENNIUS.

Quæstors. A. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS
COSSUS.
C. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS A-
HALA.

52. *Consulship,* C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS, a
Year 295. second time.
L. MINUCIUS AUGURI-
NUS, who is forced to ab-
dicate.

Dictator. L. QUINCTIUS CINCIN-
NATUS.

Gen. of Horse. L. TARQUINIUS FLACCUS.
QUINCTIUS triumphs over
the *Æqui*.

Tribunes of the People. A. VIRGINIUS.
M. VOLSCIUS.
C. NUMITORIUS.
L. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.
L. MÆCILIUS.

Ædiles. C. VOLSCIUS.
P. PUBLILIUS PHILO.

Quæstors. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.
T. QUINCTIUS BARBATUS CA-
PITOLINUS.

53. *Consulship,* C. HORATIUS PULVIL-
Year 296. LUS.
Q. MINUCIUS AUGURI-
NUS.

Tribunes of the People. A. VIRGINIUS.
M. VOLSCIUS.
C. NUMITORIUS.
L. MÆCILIUS.
L. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.

Ædiles. SEX. TITIUS.
C. JUNIUS BRUTUS BUBULCUS.

Quæstors. M. FABIUS VIBULANUS.
M. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.

54. *Consulship,* M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.
Year 297. SP. VIRGINIUS TRICOS-
TUS CAPITOLINUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. ICILIUS RUGA.
L. ALLIENIUS.
K. DUILIUS.
Q. PÆTELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
M. OPPIUS.
SEX. MANILIUS.
C. FULCINIUS.
L. ROSCIUS.
SP. ANTIUS.
P. LICINIUS.

Ædiles. M. CLAUDIUS CICERO.
M' MARCIUS RUTILUS.

Quæstors. C. JULIUS IULUS.
FURIUS FUSUS.

55. *Consulship,* T. ROMILIUS ROCUS VA-
Year 298. TICANUS.
C. VETURIUS CICURI-
NUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. ICILIUS RUGA.
L. ALLIENIUS.
Q. PÆTELIUS.
P. LICINIUS.
SP. ANTIUS.
M. OPPIUS.
L. ROSCIUS.
K. DUILIUS.
C. FULCINIUS.
SEX. MANILIUS.

Ædiles. M. SILIUS.
C. POMPILIUS.

Quæstors. M. GENUCIUS AUGURINUS.
A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.

56. *Consulship,* SP. TARPEIUS MONTA-
Year 299. NUS CAPITOLINUS.
A. ÆTERNIUS FONTINA-
LIS.

Tribunes of the People. L. SICINIUS DENTATUS.
C. CLAUDIUS CICERO.
SP. OPPIUS CORNICEN.
SEX. TITIUS.
T. ALBINUS.
M. TITINIUS.
L. MAMILIUS VITULUS.
M' MARCIUS RUTILIUS.
M. CLAUDIUS CICERO.
M. TARQUITIUS LAURENTI-
NUS.

Ædiles. L. ALLIENIUS.
A. VIRGINIUS.

Quæstors.

Quæstors. L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA POTITUS.
C. CURTIUS PHILO.

57. *Consulship,* SEX. QUINTILIUS, who
Year 300. dies before his *Consulship* expires.
P. HORATIUS TERGEMINUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. APRONIUS.
C. MEMMIUS.
C. MÆLIUS.
C. MÆNIUS.
P. FURIUS.
Q. ROMULEIUS.
M. SILIUS.
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.
M. TERENTIUS ARSA.
N. OTACILIUS.

Ædiles. L. ICILIUS RUGA.
Q. PÆTELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.

Quæstors. L. ATILIUS LONGUS.
L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.

58. *Consulship,* P. SESTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
Year 301. T. MENENIUS LANATUS.

Tribunes of the People. SEX. TITIUS.
C. FULINIUS.
L. FULCINIUS.
P. TARQUITIUS LAURENTINUS.
T. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
M. OPPIUS.
M. JUVENTIUS.
C. POMPILIUS.
C. SEXTIUS.
C. RABULEIUS.

Ædiles. K. DUILIUS.
SP. OPPIUS CORNICEN.

Quæstors. L. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.
M' RABULEIUS.

59. *Consulship,* AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSINUS.
Year 302. T. GENUCIUS AUGURINUS.
They abdicated the *Consulship* to make Way for the *Decemviri*.

1. *Decemvirate.* AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSINUS.
Year 302. T. GENUCIUS AUGURINUS.
SP. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS.

C. JULIUS IULUS.
A. MANLIUS VULSO.
SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENsis.
P. SESTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
SER. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS.
T. ROMILIUS ROCUS VATICANUS.
P. HORATIUS TERGEMINUS.

2. *Decemvirate.* APPIUS CLAUDIUS CRASSINUS,
Year 303. a second time.
Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS.
M. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS.
T. ANTONIUS MERENDA.
M. SERGIUS.
Q. PÆTELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
L. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
M' RABULEIUS.
K. DUILIUS.
SP. OPPIUS CORNICEN.

3. *Decemvirate.* APPIUS CLAUDIUS CRASSINUS,
Year 304. a third time, with the same Collegues as in the second *Decemvirate*. Being forced to give Place to new *Consuls*, they abdicated,

60. *Consulship,* L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA
Year 304. POTITUS. He triumphs over the *Æqui*.
M. HORATIUS BARBATUS.
He triumphs over the *Sabines*.

Tribunes of the People. M. VIRGINIUS.
L. ICILIUS RUGA.
P. NUMITORIUS.
M. DUILIUS.
C. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.
M. TITINIUS.
C. APRONIUS.
C. OPPIUS.
M. POMPONIUS.
P. VILLIUS.

Ædiles. C. CLAUDIUS CICERO.
M. TITINIUS.

Quæstors. AGRIPPA MENENIUS LANATUS.
L. JULIUS IULUS.

61. *Consulship,* LAR. HERMINIUS AQUILINUS.
Year 305. T. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS CÆLIMONTANUS.

Tribunes

<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	According to Livy.	SP. TARPEIUS MONTANUS CAPITOLINUS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	C. SICINIUS BELLUTUS. C. APRONIUS.
		A. ÆTERNIUS FONTINALIS.	<i>Quæstors.</i>	L. VALERIUS POTITUS. MAM. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
		L. TREBONIUS ASPER.		
		Q. CONSIDIUS.		
		L. ALLIENIUS.	64. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 308.</i>	M. GENUCIUS AUGURINUS. C. CURTIUS PHILO.
		M' MARCIUS.		
		C. FULCINIUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. CANULEIUS. C. FURIUS. C. CLAUDIUS CICERO. L. FURIUS. L. OPPIUS. TI. PONTIFICIUS. M. TITINIUS. C. VIRGINIUS. CN. APULEIUS PANSA. T. LATINIUS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>		L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA. P. TARQUINIUS LAURENTINUS.		
<i>Quæstors.</i>		C. SERGIUS. M. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.		
62. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 306.</i>		M. GEGANIUS MACERINUS. C. JULIUS IULUS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	P. VILLIUS. C. OPPIUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>		P. VILLIUS. C. OPPIUS. SP. ANTIUS. C. POMPILIUS. C. ANTIUS. L. VILLIUS. SEX. MANILIUS. M. SILIUS. C. VIRGINIUS. M. ICILIUS RUGA.	<i>Quæstors.</i>	C. FOSLIUS FLACINATOR. POSTHUMIUS EBUTIUS ELVA.
			1. <i>Military Tribuneship.</i> <i>Year 309.</i>	A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS. L. ATILIUS LONGUS. T. CLOELIUS SICULUS. They all three abdicated.
			65. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 309.</i>	L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS. L. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>		M. TITINIUS. M. POMPONIUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	N. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS. SP. ICILIUS RUGA. PUB. NUMITORIUS. M. POMPONIUS. A. APRONIUS. L. CÆDICIUS. C. SICINIUS BELLUTUS. SEX. MANLIUS. C. POMPILIUS. Q. MÆLIUS.
<i>Quæstors.</i>		M. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS. C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.		
63. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 307.</i>		T. QUINCTIUS BARBATUS CAPITOLINUS, a fourth time. AGRIPPA FURIUS FUSUS.		
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>		L. ALLIENIUS. P. NUMITORIUS. L. TREBONIUS ASPER. L. FULCINIUS. M' ALLIENIUS. M' MARCIUS. M. POMPONIUS. L. ROSCIUS. M. CLAUDIUS CICERO. P. SCAPTIUS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	L. TREBONIUS ASPER. M. ICILIUS RUGA.
			<i>Quæstors.</i>	L. SERGIUS. MAM. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
			66. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 310.</i>	M. GEGANIUS MACERINUS, a second time.

T. QUINCTIUS BARBATUS CAPITOLINUS, a fifth time.

M. GEGANIUS triumphs over the *Volsci*.

First Censors. L. PAPIRIUS MUCILLANUS.
L. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.

THE ELEVENTH LUTRUM.

Tribunes of the People. C. VIRGINIUS.
L. MARCIUS.
C. OPPIUS.
C. ANTIUS.
CN. GENUTIUS.
P. VILLIUS.
L. VILLIUS.
SP. ANTIUS.
L. APRONIUS.
C. LÆTORIUS.

Ædiles. C. CANULEIUS.
N. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS.

Quæstors. L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
L. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS.

67. *Consulship,* M. FABIUS VIBULANUS.
Year 311. POSTHUMUS EBUTIUS
ELVA CORNICEN.

Tribunes of the People. C. PETILLIUS.
C. CLAUDIUS CICERO.
C. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.
L. TREBONIUS ASPER.
L. OPPIUS.
Q. DECIUS MUS.
Q. ROSCIUS.
M. TITINIUS.
M. ALLIENIUS.
Q. TERENTIUS.

Ædiles. C. FURIUS.
L. FURIUS.

Quæstors. L. SERGIUS FIDENAS.
SER. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS.

68. *Consulship,* C. FURIUS PACILUS FU-
Year 312. SUS.
M. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. PETILLIUS.
L. VILLIUS.
N. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS.
M. DUILIUS.
C. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.

K. ATINIUS LONGUS.
C. FURIUS.
P. VIRGINIUS.
L. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.
L. ROMULEIUS.

Ædiles. L. CÆDICIUS.
C. LÆTORIUS.

Quæstors. L. CORNELIUS MALUGINEN-
SIS.
C. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS A-
HALA.

69. *Consulship,* PROCULUS GEGANIUS
Year 313. MACERINUS.
L. MENENIUS LANATUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. MARCIUS.
C. APRONIUS.
C. CANULEIUS.
P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
VOLER. PUBLILIUS.
L. TITINIUS.
CN. APRONIUS.
L. PETILLIUS.
Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
SP. ICILIUS RUGA.

Ædiles. CN. GENUCIUS.
Q. DECIUS MUS.

Quæstors. M. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS RE-
GILLENSIS.
T. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.

70. *Consulship,* T. QUINCTIUS CAPITO-
Year 314. LINUS, a sixth time.
AGRIPPA MENENIUS LA-
NATUS.

Dictator. L. QUINCTIUS CINCIN-
NATUS, a second time.

Gen. of Horse. C. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS A-
HALA.

Tribunes of the People. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS.
SEX. TITINIUS.
C. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.
L. CÆDICIUS.
C. PLÆTORIUS.
C. CONSIDIUS.
Q. ROSCIUS.
L. NUMITORIUS.
L. MÆCILIUS.

Ædiles. C. PETILLIUS.
K. ATINIUS LONGUS.

<i>Quæstors.</i>	P. HORATIUS TERGEMINUS. C. CLAUDIUS SABINUS REGI- LENSIS.	L. CÆDICIIUS. M. MANILIUS. C. APRONIUS. C. MÆNIUS.
<i>2. Military Tri- buneship. Year 315.</i>	MAM. ÆMILIUS MAMERCI- NUS. L. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS. L. JULIUS IULUS.	<i>Ædiles.</i> C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS. SEX. TITINIUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	N. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS. M. POMPILIUS. P. DECIUS MUS. C. RACILIUS. L. CANULEIUS. C. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA. M. GENUCIUS AVENTINEN- SIS. C. DUILIUS. T. STATIUS. C. PONTIFICIUS.	<i>Quæstors.</i> T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS CIN- CINNATUS. A. POSTHUMIUS TUBERTUS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	VOLER PUBLILIUS PHILO. L. ROMULEIUS.	<i>73. Consulship, Year 318.</i> C. JULIUS IULUS, a second time. L. VIRGINIUS TRICOS- TUS.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	M. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR. L. PINARIUS RUFUS MAMER- CINUS.	<i>Dictator.</i> Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS.
<i>71. Consulship, Year 316.</i>	M. GEGANIUS MACERI- NUS, a third time. L. SERGIUS FIDENAS.	<i>Gen. of Horse.</i> POSTHUMIUS EBUTIUS ELVA CORNICEN.
<i>Dictator.</i>	M. ÆMILIUS MAMERCI- NUS. He triumphs over the <i>Veientes, Falisci, and Fide- nates.</i>	<i>Censors.</i> C. FURIUS PACILUS FUSUS. M. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.
<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	L. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.	THE TWELFTH LUSTRUM.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. CANULEIUS. K. ATINIUS. M. ANTIUS. M. TREBONIUS. M. ALBINIUS. SEX. TITINIUS. M. MÆCILIUS. L. STATIUS. A. ALLIENIUS. C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i> C. CANULEIUS. C. CONSIDIUS. C. PLÆTORIUS. C. TITIUS. M. TREBONIUS. L. CANULEIUS. M. CONSIDIUS. C. RACILIUS. M. FULCINIUS. T. STATIUS.
<i>72. Consulship, Year 317.</i>	M. CORNELIUS MALU- GINENSIS. L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.	<i>Ædiles.</i> P. DECIUS MUS. C. PONTIFICIUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	SP. MÆLIUS. C. FURIUS. C. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA. L. MANILIUS. L. SEXTIUS. M. FURIUS.	<i>Quæstors.</i> C. JULIUS MENTO. A. ÆTERNIUS FONTINALIS.
		<i>74. Consulship, Year 319.</i> C. JULIUS IULUS, a second time. L. VIRGINIUS TRICOS- TUS, a second time.
		<i>Dictator.</i> MAM. ÆMILIUS MAMER- CINUS.
		<i>Gen. of Horse.</i> A. POSTHUMIUS TUBERTUS.
		<i>Tribunes of the People.</i> C. FURIUS. M. CÆDICIIUS. L. MÆNIUS. M. PONTIFICIUS. C. VOLSCIUS. L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS. P. SILIUS.

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	P. SILIUS. C. MÆNIUS. M. METILIUS. L. JUNIUS BRUTUS BUBULCUS.	<i>Dictator.</i>	A. POSTHUMIUS TUBERTUS. He triumphs over the <i>Æqui</i> and <i>Volsci</i> .
<i>Ædiles.</i>	M. ALBINIUS. A. ALLIENIUS.	<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	L. JULIUS IULUS.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	T. LARTIUS FLAVUS. HOSTUS LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	A. VIRGINIUS. T. METILIUS. M. METILIUS. C. PONTIFICIUS. C. CÆCILIUS. C. POETELIUS. M. PONTIFICIUS. M. FURIUS. C. PETILLIUS. P. PLATIUS PROCULUS.
<i>3. Military Tribuneship.</i> <i>Year 320.</i>	M. FABIUS VIBULANUS. M. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR. L. SERGIUS FIDENAS.		
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. CANULEIUS. L. CÆDICIUS. C. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA. M. SELLIUS. L. VOLSCIUS FICTOR. K. ATINIUS LONGUS L. CÆDICIUS. M. SILIUS. L. VOLSCIUS. C. TITIUS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	L. JUNIUS BRUTUS BUBULCUS. C. VOLSCIUS.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	N. FABIUS VIBULANUS. T. GENUCIUS AUGURINUS.	<i>Quæstors.</i>	SEX. JULIUS IULUS. Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS.
<i>4. Military Tribuneship.</i> <i>Year 321.</i>	L. PINARIUS RUFUS MAMERCINUS. L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS. SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENSIS.	<i>76. Consulship,</i> <i>Year 323.</i>	C. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS. L. JULIUS IULUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. JUNIUS BRUTUS BUBULCUS. L. SICINIUS BELLUTUS. L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS. M. DECIUS MUS. L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS. SEX. TITINIUS. CN. SICINIUS BELLUTUS. P. DECIUS MUS. L. ÆLIUS PÆTUS. M' MARCIUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	SEX. TITINIUS. M. SELLIUS. M. SILIUS. L. SICINIUS BELLUTUS. P. LÆTORIUS. L. VOLSCIUS FICTOR. C. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA. C. POMPILIUS. L. CÆDITIUS. C. TERENTIUS ARSA.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	M. TREBONIUS. T. STATIUS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	L. VOLSCIUS. M. DECIUS.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	P. SERVILIUS PRISCUS. M. CLAUDIUS SABINUS REGILLENSIS.	<i>77. Consulship,</i> <i>Year 324.</i>	L. SERGIUS FIDENAS, a second time. HOSTUS LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS.
<i>75. Consulship,</i> <i>Year 322.</i>	T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS CINCINNATUS. C. JULIUS MENTO.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. PETILLIUS. C. POETELIUS. SP. MÆLIUS. L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS. M. VOLSCIUS FICTOR. C. NUMITORIUS. SP. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS. C. LÆTORIUS. SP. ANTIUS. M. TREBONIUS.
		<i>Ædiles.</i>	M' MARCIUS. L. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

Quæstors.

<i>Quæstors.</i>	AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS REGILLEN- SIS. SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.	<i>Dictator.</i>	MAM. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a third time. He triumphs over the <i>Veientes</i> and <i>Fidenates</i> .
78. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 325.</i>	T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS CINCINNATUS, a second time. A. CORNELIUS COSSUS. Some Authors place <i>Cossus's</i> Triumph, and the Trophy he made of the Spoils of <i>Tolumnius</i> King of the <i>Veientes</i> , under this Year.	<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	A. CORNELIUS COSSUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	CN. SICINIUS BELLUTUS. C. CÆCILIUS METELLUS. P. PUBLILIUS PHILO, the Son of <i>Publius</i> . P. PUBLILIUS PHILO, the Son of <i>Volero</i> . L. VIRGINIUS. M. FURIUS. M. PLÆTORIUS. L. PUBLILIUS PHILO VULSCUS. Q. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS. L. MAMILIUS VITULUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS. C. LÆTORIUS. SP. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS, the Son of <i>Spurius</i> . L. ÆLIUS PÆTUS. L. ICILIUS RUGA. L. PUBLILIUS PHILO. SPURIUS MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS, the Son of <i>Caius</i> . M. OPPIUS. M. CLAUDIUS CICERO. K. DUILIUS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	P. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS. T. METELLUS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	C. NUMITORIUS. M. VOLSCIUS.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	C. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS. L. MANLIUS VULSO CAPITOLINUS.	<i>Quæstors.</i>	L. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS. T. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
79. <i>Consulship,</i> <i>Year 326.</i>	L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS, a second time. SERVILIUS AHALA.	6. <i>Military Tribuneship.</i> <i>Year 328.</i>	A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS. L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a second time. L. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS, a second time. L. HORATIUS BARBATUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. CÆCILIUS METELLUS. SEX. MAMILIUS. A. VIRGINIUS. C. POMPILIUS. L. CÆDICIUS. M. MANILIUS. M. SILIUS. L. SICINIUS. P. LÆTORIUS. P. LICINIUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. FULCINIUS. L. VIRGINIUS. P. PUBLILIUS PHILO, the Son of <i>Volero</i> . C. POPILIUS. P. NUMITORIUS. SEX. TITIUS. Q. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS. P. PUBLILIUS PHILO, the Son of <i>Publius</i> . M. PLÆTORIUS. M. TITINIUS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	C. TERENTIUS ARSA. M. SELLIVS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	CN. SICINIUS BELLUTUS. L. MAMILIUS VITULUS.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	P. ANTONIUS MERENDA. L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.	<i>Quæstors.</i>	M. MANLIUS VULSO CAPITOLINUS. SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.
5. <i>Military Tribuneship.</i> <i>Year 327.</i>	T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS CINCINNATUS. C. FURIUS PACILUS. M. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLEN- SIS. A. CORNELIUS COSSUS.	7. <i>Military Tribuneship.</i> <i>Year 329.</i>	AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS REGILLEN- SIS. SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS. L. SERGIUS FIDENAS, a second time. SEX. JULIUS IULUS.

Censors. L. JULIUS IULUS.
L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.

THE THIRTEENTH LUSTRUM.

Tribunes of the People. L. VIRGINIUS.
C. POMPILIUS.
SP. OPPIUS CORNICEN.
C. CLAUDIUS CICERO.
C. NUMITORIUS.
L. SICINIUS.
C. POMPILIUS.
SP. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
L. ROSCIUS.
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.

Ædiles. SEX. MANILIUS.
M. MANILIUS.

Quæstors. P. LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS.
C. SERVILIUS AXILLA.

80. *Consulship, Year 330.* C. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.
Q. FABIVS VIBULANUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS.
SP. MÆLIUS.
L. ALBINIUS.
L. TREBONIUS ASPER.
C. MÆLIUS.
M. CLAUDIUS CICERO.
M. OPPIUS.
M. APPULEIUS.
M. PLÆTORIUS.
P. FURIUS.

Ædiles. L. ICILIUS RUGA.
K. DUILIUS.

Quæstors. M. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.
SP. VETURIUS CRASSUS.

8. *Military Tribuneship, Year 331.* L. MANLIUS VULSO CAPITOLINUS.
Q. ANTONIUS MERENDA.
L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.
L. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. HORTENSIUS.
SEX. TEMPANIUS.
L. ANTISTIUS.
A. SELLIVS.
SP. ICILIUS RUGA.
T. ROSCIUS.
M. TERENTIUS.
M. SILIUS.
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.
Q. ROMULEIUS.

Ædiles. C. POPILIUS.
Q. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.

Quæstors. T. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS.
CN. CORNELIUS COSSUS.

81. *Consulship, Year 332.* T. QUINCTIVS CAPITOLINUS BARBATUS.
N. FABIVS VIBULANUS.
He gains a Victory over the *Æqui*, and is honoured with an *Ovation*.

Tribunes of the People. SP. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
SP. OPPIUS CORNICEN.
C. TREBONIUS ASPER.
C. RABULEIUS.
N. OTACILIUS.
L. ALBINIUS.
L. ROSCIUS.
L. ALLIENIUS.
P. SILIUS.
C. CLAUDIUS CICERO.

Ædiles. C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS.
L. HORTENSIUS.

Quæstors. C. VALERIUS POTITUS VOLUSUS.
CN. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS COSSUS.

9. *Military Tribuneship, Year 333.* T. QUINCTIVS PENNUS CININNATUS, a second time.
M. MANLIUS VULSO CAPITOLINUS.
L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a third time.
A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS, a second time.

Tribunes of the People. M. ANTISTIUS.
SEX. POMPILIUS.
M. CANULEIUS.
SP. MÆCILIUS.
C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.
M. APPULEIUS.
L. SICINIUS DENTATUS.
Q. PETILIUS.
L. MARCIUS.
M. POMPONIUS.

Ædiles. SEX. TEMPANIUS.
A. SELLIVS.

Quæstors of Rome. P. CORNELIUS COSSUS.
M. FABIVS AMBUSTUS.

Military Quæstors. Q. CINCINNATUS.
M. CORNELIUS COSSUS.

10. *Military Tribuneship, Year 334.* AGRIPPA MENENIUS LANATUS.
SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.

7 Q P. LU-

	P. LUCRETIVS TRICIPITINUS. C. SERVILIUS AXILLA.		SP. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICCURINUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS. L. ALBINUS. L. ALLIENIUS. C. POPILIUS. M' POMPONIVS. L. HORTENSIVS. C. APPULEIVS. Q. CONSIDIVS. C. MARCIVS. C. OPIIVS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	SP. MÆCILIIVS. SP. METILIIVS. L. ANTISTIVS. M. APPVLEIVS. SEX. TEMPANIVS. SP. ICILIIVS RUGA. L. ALLIENIVS. M. ALLIENIVS. C. PLAATIVS PROCVLVS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	L. ANTISTIVS. SP. ICILIIVS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	C. OPIIVS. M' POMPONIVS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	P. POSTHVMIIVS ALBVS REGIL- LENSIS. L. MENENIVS LANATVS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	L. FURIIVS MEDVLLINVS. C. FURIIVS PACILVS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	M. HORATIVS BARBATVS. L. VALERIVS POPLICOLA.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	CN. FURIIVS PACILVS. Q. FABIIVS AMBUSTVS.
<i>11. Military Tribuneship. Year 335.</i>	M. PAPIRIIVS MUGILLANVS. C. SERVILIIVS AXILLA, a second time. L. SERGIIVS FIDENAS, a third time.	<i>13. Military Tribuneship. Year 337.</i>	A. SEMPRONIIVS ATRATINVS, a third time. M. PAPIRIIVS MUGILLANVS, and SP. NAUTIIVS RUTILVS, a second time. Q. FABIIVS VIBULANVS.
<i>Dictator.</i>	Q. SERVILIIVS PRISCVS FIDENAS, a second time.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	SP. MÆCILIIVS. SP. METILIIVS. M. CANVLEIVS. C. APPVLEIVS. L. OPIIVS. C. ANTISTIVS. Q. PETILIIVS. CN. APPVLEIVS. L. FVLGINIVS. M. JUVENCIVS.
<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	C. SERVILIIVS AXILLA.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	C. MARCIIVS RUTILVS. Q. CONSIDIVS.
<i>Censors.</i>	L. PAPIRIIVS MUGILLANVS. MAM. ÆMILIIVS MAMERCINVS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	C. NAUTIIVS RUTILVS. M' ÆMILIIVS MAMERCINVS.
THE FOURTEENTH LUSTRUM.			
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	SP. MÆCILIIVS. SP. METILIIVS. A. SELLIVS. M. CANVLEIVS. L. VILLIVS. P. SILIVS. T. PONTIFICIVS. P. VILLIVS. L. SICINIIVS. C. POMPILIIVS.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	TI. ÆMILIIVS MAMERCINVS. SEX. QVINTILIIVS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	SEX. POMPILIIVS. M. ANTISTIVS.	<i>14. Military Tribuneship. Year 338.</i>	P. CORNELIVS COSSVS. QVINCTIVS CINCINNATVS. C. VALERIVS VOLVSVS. N. FABIIVS VIBULANVS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	M. CORNELIVS COSSVS. P. SVPICIIVS CAMERINVS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. JUNIIVS BVBVLCVS. M. ANTISTIVS. C. OPIIVS. Q. MÆLIIVS. C. SEXTIVS. L. HORTENSIVS. SEX. POMPILIIVS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	C. SERGIIVS NEPOS. L. VIRGINIVS TRICOSTVS.		C. CA-
<i>12. Military Tribuneship. Year 336.</i>	P. LUCRETIVS TRICIPITINVS. L. SERVILIIVS STRUCTVS. AGRIPPA MENENIVS LANATVS, all three a second time.		

	C. CANULEIUS. T. GENUCIUS.	<i>Military Quæ- stors.</i>	C. FURIUS PACILUS. P. CORNELIUS COSSUS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	C. APRONIUS. M. ANTISTIUS.	83. <i>Consulship, Year 341.</i>	Q. FABIUS AMBUSTUS. C. FURIUS PACILUS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	C. JULIUS IULUS. PROCLUS GEGANIUS MACE- RINUS.	<i>Censors.</i>	L. SERGIUS FIDENAS. Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDE- NAS.
<i>Military Quæ- stors.</i>	C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS. MAM. ÆMILIUS MAMERCI- NUS.	THE FIFTEENTH LUSTRUM.	
15. <i>Military Tribuneship. Year 339.</i>	Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS, a se- cond time. CN. CORNELIUS COSSUS. P. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS, who was killed by his Soldiers. L. VALERIUS POTITUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. ICILIUS RUGA. M. ANTISTIUS. C. CANULEIUS. SEX. POMPILIUS. M. CANULEIUS. L. SEXTIUS. C. SELLIVS. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS. C. SEXTIUS. M. DUILIUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. SEXTIUS. SEX. TEMPANIUS. A. TEMPANIUS. M. CANULEIUS. L. OPPIUS. L. APRONIUS. T. PONTIFICIUS. P. TEMPANIUS. SP. MÆCILIUS. L. CANULEIUS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	SP. TEMPANIUS. Q. PETILIUS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	C. PLAUTUS. M. ALLIENIUS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	P. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS REGIL- LENSIS. M. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	C. SERVILIUS AHALA. P. SESTIUS CAPITOLINUS.	<i>Military Quæ- stors.</i>	M' VALERIUS MAXIMUS. Q. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.
<i>Military Quæ- stors.</i>	T. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS CÆ- LIMONTANUS. C. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS.	84. <i>Consulship, Year 342.</i>	M. PAPIRIUS MUGILLA- NUS. C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.
82. <i>Consulship, Year 340.</i>	M. CORNELIUS COSSUS. L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS, Q. SILIUS. TI. PONTIFICIUS. K. ATINIUS LONGUS. T. VOLER. PUBLILIUS PHILO. Q. TERENTIUS. C. DUILIUS. C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS. TREBIUS. L. PETILIUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	Q. PUBLIUS. C. ANTISTIUS. L. TEMPANIUS. C. MARCIUS RUTILUS. L. RABULEIUS. CN. SELLIVS. L. CÆDICIUS. SEX. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS. T. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS. C. APRONIUS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	L. CÆDICIUS. L. OPPIUS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	L. OPPIUS. L. FULCINIUS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	P. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS. T. VETURIUS GEMINUS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	N. FABIVS AMBUSTUS. P. CORNELIUS RUTILUS COS- SUS.	<i>Military Quæ- stors.</i>	M' SERGIUS FIDENAS. L. SERGIUS FIDENAS.
		85. <i>Consulship, Year 343.</i>	M' ÆMILIUS MAMERCI- NUS. C. VALERIUS POTITUS VOLUSUS. He defeats 2 the

the *Æqui*, and receives the Honours of an *Ovation*.

Tribunes of the People.

M. MÆNIUS.
VOLERO PUBLILIUS PHILO.
M. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
SEX. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS.
L. TEMPANIUS.
L. MÆCILIUS.
A. TEMPANIUS.
C. APRONIUS.
Q. PUBLILIUS.
CN. SELLIVS.

Ædiles.

L. ICILIUS RUGA.
TREBIUS. He, according to *Pliny, B. 18.* distributed Corn among the People *gratis*. They, in Gratitude, erected Statues to his Memory, on the *Capitol*, and the Hill *Palatinus*; and at his Funeral, his Corps was carried on the Shoulders of Citizens.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. FURIUS FUSUS.
A. MANLIUS VULSO.

Military Quæstors.

M. QUINTILIUS VARUS.
M. EBUTIVS ELVA.

86. *Consulship, Year 344.*

CN. CORNELIVS COSSUS.
L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a second time.

Tribunes of the People.

SP. ICILIUS RUGA.
L. ICILIUS RUGA.
C. ICILIUS RUGA.
C. JUNIVS BRUTUS BVBVLCVS.
C. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.
Q. DECIUS MUS.
C. LICINIUS CALVUS.
L. VILLIVS.
M. POMPILIUS.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

Ædiles.

VOLERO PUBLILIUS PHILO.
M. DUILIVS.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
Q. SILIVS.

Military Quæstors.

P. PUPPIUS.
K. FABIUS AMBUSTUS. The last of these four *Quæstors* was the only *Patrician* among them; the other three, were the first *Plebeians*, who enjoyed the *Quæstors*hip.

16. *Military Tribunes*hip.
Year 345.

Dictator.

Gen. of Horse.

Tribunes of the People.

Ædiles.

Quæstors of Rome.

Military Quæstors.

17. *Military Tribunes*hip.
Year 346.

Tribunes of the People.

Ædiles.

Quæstors of Rome.

Military Quæstors.

18. *Military Tribunes*hip.
Year 347.

C. JULIVS IVLVS.
P. CORNELIVS COSSVS.
C. SERVILIUS AHALA.

P. CORNELIVS RUTILVS COSSVS.

C. SERVILIUS AHALA.

M. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
L. ICILIUS RUGA.
L. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.
TREBIUS.
P. DECIUS MUS.
SEX. TITINIUS.
L. MANILIUS.
C. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.
K. ATINIUS LONGUS.
L. TITINIUS.

M. MÆNIUS.
C. DUILIVS.

APPIUS CLAVDIVS CRASSVS.
L. JULIVS IVLVS.

M. POMPONIUS.
CN. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.

C. VALERIUS POTITVS VOLVSVS.
C. SERVILIUS AHALA, a second time.
N. FABIUS VIBULANVS, a third time.
FURIUS MEDULLINVS.

L. JUNIVS BVBVLCVS BRVTVS.
Q. MUCIVS SCÆVOLA.
P. MUCIVS SCÆVOLA.
VOLERO PUBLILIUS PHILO.
Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
SEX. SEXTIUS SEXTINVS.
M. MANILIUS.
L. CÆDICIVS.
Q. DECIUS MUS.
C. TITINIUS.

SP. ICILIUS RUGA.
Q. SILIVS.

L. ATINIUS LONGVS.
L. PUBLILIUS PHILO VOLVSVS.

Q. SVPICIIVS CAMERINVS CORNVTVS.
Q. SERVILIUS PRISCVS FIDENAS.

P. CORNELIVS RUTILVS COSSVS.
L. VALERIUS POTITVS, a second time.

CN.

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	CN. CORNELIUS COSSUS. N. FABIVS AMBUSTUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	SP. ICILIUS RUGA. VOLERO PUBLILIUS PHILO. P. LICINIUS CALVUS. P. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS. M. MANILIUS. P. MÆNIUS. A. TREBIUS. P. SILIUS. C. TITINIUS. C. APRONIUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS. VOLERO PUBLILIUS PHILO. CN. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS. P. PUPPIUS. TREBIUS. M. POMPONIUS. K. ATINIUS. M. POMPILIUS. C. JUNIUS BRUTUS BUBULCUS. C. TITIUS.		
<i>Ædiles.</i>	C. ICILIUS RUGA. Q. DECIUS MUS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS. CN. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	P. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS. P. MÆNIUS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	C. LUCERIUS. M. SULPICIUS PETICUS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	L. JULIUS IULUS. P. LICINIUS CALVUS.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	M. POMPILIUS. M. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
<i>19. Military Tribuneship. Year 348.</i>	C. JULIUS IULUS, a second time. M' ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS. T. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS. L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a second time. Q. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS. A. MANLIUS VULSO CAPITOLINUS.	<i>21. Military Tribuneship. Year 350.</i>	M' ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a second time. M. FURIUS FUSUS. AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS. L. JULIUS IULUS. M. QUINCTILIUS VARUS. L. VALERIUS POTITUS, a third time.
		<i>Censors.</i>	M. FURIUS CAMILLUS. M. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS REGILLENSIS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. DUILIUS. L. TITINIUS L. PUBLILIUS PHILO VOLSCUS. L. CÆDICIVS. C. POPILIUS. M. DUILIUS. L. ATINIUS LONGUS. C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS. CN. PUPPIUS. C. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.		
<i>Ædiles.</i>	L. ICILIUS RUGA. M. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.		THE SIXTEENTH LUSTRUM.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	M. METILIUS. P. CURATIUS NEPOS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	Q. SILIUS. L. PUBLILIUS PHILO VOLSCUS. M. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS. C. TITIUS. CN. APRONIUS. L. ICILIUS RUGA. M. POMPONIUS. M. POMPILIUS. L. TITIUS. M. CÆDICIVS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	SP. FURIUS MEDULLINUS. L. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS CÆLIMONTANUS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	P. PUPPIUS. CN. PUPPIUS.
		<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	L. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS. SP. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
<i>20. Military Tribuneship. Year 349.</i>	P. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS. SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS, a third time. CN. CORNELIUS COSSUS, a second time. C. VALERIUS POTITUS, a third time. K. FABIVS AMBUSTUS. M' SERGIUS FIDENAS.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	M. ACUTIUS. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.
		<i>22. Military Tribuneship. Year 351.</i>	C. SERVILIUS AHALA, a third time. Q. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS CORNUTUS. Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS.

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	A. MANLIUS VULSO CAPITOLINUS, a second time.		SP. FURIUS MEDULLINUS.
	L. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS CÆLIMONTANUS.		L. TITINIUS.
	M' SERGIUS FIDENAS, a second time. The two last were forced to abdicate.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. PUBLILIUS PHILO VOLSCUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. MÆNIUS.		P. PUPIUS.
	M. POPILIUS.		M. PONTIFICIUS.
	SP. ANTIUS.		L. VOLSCIUS.
	A. TREBIUS.		C. MÆCILIUS.
	C. MÆNIUS.		C. NUMITORIUS.
	L. ATINIUS LONGUS.		M. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
	C. SILIUS.		C. PONTIFICIUS.
	C. ICILIUS RUGA.		M. SELLIVS.
	P. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.		C. ANTIUS.
	M. ANTIUS.		T. STATIUS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	C. POPILIUS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	L. MÆNIUS.
	L. TITINIUS.		K. ATINIUS LONGUS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	L. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	T. MENENIUS LANATUS.
	P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.		T. SICINIUS DENTATUS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	A. POSTHUMIUS REGILLENsis.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	SP. MÆLIUS.
	C. DUILIUS.		A. VIRGINIUS.
<i>23. Military Tribuneship. Year 352.</i>	L. VALERIUS POTITUS, a fourth time.	<i>25. Military Tribuneship. Year 354.</i>	C. DUILIUS.
	L. JULIUS IULUS.		L. ATINIUS LONGUS.
	M. FURIUS CAMILLUS.		CN. GENUGIUS AVENTINENSIS.
	M' ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a third time.		M. POMPONIUS.
	CN. CORNELIUS COSSUS, a second time.		VOLERO PUBLILIUS.
	K. FABIVS AMBUSTUS, a second time.		M. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. TREBONIUS ASPER.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	M. ACUTIUS.
	C. LUCERIUS.		L. LUCERIUS.
	M. ACUTIUS.		L. STATIUS.
	P. CURATIUS.		C. RACILIUS.
	M. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.		M. CONSIDIUS.
	C. FULCINIUS.		P. LICINIUS CALVUS.
	CN. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.		C. VOLSCIUS.
	M. METILIUS.		M. MÆCILIUS.
	L. ICILIUS RUGA.		M. PLÆTORIUS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	P. SILIUS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	L. ALLIENIUS.
	P. LICINIUS CALVUS.		C. TREBONIUS ASPER.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	L. LUCRETIUS FLAVUS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	SP. ANTIUS.
	SER. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS.		C. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	P. CORNELIUS COSSUS.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	Q. POMPONIUS.
	P. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.		L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.
<i>24. Military Tribuneship. Year 353.</i>	P. LICINIUS CALVUS.	<i>26. Military Tribuneship. Year 355.</i>	L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.
	P. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.		L. VALERIUS POTITUS, a fifth time.
	P. MÆNIUS.		L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a third time.
			M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.
			M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a second time.
			Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS, a second time.
			Q. SUL-

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	Q. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS CORNUTUS, a second time.	28. <i>Military Tri- buneship.</i> Year 357.	P. LICINIUS. L. ATINIUS LONGUS, a second time.
<i>Censors.</i>	C. VALERIUS POTITUS VOLU- SUS. M' ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.		P. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS, a se- cond time. L. TITINIUS, a second time. P. MÆNIUS, a second time. C. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS, a second time. He was killed in a Battel with the <i>Falisci</i> and <i>Capenates</i> .
THE SEVENTEENTH LUSTRUM.			
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	Q. SILIUS. P. CURATIUS. C. PÆTILIUS. C. PLÆTORIUS. Q. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS. P. PUBLILIUS PHILO. M. METILIUS. C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS. P. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS. M. POPILIUS.	<i>Dictator.</i> <i>Gen. of Horse.</i> <i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	M. FURIUS CAMILLUS. He triumphs over the <i>Veientes</i> . P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO. C. TREBONIUS ASPER. P. LUCERIUS. M. DECIUS MUS. SP. MÆLIUS. M. FURIUS. M. ACUTIUS. M. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS. C. TERENTIUS ARSA. P. LÆTORIUS. L. VIRGINIUS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	L. ICILIUS RUGA. C. LUCERIUS.		
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	M. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS. M' MARCIUS.		
<i>Military Quæ- stors.</i>	M. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS. L. FULVIUS CORVUS.		
27. <i>Military Tribuneship.</i> Year 356.	L. JULIUS IULUS, a second time. L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a fourth time. L. SERGIUS FIDENAS. A. POSTHUMIUS ALBIN RE- GILLENSIS. A. MANLIUS VULSO CAPITO- LINUS, a third time. P. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS, a second time. Their election was deemed irregular, and they were forced to abdicate.	<i>Ædiles.</i> <i>Quæstors of Rome.</i> <i>Military Quæ- stors.</i> 29. <i>Military Tribuneship.</i> Year 358.	M. CONSIDIUS. M. PLÆTORIUS. K. FABIUS AMBUSTUS. SER. CORNELIUS MALUGINEN- SIS. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS. AGRIPPA FURIUS FUSUS. P. CORNELIUS COSSUS. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS, a second time. K. FABIUS AMBUSTUS, a third time. L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a fifth time. Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDE- NAS, a second time.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. MÆNIUS. T. METILIUS. L. VOLSCIUS. M. PONTIFICIUS. P. PUPIUS. L. LUCERIUS. M. VOLSCIUS FICTOR. M. SELLIVS. C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS. M. GENUCIUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	T. SICINIUS DENTATUS. A. VIRGINIUS. Q. POMPONIUS. L. ICILIUS RUGA. L. FULVIUS CORVUS. C. LÆTORIUS. L. CÆDICIVS. C. LUCERIUS. P. PUPIUS. P. CURATIUS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	M. ACUTIUS. C. NUMITORIUS.		
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBIN RE- GILLENSIS. Q. SULPICIUS LONGUS.		
<i>Military Quæ- stors.</i>	L. VALERIUS POTITUS. M. AULIUS CERRETANUS.		
			<i>Ædiles.</i>

Ædiles. C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
Q. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.

Quæstors. L. MARCIUS RUTILIUS.
of Rome. C. LICINIUS CALVUS.

Military Quæ- C. FABIVS AMBUSTUS.
stors. M. ALBINIUS.

30. *Military* M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a third
Tribuneship. time.
Year 359. L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a sixth
time.

C. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBIN RE-
GILLENIS.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO, a se-
cond time.

L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.

Tribunes of the T. SICINIUS DENTATUS.
People. Q. POMPONIUS.

A. VIRGINIUS.

L. ICILIUS RUGA.

M. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.

C. POMPILIUS.

L. MAMILIUS VITULUS.

Q. SILIUS.

L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.

L. CÆDICIVS.

Ædiles. C. TREBONIUS ASPER.
M. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.

Quæstors of L. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS.
Rome. C. MARTIUS RUTILUS.

Military Quæ- P. CORNELIUS COSSUS, the Son
stors. of *Aulus*.

P. CORNELIUS COSSUS, the Son
of *Publius*.

87. *Consulship,* L. LUCRETIUS FLAVUS.
Year 360. SER. SULPICIUS CAME-
RINUS.

Tribunes of the T. SICINIUS DENTATUS.
People. C. LUCERIUS.
P. CURATIUS.

The end of the Fasti Consulares, to the Year of Rome 361. inclusive, as collected from the Annals of Vinandus Pighius.

L. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
SEX. POMPILIUS.
M. TITINIUS.
C. ACUTIUS.
C. MÆNIUS.
M. SILIUS.
SEX. MANILIUS.

Ædiles. T. METILIUS.
M. DECIUS MUS.

Quæstors of L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
Rome. C. SEXTILIUS.

Military Quæ- A. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
stors. L. POSTHUMIUS ALBIN RE-
GILLENIS.

88. *Consulship,* L. VALERIUS POTITUS.
Year 361. M. MANLIUS CAPITOLI-
NUS. They both abdicate.

Censors. C. JULIUS.
L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR. The
former died in his Office,
and M. CORNELIUS MALU-
GINENSIS was chosen in his
room.

THE EIGHTEENTH LUSTRUM.

Tribunes of the Q. SILIUS.
People. L. ICILIUS RUGA.
C. TITIUS.
C. CURATIUS.
P. FURIUS.
K. DUILIUS.
C. LICINIUS CALVUS.
M. CÆDICIVS.
L. VIRGINIUS.
C. LÆTORIUS.

Ædiles. P. LÆTORIUS.
L. FULVIUS CORVUS.

Quæstors of L. JULIUS IULUS.
Rome. L. AQUILIUS CORVUS.

Military Quæ- T. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.
stors. T. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS.



F I N I S.